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THE BOOK OF PARADISE.

VOLUME I.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

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LADY MEUX MANUSCRIPT Nº. 6.

THE BOOK OF PARADISE

BEING

THE HISTORIES AND SAYINGS OF THE MONKS

AND

ASCETICS OF THE EGYPTIAN DESERT

BY

PALLADIUS, HIERONYMUS

AND OTHERS.

THE SYRIAC TEXTS, ACCORDING TO THE RECENSION OF 'ANÂN-ÎSHÔ' OF BÊTH 'ÂBHÊ, EDITED WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION

BY

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VOL. I.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

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PREFACE.

In the year 1888 I was engaged at Môṣul, a town on the right or west bank of the river Tigris, opposite to the ruins of the ancient city of Nineveh, in carrying on excavations for the Trustees of the British Museum in the neighbouring mound of Kûyunjik, and in the performance of my official duties I was brought into contact with His Excellency the Wâlî, or Governor, of Môṣul, and with many of the principal ecclesiastical authorities of the town and of the villages round about. Whenever the opportunity offered I made enquiries about manuscript copies of ancient Syriac books in which I was interested, and I visited various churches and monasteries where I heard that old Syriac MSS. were to be found. In Môṣul itself some private individuals courteously showed me such manuscripts as they had, but the suggestion that I should purchase the same met with firm refusals on the part of their true owners; the further proposition on my part to have copies made at my expense was received with a series of politely given refusals, which all who have dealt with the Mesopotamian Oriental will readily understand. I paid a visit to the Jacobite Patriarch in his beautiful house, and asked for help, but failed to receive any. The venerable Patriarch gave me an account of his journey to England, and described at

some length his visit to Windsor Castle, and the gracious manner in which he had been received and treated by Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and, pointing to some of the furniture in his room, he assured me that he had profited by the example set by the English in providing themselves with comfortable homes. He next commented, in English, for he spoke the language fairly well, on the wickedness of those of the faithful who sold their manuscripts, and then assured me that he had neither manuscripts nor money. The visit was interesting, but, so far as my own object was concerned, it had no practical result.

A few days later I paid a visit to the Vicar of the Nestorian, or "Chaldean", Patriarch, who received me cordially, and was undoubtedly anxious to assist me by every means in his power. His protestations of friendship soon assumed a practical form, for, having told me that he had a number of valuable Syriac MSS. in his house, and could obtain access to others, he produced without delay several dusty, manuscript volumes. Among those which were brought and placed on the floor before us was a very thick book, in a dilapidated condition, which the Vicar said he prized highly, as it was the only old copy of it known to him. The size of the book was large, oblong quarto, about 15in. by 9in., and it was three or four inches thick; though many of the leaves at the beginning and end were loose, it appeared to be complete, and only after a close examination of it did I find that it was not so. Leaves were missing in several places, three or more quires were wanting about two thirds of the way through the volume, and many leaves were so much damaged in places by damp that words and

even whole lines could hardly be read. In spite of such defects, however, there was no doubt in my mind that the manuscript was of considerable importance, especially when I found from the headings of certain sections that it contained the "Book of the histories of the "triumphs of the saints and ascetics of the Egyptian "Desert, called 'Paradise' which was composed by MÂR 'PALLADIUS, Bishop of the city of HELENOPOLIS, and was "addressed to LAUSUS the Prefect." I was familiar with the Syriac MSS. of Palladius in the British Museum, but I had never before seen so lengthy a copy of the "Paradise of the Fathers", and it was clear that the volume must contain copies of *collections of lives of saints*, which some pious man had paid to have copied, for his private benefit, or for the use of the members of a church or monastery. The next point to try and decide was the date of the manuscript. This was no easy matter, for the colophon was missing, and the Patriarch's Library possessed none of the European palaeographical publications which are so essential for making satisfactory comparisons of the text with dated manuscripts, and for the correct assignment of dates. The "Paradise" of PALLADIUS which we had before us was identical in size and shape with another volume there containing a copy of the "ḤÛDHRÂ", *i. e.*, the service book of the Nestorian Church for the whole year, which was compiled by the famous monk ʿANÂN-ÎSHÔʿ, of the Monastery of BÊTH ʿÂBHÊ in Margâ. This volume was in good condition. The pages, though in places stained by water, were clean, and the writing was in the good hand which the late Professor WILLIAM WRIGHT associated with the XIIth century. Now whether the "Book of Paradise" and this copy of the "Ḥûdhrâ"

were written at the same time, I cannot say, but the handwriting of the former work appeared to me to be more modern than that of the latter. I told Dom CUTHBERT BUTLER (see *Lausiac History*, p. 83) that I thought it was characteristic of the XIVth or XVth century, and it may well be so; on the other hand, it may have been a century older. Such ludicrous dates have been assigned to Syriac and Ethiopic MSS. during the last thirty years, that it seemed to me better to err on the side of under-dating than over-dating, and in so doing I followed the example of my great master WILLIAM WRIGHT.

Now, although the age of the Book of Paradise which the Vicar of the "Chaldean" Patriarch showed me in 1888 puzzled me as much then as it does now, it seemed to be necessary to obtain as good a copy of it as possible, and I opened negotiations with this object in view, for as the volume before me was the property of the Church it was hopeless to attempt to purchase it. The Vicar promised to allow a careful scribe to have access to the book, and to supervise the general accuracy of the transcript of it which was to be made; Mr. NIMRÛD RASSAM purchased the paper and had it prepared for writing upon, and the work of copying was begun. The copy was finished in the month of the Latter Teshrîn, and I brought it to England in April 1891. On my return to this country I examined this copy of the Book of Paradise carefully in connexion with the MSS. of Palladius in the British Museum, and it seemed to me quite certain that it represented the Recension of the work of Palladius which was made by ʿAnân-Îshôʿ, a monk of Bêth ʿÂbhê, in the latter half of the VIIth century of our era. An

account of the making of this Recension is, fortunately, preserved to us in the "Historia Monastica" written by THOMAS, Bishop of Margâ, about A.D. 840. According to this writer, ʿAnân-Îshôʿ, who was a native of Adiabene, studied at Nisibis, and then entered the "Great Monastery" of Îzlâ, where he devoted himself to literary work. He lived a life of the sternest asceticism, and, "having his mind constantly fixed upon "the works of the ascetic fathers, determined to go and "worship in Jerusalem. And from there he went to "the desert of Scete, where he learned concerning all "the manner of the lives of the ascetic fathers, whose "histories and questions are written in books, and con-"cerning their dwellings, and the places in which they "lived." When Thomas came back from Scete, he did not settle down in Îzlâ, but went on to Bêth Âbhê, in Margâ, where his literary reputation became so great that Îshôʿ-yahbh, the Metropolitan of Arbela, asked him to assist him in drawing up the Canons. Subsequently, when Îshôʿ-yahbh became Patriarch, he begged ʿAnân-Îshôʿ to arrange the "Book of the Fathers," that is to say, the histories of the ascetics of the deserts and mountains of Egypt which had been compiled by Palladius and Jerome, and at length he agreed to do so. We need not now consider the details of the arrangement of ʿAnân-Îshôʿs work, and it is sufficient here to mention that Thomas tells us it was "arranged in two "volumes; in the first part were the histories of the holy "Fathers composed by Palladius and Jerome, and in the "second part were the questions and the narratives of "the fathers which he himself had brought together."[1]

[1] See my *Book of Governors*, vol. ii. p. 192.

Such a work could not have been entrusted to better hands, for ʿAnân-Îshôʿ possessed not only the literary skill necessary for carrying out successfully such a great undertaking, but having visited Jerusalem, and the Scete desert, and seen the actual places where the desert saints had lived, and having obtained his knowledge at first hand, he was able to impart to his Recension of the Book of the Fathers an accuracy and vividness which, without his local knowledge, would have been absolutely impossible. It is not so stated by Thomas of Margâ, but we are bound to assume that a Syriac scholar, with the energy, and ability, and knowledge of ʿAnân-Îshôʿ, would search for, and bring back with him the best and fullest copies he could find of the works of Palladius and Jerome, and transcripts of other works of the same kind. There is no room for doubting that he collected his materials both wisely and skilfully, and for this reason his Recension of the "Book of Paradise" is of the greatest value.

From the copy of ʿAnân-Îshôʿ's Recension which I had obtained, I published several extracts in my edition of the "Historia Monastica" of Thomas of Margâ (see *Book of Governors*, vol. ii. p. 31, 32, 35, 64, 195—197, 470—472, 563, 572, 586), and gave a full description of it on pp. 192—206 of the same work. Soon after the appearance of the "Historia Monastica" in the autumn of 1893 I began to translate ʿAnân-Îshôʿ's Recension of the "Book of Paradise", and whilst thus occupied I caused many enquiries to be made by my friends at Môṣul and in the neighbourhood, with the view of finding other copies of ʿAnân-Îshôʿ's work, from which the lacunae in the text might be filled up; all

such enquiries were fruitless, I regret to say. In 1894, as I learned that Dom CUTHBERT BUTLER was devoting himself to the study of the "Book of Paradise" in all its versions, and that he was, like Dr. ERWIN PREUSCHEN, engaged in the preparation of a work on the subject, and in a minute investigation into the history of the transmission of the versions, I willingly placed my copy of ʿAnân-Îshôʿ's Recension at his disposal, and as a testimony to the value of the manuscript I quote his words. He says, (*Lausiac History*, Cambridge 1898, p. 77) "If it is possible to make here a more careful "study than has hitherto been made of the Lausiac "History in Syriac, and to clear up some confusions "and misconceptions, this will be mainly due to the "kindness of Dr. Budge, . . . who placed at my disposal "his fine codex of the *Paradise* of Anan-Isho, described "in his edition of Thomas of Marga's *Book of the "Governors.*" He then goes on to compare its contents with those of the only other ancient copy in Europe, which is preserved in the Library of the Vatican (*Codex Syriacus* CXXVI), and discusses its relative value at considerable length. He decided that ʿÂnân-Îshôʿ made use of an ancient Syriac version which Dom BUTLER calls No. 1, and that he filled up the gaps, which existed in the copies of it current in his time, from a manuscript of Syriac version No. 2, which was contemporaneous with No. 1; this being so the Recension of ʿAnân-Îshôʿ will help us to reconstruct in its main features the Syriac version of the Lausiac History, as it existed in the early part of the VIth, if not the Vth century.

In 1896 I received an application for the loan of my copy of ʿAnân-Îshôʿ's Recension from Père BEDJAN

who was said to be preparing an edition of the Syriac text of the "Book of Paradise", but I did not see my way to lend it because I was translating it into English and preparing an edition of the text myself. Further, there seemed to me to be need for an English translation of the Syriac text of the work attributed to Palladius. It is hard not to think that, had Père BEDJAN known of the existence of a copy of ʿAnân-Îshôʿ's Recension of the works of Palladius and Jerome before the publication of my description of it in the "Historia Monastica", he would naturally have made an edition of it for the first volume of his *Acta Sanctorum*, instead of re-printing a number of texts which had been published by CURETON and other scholars.

Père BEDJAN's edition appeared in 1897, but an examination of it convinced me that there was still room for a publication of the text of Anân-Îshôʿ's Recension, and I continued my work of copying and translating. That year, however, my official duties took me to the Sûdân, and I was excavating there for several months; on my return to England early in 1898 I had to undergo an operation on one eye for glaucoma, and I was forbidden by the oculist to work more than was absolutely necessary at Oriental languages for some time. The prohibition was imperative, and I reluctantly abandoned my work on the Book of Paradise, and begged LADY MEUX, of Theobalds Park, whose interest in all that appertains to early Egyptian and Ethiopian Christianity is well known, to accept my codex of ʿAnân-Îshôʿ's Recension, and to let it form a part of her collection of Oriental MSS.

Subsequently LADY MEUX began to make enquiries concerning the contents of the Book of Paradise, and

we had several conversations on the subject, and finding that no complete translation of the Book of Paradise existed in any modern language she, with characteristic generosity, offered to defray the cost of printing the entire Syriac text, provided that it was accompanied by a full English translation, and a brief account of the origin of the Syriac version, and of the growth of Christian asceticism in Egypt. Every one knows that the true home of Christian asceticism and monasticism was Egypt, and that the monks, and recluses, and anchorites of Syria and Mesopotamia only imitated the stern lives of their predecessors in the desert of Scete in the Western Delta, and in the mountains of the Thebaïd in Upper Egypt; and everyone knows that the oldest, fullest, and truest account of the holy ascetics of Egypt was written by Palladius. This distinguished man was no mere compiler of the lives of saints from histories written by other men, but he possessed a personal knowledge of the Egyptian monks and their lives which is unique. At the age of 20 he embraced the monastic life, and going to Alexandria in 388 he studied for three years under the direction of the strictest ascetics of the day; he next lived with monks in the Nitrian desert for a year, and about 391 he retired into the "inner desert", and took up his abode in the very centre of the monastic life, in a place called "The Cells". Here he lived for nine years, and here he met and conversed with the greatest ascetics of his day, and became acquainted with solitary monks of every class. In 404 or 405 he went to Rome, and during his stay there he visited the monks who lived near the city and in Campagnia. At a later period he was banished to Syene [the modern Aswân) and

still later to the Thebaïd, where, however, he turned his time to good account by living among the monks in Antinoopolis; subsequently he went to Palestine and lived for some time among the monks on the Mount of Olives. In 420 he wrote his famous "Book of Paradise", which he dedicated to LAUSUS, a chamberlain at the court of Theodosius II, and which, in consequence, is generally known as the "Historia Lausiaca", or "Lausiac History". In this work he records the lives of the ascetics whom he had known personally, or of whom he had gained knowledge from their disciples, and his narratives are written with a minuteness of detail which makes it clear to every unprejudiced reader that he actually saw and talked with the greater number of the men whom he mentions, and that he visited the places which he describes. On the other hand, as Dom CUTHBERT BUTLER points out, (*Lausiac History*, p. 3) Dr. WEINGARTEN regards the "Book of Paradise" and the "History of the Monks" as mere fairy tales which deserve no more credit than Gulliver's Travels; and Dr. LUCIUS considers Palladius to be a "monkish falsifier of history", and his book an "un-"critical patchwork put together from several different "sources." The latter writer thinks, moreover, that Palladius was never a bishop, and that the experiences which he relates are those of other people, and believes that he never was in Egypt. These opinions, however, even though they be those of eminent scholars, have, in my opinion, but little value, for the men who formulated them know nothing of Egypt. Against them must be placed the evidence of a scholar like AMÉLINEAU, who is not only an expert in Coptic, but is one who, as he himself has

told me, has lived in the monasteries of Egypt of the present day, and knows the manners and customs of ascetics, both ancient and modern. This authority believes that Palladius is worthy of credit when he relates what was seen, or heard, or done by himself, and that it is only his hearsay evidence which must be received with caution. In the course of my official work during the last seventeen years I myself have visited many of the larger monasteries in and about Môsul, and Mardîn, and Al-Ḳôsh, and most of the sites of ancient monasteries on the Nile between Khartûm and the sea, and I am of opinion that the local colouring, and details of the Nile and Egypt generally, as given by Palladius, are accurate. In Mesopotamia I have been taken to see men who were in the habit of fasting for five days or a week at a time, who watched and prayed all night, who saw visions, and who were in every way emulating the labours of Anthony the Great and his predecessor Paul of Egypt.

Whether Palladius is held by a handful of Professors to be a deceiver or not matters, after all, very little, for the fact remains that his work has been received as genuine by Christian ascetics all over Egypt, Ethiopia, Syria, and Mesopotamia, and the lives and deeds of the saints recorded by him have been imitated by a countless number of monks for a period of fourteen or fifteen hundred years. The influence of his "Book of Paradise" in the Christian East has been incalculably great, and there is good reason for believing that it will emerge triumphant from all the honest criticism that may be made upon it.

The present work contains the whole of the Syriac text of Lady Meux's manuscript of the Book of Para-

dise according to the Recension of Anân-Îshôʿ, which also includes the lives of the monks written by Jerome and others and about twelve hundred "Sayings" of the Fathers; to all these tolerably literal English translations are appended. That the work may be as complete as possible I have given translations of all the additional Histories and Sayings which Père BEDJAN has printed in the seventh volume of his *Acta Sanctorum*, and in a few places where the Syriac version is of interest, I have reprinted his text. Thus the reader has before him, thanks to LADY MEUX's munificence, a complete English translation of ʿAnân-Îshôʿ's Recension of the "Book of Paradise", and I trust that it will be found useful, not only by the theological critic, but also by those who are students of the religion, folklore, magic, and social condition of Egypt in early Christian times. LADY MEUX has printed five hundred copies both of the text and translation, and on my part I have spared no pains to bring this lengthy work of some two thousand pages to as successful a conclusion as possible.

The notes have, from sheer necessity, been made as brief as possible, but Bible references to quotations in the text have been given, in most cases. Any attempt to deal with the original Greek texts was impossible, for such a work would fill a volume by itself, and it must be left to such competent scholars as PREUSCHEN and BUTLER. An index of proper names has been added, which, it is hoped, may facilitate reference. The Nestorian vowel points are, of course, modern, and may for critical purposes be disregarded; they are interesting, however, as showing the class of mistake which modern Nestorians make when reading and

copying ancient works. The Syriac scholar can correct these mistakes for himself, and the general reader need not concern himself about them. The English translation has been made as literal as possible, and all the words supplied by me have been placed in square brackets []; the meaning of some passages in the Syriac text is doubtful, either because the translator from the Greek did not understand his text, or because I have failed to grasp the meaning of his rendering.

It is now my pleasing duty to offer to LADY MEUX my heartfelt thanks for giving to me the opportunity of making the "Book of Paradise" known in an English translation, and for publishing a work which, but for her effective help and sympathy, could never have seen the light in its present form. Mr. DRUGULIN of Leipzic, and Dr. CHAMIZER of his firm, deserve praise for the great care and attention which they have bestowed upon the printing of these volumes.

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

LONDON:
November 16th 1903

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[1] The Chapters without a reference to the text are translated from the seventh volume of Bedjan's *Acta Sanctorum*.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE LIFE OF PALLADIUS AND THE BOOK OF PARADISE.

THE comparatively few facts which are known of the life of Palladius are derived almost entirely from his own writings, and there are many periods in his life about which exact information would be of great importance for the understanding of the BOOK OF PARADISE, by which work he has immortalized himself. He was probably born in Galatia about the year 367, and in the twentieth year of his age (386) he became a monk. According to TILLEMONT, he first practised asceticism in Cappadocia, under the direction of Elpidius, the Abbot of a monastery; from Cappadocia he went to Bethlehem, probably in 387, and from that village to Jerusalem, where he met Melania and Rufinus. In the second consulship of the Emperor Theodosius the Great, *i. e.*, in 388, he went to Alexandria, and became the disciple of ISIDORE, who took him to a place six miles from the city, and handed him over to DOROTHEOS, the Theban, who had lived in a cave for sixty years. With this ascetic he lived for nearly three years (see page 131) endeavouring to learn to subdue the passions of the body, for Palladius himself says (p. 131) that he needed "not only the word, but also "the labour of the body, and severe physical excercises, "even like the young unbroken animal." This, how-

ever, he was unable to effect, for a severe illness made it necessary for him to leave DOROTHEOS, and he returned to ISIDORE (p. 132). About this time he visited the monk DIDYMUS (p. 136), and went to all the principal monasteries near Alexandria, and conversed with nearly two thousand monks (p. 143). He then sailed for a day and a half across Lake Mareotis, and came to Mount Nitria, where six hundred monks lived. Here he dwelt for a year (p. 144), and then he withdrew to the inner desert, and made his abode in that part of it which is called "The Cells", where he remained for nine years (p. 171), three of which he passed in close intercourse with MACARIUS the Alexandrian. In 399 Palladius again "fell sick with a sore sickness "which was caused by my kidneys and stomach," (p. 260) and the brethren, fearing that he was becoming dropsical, sent him to Alexandria to consult the physicians, who advised him to go to Palestine, and he set out for that country. Soon after this he departed to BITHYNIA, where the "air was temperate and "light," and beneficial for his body, and here, according to the prophecy of JOHN of LYCUS, "whether by the "care and solicitude of men, or whether by the Will "of God," he knew not he was made a bishop (p. 260). Palladius does not tell us who consecrated him or where his see was, but as he says that "he became an as- "sociate in the trial which rose up against the blessed "JOHN (p. 260), he must have been an adherent of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, and if this be so he was consecrated by that bishop, and his see was DREPANUM, or HELENOPOLIS, in Bithynia. He seems to have suffered persecution because of his friendship for John Chrysostom, for he tells us that he was "secluded for a period of

"about eleven months in a dark cell" (p. 260), but whether he was actually imprisoned in the "dark cell," or lay there of his own accord in hiding, cannot be said. In 404 or 405 he fled to Rome, where he was received into the house of PINIANUS, who treated him with great kindness. When he left Rome he wished to go to Constantinople, but he and his friends were not allowed to land when they arrived there, and each member of the party to which he had attached himself was shut up in a separate chamber in the fortress of Athyre; when they refused to withdraw from their allegiance to John Chrysostom, the decree of banishment was pronounced against them, and Palladius was deported to Syene, (Aswân) in Upper Egypt. During his banishment from his bishopric he spent four years in "ANTINOË of the Thebaïd", where, he tells us, (p. 274) dwelt twelve hundred monks who worked with their hands, and he "learned concerning the whole of the "system of the religious houses which were there." According to TILLEMONT, the severity of the edict of banishment against Palladius was relaxed on the death of Theophilus in 412, and he was permitted to leave Syene, but it was not until 417 that his restoration to his diocese was possible. Whether he returned to Helenopolis we know not, but according to SOCRATES (*Hist. Eccles.* VII. 36), he was translated about 432 from that see to ASPUNA in Galatia Prima. Between 417 and 420 Palladius set to work on the compilation of the "Book of Paradise", and it was finished in the year 420. The year of his death is unknown.

In the summary of the years of his life given by Palladius in this work (see p. 119) he says, "I lived a "life of rule and was in a monastery of solitary brethren

"for the first part of my life, that is to say, until the "thirty-third year of my age, and I served the office "of Bishop for twenty years; thus the whole period "of my life hath included fifty-six years." But thirty-three and twenty only make fifty-three, and as he himself gives the total years of his life as fifty-six, some short sentence, which would tell us the way in which he spent the other three years, may have dropped out of the Syriac text.

The "Book of Paradise" was written at the request of one LAUSUS, who was the chief chamberlain in the royal household, which has been generally assumed to be that of Theodosius II; it was dedicated by Palladius to this God-fearing man, and for this reason is commonly known as the "LAUSIAC HISTORY". Palladius describes his friend as a man "whose mind is full of "doctrine, whose habits are those of a lover of peace, "who feareth God in his heart, and who loveth Christ "in his mind" (p. 115). In the preface to his work Palladius tells Lausus that he will relate to him the story of ascetics, whom he was "held to be worthy "to see face to face", and that he will set down in writing "with exactness" the things which he has seen (p. 116). As far as a "man could walk", Palladius went through cities and towns, and visited the caves, and holes in the ground, and the booths in the desert wherein the monks lived, so that he might collect his information at first hand. In the course of his work he travelled in Libya, Egypt, including the Thebaïd, and the regions of Tabenna, and Syene, in Syria, and Palestine, and in Mesopotamia, and also in Italy, and he says, "in travels and journeyings I would have "trodden the whole of the territory of the Greeks so

"that I might have the opportunity of conversing with "each of the lovers of God" (p. 122). In fact, when we sum up the amount of time which Palladius spent in investigating the lives and deeds of the monks, we find that it amounts to more than thirty years, and it is doubtful if any other human being ever devoted such a large portion of his life to a similar occupation. There was, probably, no kind of Christian monk which was unknown to him, and if an ascetic enjoyed a reputation for any special virtue or Christian quality, and the report of him reached Palladius, no cave, or hole in the earth, or booth, or habitation, was too remote or wretched for him to visit, and it would seem that his tact and sympathy enabled him to extract exactly the kind of information which he wanted. It is, nevertheless, very hard to understand why a man, who suffered as Palladius did from serious internal ailments, should have voluntarily undertaken long journeys into the desert, and endured, necessarily, hunger and thirst, and heat and cold, instead of sitting down quietly in some monastery or religious house, and living the ascetic life in a moderate fashion. We know not whether he was a man of great private means or not, but it is quite clear that if he lived for years at a time in places like the Nitrian Mountain, and the Monasteries of Tabenna and Antinoë, and among the most strenuous of monks, his life must have conformed closely to theirs, and that he must have been regarded by every kind of ascetic as a fellow labourer in the rule of stern self-abnegation.

The great value of the Book of Paradise, to say nothing of its charm, consists in the fact that the author informs the reader when he is describing what

he has actually seen, and when he is recording the things which he has collected on hearsay evidence. And moreover, he kept nothing back from his friend LAUSUS, and he hid nothing from him, and although he wished the lives of the ascetics which he related to him to form an example which would guide him to the loftiest heights of Christian virtue, he did not fail to set down in them the details of the sins which certain holy men committed, and he narrated cases of their apostacy with all due care. Palladius was a truthful and an impartial observer of the ascetics and their lives, and he mentions their foibles and their weaknesses with the same minuteness as their greatest virtues; in every narrative which may be taken to have been written by Palladius himself, we find that the facts of the case, and the facts only, are given, and that the author's comment everywhere is surprisingly small. We know that Palladius was a monk, and that he possessed well-developed ascetic sympathies, but his histories are at times so lacking in expression of personal feeling and opinion, that they might almost be the work of a conscientious student of a particular phase of development of human thought, who is so anxious to write down his facts in a truthful and unbiased manner, that his work becomes quite colourless.

The matter might be better understood if we knew more of the friendship which existed between Lausus and Palladius, and what real reason the former had in urging the latter to write the "Book of Paradise". Lausus had, no doubt, heard of the extraordinary attraction which the monastic life possessed for people of all classes, and how men and women dispersed their possessions, and withdrew to the desert, and gave

themselves up to a life of hardness and self-denial, according to their power to endure the ascetic rule. That a man who was a Christian eunuch at the court of Theodosius II should wish to know about the lives of the Egyptian monks and nuns is natural enough, and it is possible that his royal master may have wished him to procure a report on the subject, but if this were so we should expect to find more general historical facts and dates in the work of Palladius, whereby his statements might be checked or controlled. The lack of historical data is, however, one of the reasons which the critics of the Book of Paradise have urged against the authenticity of the work, but with me this has small weight, for the local colour in all that concerns Egypt and its inhabitants, is so correct, that everyone who has travelled in the deserts and mountains of that country, feels that the descriptions given of them by Palladius could only have been written by one who had himself passed through them. An instance of this may be quoted.

Palladius tells us (p. 173) that a gnat once bit Macarius, and that as the bite gave him pain, he put forth his hand and killed the insect. Having done this he despised himself because he had killed the gnat, and as a punishment for his weakness he condemned himself to go and sit naked for six months at Scete, where the "gnats" were so savage and strong that they could pierce the skin of a pig. Macarius departed to Scete, and when he came back six months later, his skin was so much bitten and swollen, and so much like the "hide of an elephant", that his friends only knew him by his voice. Palladius does not tell us the exact situation of the spot where Macarius sat

naked for six months, and he does not say at what time of the year he was there, but everyone who knows Egypt will feel certain that Macarius went to the place in June or July and stayed there until nearly the end of the year. At that time the whole of the neighbourhood of Nitria and Scete towards the north is plagued with a species of large insect which attacks men and women and bites viciously, especially new comers, making the ankles, feet, hands, and face to swell, and to become covered, in the case of white men, with hard red lumps, which often fester and cause serious illness. These "gnats" are most ferocious when the inundation is at its height in the Delta, *i. e.*, during the month of October, and they breed in great numbers in the shallow, brackish waters which lie at a distance of a few miles from Scete; they seem to be specially attracted by the eye-lids, and are, I believe, the cause of many of the diseases of the eye which are still so common in the more northerly parts of the Delta. The puffy, swollen body of a darkskinned native who had been subjected to the attacks of such "gnats" for six months, would undoubtedly resemble the lumpy hide of the elephant, and this description is most apposite.

We may take another example of the accuracy of the writer of an interesting narrative in dealing with local details. In the history of Moses the Indian, *i. e.*, Ethiopian, (see p. 328) he tells us that this man "crossed "the Nile by swimming", and that his clothes were placed on his head. That such is the custom of the *fellaḥin* at the present day is well known to visitors to Egypt, for in the villages at eventide the spectator may see many men doffing their blue garments, and rolling them up in a bundle to place on their heads

as they prepare to swim across the Nile in a diagonal direction. When the river is high and the current strong, if the man has a long way to swim down the river he will take a goat skin and inflate it with a reed, and having tied the neck tightly round with a string, will use it as a swimming bladder. Usually, however, when it is a question of merely crossing the river, a native ties up his tools, or valuables, or food in his clothes, and placing the bundle on his head quickly walks into the river and crosses to the other side. In Mesopotamia, however, inflated goat skins are commonly used, at least in the regions which border on the Tigris, for the river is as "swift as an arrow", and the current very strong. That Palladius was well aware of this fact is clear from the history of Mark (*or*, Malchus), a native of Mârôniâ near Antioch (see p. 353). When he and the woman who was his fellow captive had made up their minds to escape, he killed two large goats, and drew from their bodies their skins in such a way that they might form water bottles. When the skin of an animal is to be made into a water bottle, it is drawn off with great care. The head is cut off cleanly, and the skin ripped up, in a straight line along the belly from the neck to the tail; a clean slit is next made down each leg, and round the hoof. When the skin has been removed and dried it is sewn together with leather thongs, and every opening, except the neck, is carefully closed; it is next soaked in water, which partially removes the disagreeable odour, and is then ready for use either as a water-bottle, or as a swimming skin.

Having made his water-bottles, Mark (*or*, Malchus) carried them empty until he came to the river, which

he knew they would have to cross, and then he blew them up and, sitting astride them in the water, he and the woman paddled themselves across the river. Having reached the opposite bank, knowing that they were going to travel in a waterless land, each drank abundantly, and then they set out on their road. After five nights of travel, for it was too hot to journey by day, they looked round suddenly, and found that their master had overtaken them, and that he and a companion were pursuing them with drawn swords in their hands. Looking about them quickly, Mark and the woman spied a cave which, though full of snakes and scorpions, they entered and there they awaited their enraged master. Now in the facts here given there is abundant proof that the writer of the narrative describes the Mesopotamian desert from knowledge at first hand. The portion of the country referred to is that which lies between Urfa and the Sinjâr Mountains, where huge numbers of sheep are watched by shepherds, who live there for months at a time without returning to their homes, and who remain unvisited by their masters for months. It is quite easy for a shepherd to escape if he wishes to do so, but if he does, his experiences are usually not pleasant ones. The cave in which our monk and his companion hid themselves is well described, and I have seen numbers of such places in my journeys across the Mesopotamian desert between Urfa and Nisibin (Nisibis), and from one near the ruins called "Wiranshihr", in which we intended to pass the night in January 1889, we were driven out by the numbers of scorpions which came up out of the ground soon after we had lighted our fire. The most lifelike touch of all in the story is the statement

that Mark and the woman had to travel by night because of the heat of the sun in the day, and everyone who knows that desert will remember that from the end of June to September no man crosses it except by night. Had the monk been an Arab he would have escaped, for he would have known how to guide himself by the stars, and he would not have been caught, seeing that he had a start of five days; but having been brought up in a monastery, he had no experience of the desert, and his five nights' travel did not take him far in a forward direction. The whole story breathes of the desert, and none but a man having experience of the particular part of the Mesopotamian desert at first hand could have written it.

We may now consider briefly another important characteristic of the Book of Paradise, which goes far to establish its genuineness, namely, the fact that it is no mere one-sided description of the lives of the ascetics of Egypt, written with the view of depicting their virtues only, but a trustworthy account in which the writer describes their weaknesses as well as their strength, and their sinful backslidings as well as their holiness. Indeed Palladius says (p. 194), "It is very "necessary, O my brethren, that we should also keep "in memory the histories which concern the life and "deeds of those who have tripped up and fallen as an "excellent admonition of those who come across this "book", and he goes on to point out that on several occasions it is the very excellence of a man, provided it was not "made perfect by means of a correct motive," which has brought about his undoing. As a proof of this the following instances may be quoted:—Valens the Palestinian became so haughty that even the devils

laughed at him (p. 196). One night Satan came to him in the form of Christ, and told him that he loved his life and deeds, and Valens was mad enough to believe him, and he fell down and worshipped him. Next day Valens went down to the church and told the brethren that he had no need to partake of the Offering, "for", said he, "I have seen Christ Himself." The fathers promptly put him in irons, and after a year of this treatment he recovered, and became humble.

Similarly, Hero, the Alexandrian, became puffed up with pride, and refused to acknowledge the authority of Evagrius, supporting his rebellion by the words of the Gospel, "Ye shall call no man master on the earth." He likewise refused to partake of the Offering, and, like Valens, was put in irons. Palladius himself explains the reason for this behaviour on the part of Hero, for he says that he ate too little, and that his life was "immeasurably strict." He only ate a meal once in three months, maintaining that the "participation in the "Mysteries" was sufficient to keep him alive. If, however, he came upon "wild herbs" by chance he would eat them (p. 198). On one occasion he walked to Scete a distance of forty miles, and neither ate nor drank by the way, but as he trudged along he recited from memory fifteen Psalms, the Beatitudes, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Gospel of Saint Luke, the Book of Proverbs, the Book of Isaiah, and a portion of the Book of Jeremiah. Finally, however, lust overcame him, and he betook himself to Alexandria, where he went to theatres and circuses, and passed the rest of his time in the common drinking rooms of the taverns, and in the houses of harlots. At length he fell sick

of a loathsome disease which necessitated the performance of a serious operation, and having lost his manhood he returned to the desert, and confessed his sins to the fathers; and after a short time, which he passed in weeping and repentance, he died. Ptolemy the Egyptian, who lived in an awful place in the desert called "Klimax" (*i. e.*, the Ladder), which was twelve miles distant from water, wrought good deeds for a period of fifteen years, but afterwards he lost faith in the Offering, and gave himself up to a life of riotous prodigality, and no man ever heard him utter a profitable word afterwards.

Stephânâ also, who lived in the desert for twenty-nine years, was so much accustomed to fast, that he lost all desire and appetite for meat, and he despised those who, even when they were sick, ate cooked food or drank cream (milk?). He had the gift of healing, and could cast out devils, but at length he resented the authority of Macarius, and betook himself to Alexandria, where he gave himself up to gluttony and drunkenness; he frequented low taverns, and consorted with harlots, and "gratified his lusts in a filthy manner "without shame" (p. 401). One day when Evagrius and Palladius were in Alexandria they met him, and tried to induce him to return to his former life, but he spurned and reviled them, and said, "Up to the "present I have certainly been wandering [in the path "of error], but now I have found the path of truth." Finally he induced a needy virgin to come and live with him in his desert abode, and he passed two years with her in sin. One night certain thieves broke into his house, and, having bound him with cords, they beat him severely until he revealed to them where his

possessions were hidden; and when they had taken these, they took Stephânâ, and the woman, whom they had also bound, and, having shut them up in a chamber wherein there was straw, they set the house on fire, and they were burned to death (see page 400).

The case of Eucarpus (see page 406) is as sad as that of Valens. For fifteen years he lived a severe ascetic life, and he spoke to no man during this period; his food consisted of vegetables and pounded garden herbs, and his labours were infinite. One night the Devil appeared to him in the form of an angel of light, and said, "I am Christ"; Eucarpus believed and worshipped. Then the Devil began to flatter him, and he did so with such success, that Eucarpus went down to the church and insulted a brother called John, and told the brethren that during the past night Christ had visited him, and had made him governor of Scete, and had told him to pay no heed to the writings of Evagrius, or to the words of John. Eucarpus then began to revile Macarius, whom he called a "painted idol", and Evagrius he spoke of with contempt as a mere "hewer of words". The brethren quickly saw that Eucarpus was mad, and put him in irons for nearly a year, but he seems never to have regained his former powers, and he died after a period of thirteen months, which were spent in ministering to the sick, and washing the feet of strangers.

The above instances only illustrate the collapse of the material body, which must certainly follow after a long course of systematic starvation, and it is doubtful how far Valens and the other backsliders are to be held responsible even for their lapses into gluttony, drunkenness, and fornication. There are, however,

many incidents described by Palladius which prove that he had no wish to let his friend Lausus think that the monks and nuns were not sometimes swayed by the passions and weaknesses of the men and women who lived in the world. Thus on p. 218 we have the story of the nun who drowned herself because she could not endure the false accusations which had been set on foot against her by a malicious sister in the convent; the case must have been a serious one, for the elder who was in charge of the nuns deprived those who had believed the story against the nun of the privilege of partaking of the Eucharist. We have also the narrative of the godly nun who was so much despised by her sisters that they would not allow her to eat at the same table with them, and she did so much menial work that Palladius describes her as the "broom of the monastery." Subsequently, when the sisters ceased to throw the rinsings of their cups over her, and treated her with respect, she was unable to endure the change, and she departed, and was never heard of again.

In dealing with the Book of Paradise several critics have condemned Palladius for his credulity in respect of miracles, but this is an unfair thing to do, because, after all, he only reproduces in his work the current opinion of the times in which he lived. Besides this, Egypt was the home of magic and of beliefs in the efficacy of words of power, symbols, names, and amulets, and there is abundant evidence to show that for centuries after the introduction of Christianity into that country, the people clung to and believed in the greater number of the "superstitions" of Pre-Christian times. The monks, in common with people living in

the world, believed that if they were sufficiently holy, they could work miracles, either by making use of the sign of the Cross, or of the Name of Christ Jesus, and they thought that they had power, like the Apostles, to heal the sick and to cast out devils. The Devil and his hosts were veritable beings in the minds of the Egyptians, and their attacks could only be warded off by supernatural means. When a devil took up his abode in a man or woman he could only be expelled by the mention of a being more powerful than he, and, as all sicknesses were believed to be caused by the direct, personal attacks of fiends of divers kinds, the cure of the sufferer followed automatically on the expulsion of the evil spirit which had vexed him.

An ancient Egyptian legend tells us that the daughter of the king of Bekhten was possessed of a devil, and that her father sent to Egypt and asked the king to send him a "man of knowledge" who would drive him out. The king did so, but when the skilled envoy arrived he was unable to perform the task which had been set him. Thereupon the king of Bekhten sent to Egypt again, and begged for more powerful help, and this time Pharaoh asked the god Khonsu Nefer-ḥetep if he would go to Bekhten, and cure the princess; the god consented, and his statue was sent off in great state to that remote country, where he arrived after a journey of seventeen months. As soon as he arrived, and the princess had come into his presence, she experienced relief, and the devil which had vexed her came out from her, and made his submission to the god of Egypt, and acknowledged his great power. Khonsu was pleased to be gracious to the devil, who, having passed some time in friendly

talk with the god, was permitted to depart to his own place. Before he departed, however, he besought Khonsu to allow him to keep a feast with the king of Bekhten, and the god of Egypt allowed him to do so.[1] Whatever may be thought as to the credibility of the story, it proves that the ideas concerning demoniacal possession which were current in Egypt when Palladius was there were derived from the Egyptians of the dynastic period, who in turn inherited many of them from their ancestors who lived in the latter part of the Neolithic Age.

In Christian times, however, we find that Christ, and His Name, and the sign of the Cross were the Powers that worked miraculous healings, but the greatest of the monks believed that the influence of these, together with their healing and saving might, could be transferred to their own persons, provided they lived lives of stern self-denial and were sufficiently holy. To obtain personal holiness they fasted, and prayed, and mortified the flesh in every possible way, and with each advance in the conquest of carnal thoughts and desires, they felt that they had obtained additional powers to heal the sick, to cast out devils, to foretell events that were going to happen, to walk upon the water, to subdue savage animals, to arrest the sun in his course, and to raise the dead. The workers of religious magic among the Pre-Christian Egyptians claimed to be able to do all these things, the Gospels and the Acts declare that Christ and His Apostles also performed them, and it

[1] The Egyptian text will be found in Prisse d'Avennes, *Monuments Égyptiens*, plate 24, and a rendering will be found in my *Egyptian Reading Book*, page XXVIII ff.

followed as a matter of course that the monks of Egypt, who imitated with marvellous success the life and deeds of the Master, should also believe that they possessed supernatural powers. To condemn the Book of Paradise as a fabrication and as a collection of unauthentic histories, because it reflects the ideas and beliefs concerning supernatural powers which were current in his day, seems to me to be unjust towards Palladius in the extreme. In reality the belief of the monks in this respect is a simple one, for they argued that if Christ were the supreme God in human form, and He had cast out devils, and healed the sick, and raised the dead, He had it in His gift to transfer these powers to His followers, provided that their lives were sufficiently holy and they had unwavering faith in His ability to do so; the Apostles had these powers given to them by Him, why should not they have the same?

An interesting light is thrown upon the matter by the story of Abbâ Paul and Anthony (p. 187). The people brought to the latter a man possessed of a fierce devil, who was a prince among devils, and asked the holy man to cast him out, but Anthony declined to attempt to do so, saying that he had no power over that class of devil, and he took him to Paul. Paul then rose up and "prayed a prayer with great "feeling," and ordered the devil to come out in the name of Anthony, but he refused, and began to revile the old man. Thereupon Paul smote him with his cowl, and again adjured him to go forth in the name of Anthony, and when the devil again refused with curses and swearings, Paul said, "Wilt thou go forth, "or must I go and tell Christ, even Jesus? For if thou "wilt not go forth I will go and tell Christ, and great

"woe shall come upon thee." The devil once more refused, and then, although it was noon, and the heat of the sun was as that of the fiery furnace into which the Three Children were cast in Babylon, Paul took his stand upon a stone in the mid-day heat, and calling upon Christ declared that he would not come down, and would neither eat nor drink until the devil had been cast out. And whilst he was yet speaking, the devil came out, and having been ordered by Paul to depart to the "uttermost depths of the abyss", he transformed himself into a serpent seventy cubits long, and glided away to the Red Sea. In this story we see that the holy life and name of Anthony failed to expel the devil, and that he was only driven out of the man by a direct appeal to Christ, supported by physical suffering on the part of Paul, coupled with an earnest and fervent vow of devotion even unto death. The presence of the serpent seventy cubits (*i. e.*, about one hundred feet) long is hard to account for, but it is quite clear that we have here a reminiscence of Āpep, the great mythological serpent of ancient Egypt, which was the symbol of physical evil and the personification of moral wickedness. The devil which was cast out had to be provided with an abode, otherwise he would lie in wait and enter into another man as soon as the opportunity presented itself; to avoid this result the snake appeared, by miraculous means we probably are to understand, and received the devil.

That men and women could be transformed into beasts and other creatures was a belief which formed an integral part of the religion of ancient Egypt we know from the Book of the Dead, which provided the worshipper of Osiris with the words of power necessary

to enable him to effect his transformations into any forms he pleased, and especially into those of the golden hawk, the divine hawk, the governor of the Powers, the god of light, the lotus, the god Ptaḥ, the Bennu bird (phoenix), the heron, the living soul, the swallow, the serpent Sata, and the crocodile.[1] Whether Palladius believed that the devil whom Paul cast out transformed himself into a serpent is not clear, but he relates a story which illustrates the belief in transformation in an interesting manner. A certain man's wife who refused to yield herself to another man was transformed by sorceries into a mare, and her husband was greatly distressed (p. 168); for three days she neither ate grass like an animal, nor bread like a daughter of men. Then her husband saddled her like a mare, and threw a halter over her, and led her into the desert that he might bring her to Macarius the monk. When the companions of Macarius saw her they told him she was a mare, but as soon as Macarius had looked on her he declared that the appearance of the woman in the form of a mare was only "an error "of the sight" of those who saw her. Then taking water he blessed it, and threw it over her until it ran down over all her body, and when he had prayed the woman assumed her natural form in the sight of every man.

In connexion with the working of miracles must be mentioned the marvellous powers which were attributed to Abbâ Apollo, who lived near Hermopolis. One day when he was passing a certain village he saw the inhabitants celebrating a heathen festival with

[1] See *Book of the Dead*, Chapters LXXVI-LXXXVIII.

singing, and dancing, and lewd sports, and bending his knees where he was, he prayed to Christ, and cast so mighty a spell upon all the people there that they felt as if they were bound with cords; they were unable to move for a whole day, and as they lay under the fierce rays of the sun they suffered greatly. The heathen priests brought oxen to move their idol, but the beasts became transfixed like the idol (p. 528), and it was only when Abbâ Apollo prayed on behalf of the people that the spell was removed. On another occasion, when Apollo and his companions had nothing wherewith to keep the Easter festival except some dry bread and pickled vegetables, the holy man prayed, and forthwith men appeared outside the cave bearing grapes, figs, pomegranates, nuts and almonds, which at that period did not exist [in Egypt], honey in the comb, butter, large dates, and ten loaves of bread which were still warm from the oven (p. 531). During a period of famine, when only three baskets of bread remained to the monks, Apollo prayed, and they were kept full of bread by miraculous means for four months. And when Satan asked him if he were a second Elijah, or one of the Apostles, Apollo answered, "Why should "I not act thus? Were not the holy Prophets and the "blessed Apostles men? Have they not handed down "to us the traditions that they used to do such things? "Is our Lord nigh unto them at one time, and remote "at another?" Thus it is clear that Apollo believed that he possessed the same power as the Prophets and Apostles, and that he had obtained it from God.

The histories given by Palladius prove also that the monks of Egypt were believed to have dominion over the beasts of the field, and many interesting

instances of this might be adduced; it will, however, be sufficient to refer to Abbâ Apellen, who commanded a goat to come and carry him, and the creature did so (p. 541). On another occasion when he wished to cross the Nile, he seated himself on the back of a crocodile, and so passed over to the other side. When Apellen had finished his business, he returned to the river and called the crocodile to him (p. 542), and when it had come to the bank, it placed its back in position for the holy man to mount, and carried him in safety to the place he had started from. The brother whom Apellen had invited to cross with him was afraid of the crocodile, and returned to his place. It is sad to learn that after the crocodile had rendered Apellen such excellent service the saint saw fit to slay the animal, saying, "Death is better for thee than the "punishment [which thou shouldst receive] for the souls "which thou hast already slain, and wouldst slay." More picturesque, however, is the story of the two lions who came and helped Anthony to bury Abbâ Paul. Whilst the holy man was in despair as to the means he should employ in digging a grave, for he had no spade with him, two lions came and, wagging their tails, crouched at his feet; and they rubbed their teeth together and purred loudly. Presently they began to throw up the earth with their paws, and at length a hole was made long enough and deep enough to contain the body of Paul; when this was done they dropped their ears and tails, and bowed their heads, and licked Anthony's hands and feet by way of asking for his blessing, then Anthony stroked the lions and bade them depart, and when they had gone he buried Paul in the hole they had made. Whatever may be the

substratum of fact which underlies this story, it is quite certain that wild creatures of all sorts have made friends with the recluses who have lived among them in all times and in all countries.

When we consider how minute are the descriptions given us of the holy men and of their manner of life in the Book of Paradise, it is somewhat surprising to find how little we are told about the ancient buildings of Egypt with which the writers must have been very familiar. The writer of the life of Apollo mentions that he visited the monks in Babylon, *i. e.*, Old Cairo, and Memphis, and that he saw the "granaries of Joseph "wherein he collected grain in the time of trouble" (p. 582); these "granaries" can have been nothing but the Pyramids of Gîzeh. Speaking of Hermopolis as the dwelling-place of Abbâ Apollo, the narrator says that Christ went there with Mary and Joseph (p. 520), and that he saw the temple wherein all the idols fell down "when our Redeemer went into that city." Here there appears to be some confusion, and I suspect that Hermopolis has been confounded with Heliopolis in the mind of the writer. There are, however, several traditions of what happened at Al-Ashmûnên near Hermopolis, as, for example, that a cock and five dromedaries went out from the town, and that when they saw the Holy Family they worshipped, and were turned into stone, and that near a temple in the neighbourhood of Ashmûnên stood a tree which bowed its head in adoration when Christ and Mary passed by. In the history of Abbâ Apollo we meet with some interesting speculation on the worship of idols, animals, &c., by the ancient Egyptians, and the holy man says, "These "heathen, and the early inhabitants of the country

"worshipped the bull because he was useful in plough-
"ing the ground wherefrom they obtained their food,
"and they worshipped the waters of the Nile which
"irrigated their whole country, and also the earth itself,
"which yielded to them excellent crops, and which is
"far more excellent than the soil of other countries."
Speaking generally, this account of the origin of the worship of the bull and of Osiris (water) and of Isis (earth) is true, and it shews that Apollo was a man who thought about matters other than the ascetic life.

It now remains to consider very briefly the manner of life which the monks led in the deserts of Egypt. The first duty of the would-be ascetic was to separate himself from the companionship of men, and to betake himself to some part of the desert where he could live a solitary life in meditation and contemplation. Anthony, the pattern monk, began his career by departing to a mountain at no great distance from his native village, where he strove to copy the life and deeds of Elijah the Prophet and of John the Baptist. He toiled all day at the plaiting of palm leaves into mats and baskets, and from the proceeds of the sale of these he paid for his food, and what remained he gave to the poor. As he plaited he prayed, and he practised the strictest self-denial, and fasted often; he offended no man, and strove to do good to all. At this time the thoughts of lust moved in him, and the Devil appeared to him in the form of a woman, with the view of compassing his fall, but the attack was repulsed, for the holy man watched all night in prayer, and passed three or four days, and, it is said, even whole weeks at a time, without eating. He ate bread and salt, and drank water; meat and wine he eschewed.

Usually he slept on the bare ground, but sometimes he used a mat; he neither washed nor anointed his limbs with oil, for he said that both these things made the members of the body effeminate. Anthony next moved to a tomb, where the devils came upon him in a host and beat him severely, and subsequently they appeared to him in the forms of serpents, wolves, scorpions, lions, and other beasts, but failed to terrify him, or to make him change his manner of life. After these things Anthony left the tomb, and set out for the desert, where he intended to live henceforward; on his way he was tempted by the Devil, who offered him a silver tablet, and much gold, and at length he came to a mountain which was infested by serpents. There was a stream of water in the mountain, and near this he took up his abode; as for bread, he received a supply once every six months. Here he became the victim of untold assaults of Satan and his hosts, and the men who went to visit Anthony could hear him doing battle with them inside the cave in the rock in which he lived. The fiends came by night with torches, and threatened to burn him alive, they clapped their hands at him and whistled, they danced before him in various shapes, and one day they pulled his hut about his ears; but the saint was in no way disturbed by these things. At this time he wore an undressed skin garment, with the hair inside.

When Anthony had led the life described above for several years, he obtained the power to heal the sick and to work miracles; he cured Parnîṭôn of a disease in the eyes, he restored the sight of a virgin of Bûṣâr (Busiris?), he healed a woman of a disease which had lasted twelve years, he foretold events

which were about to happen, he was able to see a disembodied soul making its way to heaven, he crossed the Lycus river without wetting his feet, he restored the nun Polycratia to health, and he could "transform" his mind, and lift it up to the heavens. Philosophers and others came from far and near to him, and to each and all he returned gracious answers couched in simple words. He knew no language but Egyptian, and when the Emperor Constantine and his sons wrote letters to him, he found the task of replying a laborious one.

It is easy to see from the above extracts that the life of Anthony was one of great simplicity, and that although it lacked many of the ultra-ascetic practices which characterized the monks of later times, it was the example which every monk kept before his eyes. It is doubtful if many of the recluses possessed the even mind and temperament of Anthony, and very few of them could have been endowed with such an amount of natural ability and ready wit. On the other hand, many of his followers surpassed him in the strenuousness of their practices, as a mere glance at the histories of Palladius will show. Thus Macarius of Alexandria, wishing to vanquish sleep, never went under a roof for twenty days (p. 173), and was without rest, both by day and by night. During the forty days of Lent the same saint stood in a corner of a hut, and he touched neither bread nor water, nor bent the knee, nor lay down until the forty days had passed; each Sunday, however, he ate a few moist cabbage leaves so that people might think he was taking some food (p. 177). When evil thoughts arose in his mind he would fill a basket with two or three bushels of sand,

and wander about in the desert until he was exhausted (p. 179); Hero the Alexandrian only ate food once every three months (p. 198); Evagrius lived on one pound of bread a day, and a flask of oil which lasted three months, and on two occasions he stood up naked in the open desert in winter for forty days at a time (p. 343); Eustathius for twenty-five years never left the mountain in which he lived (p. 283); Possidonius never ate bread for forty years (p. 263); and for forty-eight years John of Lycus never saw a woman's face (p. 261). The above examples might be increased very largely, but sufficient has been said to illustrate the sternness of the lives of the Christian monks of Egypt.

In perusing the histories recorded by Palladius, Hieronymus and others in the following pages, the reader can hardly fail to note the extreme impartiality which the writers display in dealing with the various ascetics whose lives they describe. We find none of the high-sounding epithets and flattering encomiums which are characteristic of later compositions of the same class, but the facts of each life are set down with almost mechanical monotony, and any opinion which is passed by the writer of the history is given in as few words as possible, and in an, apparently, unfeeling manner. Most of the lives form magnificent examples of devotion to the loftiest ideal, of self-abnegation, and of a daily dying of the natural emotions, of the mind, and of the passions, and instincts, and thoughts, to which the death of the mere physical body must have seemed a relief and rest. And when we consider that many of the ascetics mentioned in this book rejected worldly possessions and positions in order to embrace a life in which self-denial and patient

endurance of the most abject poverty formed the leading characteristics, it is impossible not to feel that the study of the Christian ascetics of Egypt as presented to us by Palladius well describes one of the most interesting phases of religious life and thought that the world has ever seen. Palladius has, in my opinion, treated his subject sympathetically and carefully, and though his work contains many difficulties, and lacks the chronological data which we now look for in compilations of the kind, there seems to me to be no reason for doubting the general accuracy of the statements which he makes from his personal knowledge. Moreover, before the critic makes haste to condemn the Book of Paradise as an unveracious history, he must take care to separate the mistakes made by Palladius from those made by his editors in ancient days, and to eliminate interpolated words, and all passages which have been added to it by ignorant though well-meaning scribes and copyists.

ʿANÂN-ÎSHÔʿ'S RECENSION OF THE "BOOK OF PARADISE" ACCORDING TO LADY MEUX MANUSCRIPT No. 6.

In the PREFACE to this edition of the "Book of Paradise" reference has already been made to the description of that work as given in the "BOOK OF GOVERNORS" by THOMAS Bishop of Margâ, about B. C. 840, who felt that it was "not right that the glorious "memory of the holy Abbâ Anân-Îshôʿ should drop "out from our mind, or that we should suppress the "mention of his indefatigable zeal, but that, on the "contrary, we should place his noble acts among [those "of] his companions, for happiness at the right hand "of our Lord Christ is [also] laid up for him with them." (Book ii. Chapter XI.) Thomas of Margâ wrote his account of ʿAnân-Îshôʿ's Recension of the Book of Paradise about two hundred years after that work was completed, but as Thomas was a monk in the Monastery of Bêth ʿÂbhê, wherein ʿAnân-Îshôʿ had also lived and toiled at his great literary labours, and as he shows perfect familiarity with the histories given in the Book of Paradise, it is not unreasonable to assume that he had access to a copy of ʿAnân-Îshôʿ's Recension, which may well have been written whilst this famous man was still living, or soon after his death. We know that the Monastery of Bêth ʿÂbhê possessed a fine library, and that it contained copies

of the works of the most famous literary monks of that venerable house is tolerably certain. We may, then, first give the principal details of ʿAnân-Îshôʿ's life, and a translation of Thomas of Margâ's description of the contents of the Book of Paradise, and afterwards compare it with Lady Meux Manuscript No. 6.

Of ʿAnân-Îshôʿ himself Thomas says:—"Now this "blessed man ʿAnân-Îshôʿ and Îshôʿ-yahbh his brother "came from the country of Adiabene; they were both "trained in doctrine in the city of Nisibis, being children "of the school and love and household of the blessed "Îshôʿ-yahbh [of Adiabene]. They became disciples in "the Great Monastery [of Îzlâ], as the books which "belong to them in the library of this monastery testify, "for they shew that they were written by their hands "there. Now Abbâ Anân-Îshôʿ having lived the life "of an ascetic with all excellence, and having his mind "constantly fixed upon the works of the ascetic fathers, "determined to go and worship in Jerusalem. And "from there he went to the desert of Scete, where he "learned concerning all the manner of the lives of the "ascetic fathers; whose histories and questions are "written in books, and concerning their dwellings, and "the places in which they lived. And when he turned "to come back he made his journey by way of the "[monastery of the] holy Mâr John, Bishop of the Scat- "tered, of whom I have made mention a little way "back, that he might be blessed by his holiness, and "enjoy his conversation. And after he had come "to his own monastery, he took his brother, and they "came to his monastery [of Bêth ʿÂbhê] by reason of "the annoyance and contention which had taken place "there, for certain men who were slanderers, and who

"set themselves against holy men, had risen up there, "and they drove out the holy Rabban Narsai, the dis- "ciple of Mâr Babhai, who finally became head of the "monastery and was renowned for a life of excellence. ". . . . . Now when they came to his monastery, and "dwelt in silence according to the rule of ascetics, "Rabban ʿAnân-Îshôʿ the wise of understanding laboured "so hard in the study of books, that he surpassed all "who were before and after him in his knowledge. "And when Mâr Îshôʿ-yahbh was Metropolitan of Arbêl "(Arbela), and wished to draw up in order a book of "the Canons that he might send copies of it to all the "countries of his patriarchate, he made the wise Abbâ "ʿAnân-Îshôʿ, the love of whom is very dear and sweet "to me, to sit with him during the drawing up of the "Canons, because of the institutes and rules which he "had composed, and because he found that he alone "possessed in a sufficient measure a clear mind, and a "natural talent for the art of music, and a knowledge "how to arrange words. . . . . And the noble ʿAnân-Îshôʿ "composed definitions and divisions of various things, "which were written upon the walls of his cell. And "when his brother Mâr Îshôʿ-yahbh came to pray in "this monastery, and saw the divisions of the science "of philosophy of his brother ʿAnân-Îshôʿ, he begged "him to write a commentary on them for him, and to "send it to him, which ʿAnân-Îshô actually did. And "he wrote to him a clear exposition in many lines, "from which will be apparent to every one who readeth "therein the greatness of his wisdom: . . . . . he also "wrote a work on the correct pronunciation of the "words and of the difficult words which are used with "different significations in the writings of the Fathers,

"which exists among the books in the library of this "convent, and which surpasses all other collations in "its accuracy. And according to what I have learned "concerning these his [books] from the aged Elders, "they were completed and given to us by him."[1]

Of the compilation of the Book which was called 'Paradise' Thomas says:[2]—

"Now this Abbâ ʿAnân-ʿÎshôʿ (may his memory be "for all blessings!), who was "mentioned a little way back, "was a contemporary of "both these Patriarchs who "were anointed with oil, and "to both he shewed his "obedience; to Mâr Îshôʿ-"yahbh in arranging the "Canons of the Ḥûdhrâ,[3] "and to Mâr George in "arranging the Book of the "Fathers, which work he "undertook to do. And hav-"ing asked for the prayers "of Mâr Catholicus, and of "the holy old men of his con-"gregation, he began and "finished the command "wherewith he had been "commanded. And with an

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[1] See my *Book of Governors*, vol. ii. p. 174ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 189.
[3] *I. e.*, the service book for the whole year.

"enlightened mind, and a "wise understanding—espe- "cially as the Spirit had ma- "nifested in him the efficacy "of His gifts,—he arranged "and fitted together[1] in "smooth order six hundred "and fifteen chapters (ڕڵ), "in fourteen Canons and "Sections, [with] each chap- "ter a question having direct "reference to (*or*, giving in- "formation concerning) the "subject matter of the chap- "ter which preceded it, so "that if a brother was la- "bouring (*or*, was worked "upon) in any [spiritual] "warfare whatsoever, and "he wished to pluck con- "solation or to take counsel "on the matter which was "troubling him, he might "find it close at hand (*or*, "readily); and the counsels "were arranged and clas- "sified according to the sub- "ject matter, so that he "might very quickly be con-

ܒܬܒܬ ܕܒܚܟܡܬ ܘܒܨ : ܒܬܒ
ܡܒܠܟ ܕܡܫܬܕܪ ܒܗ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ
ܟܝ. ܡܦܩܕ ܡܠܝܟ ܟܠ ܫܥܬ
ܫܡܫܐ ܕܒܪܝܪ ܒܫܒܪ ܡܦܬܚ
ܫܒܥ : ܫܠܡ ܒܝ ܒܟ ܘܝ
ܕܡܫ ܡܢ ܒܗ ܫܐܠ ܡܫܬܟܚ
ܡܫܬܥܝ : ܒܡܫ ܒܟ
ܡܫܒܚܐܕܡ ܕܒܕܒܐܕܡ
ܫܐܒܬ ܡܟܡܒ : ܕܟ ܟܒ
ܡܐܐ : ܐܡ ܟܕܡ ܒܟ :
ܕܟܒ ܟܡܫ ܡܒܐ.
ܒܡ ܟܟ ܒܐܕܒ ܒ
ܫܫܒ ܒ ܘܝ : ܡܒ
ܠܒܫ ܐ ܡ
ܒܠ ܟܒ ܟ:
ܫܒ ܒ : ܒ
ܫ ܒ ܡ ܟ

[1] Literally, "he arranged (*or*, grouped) together the 'chap- "ters' which referred to the same subject"

"soled in his tribulation, and "find relief, and might also "lay a soothing plaster on "the wound which was caus- "ing him pain; [and besides "these, *i. e.*, the six hundred "and fifteen chapters,] there "were four hundred and "thirty others, which would "give a man information in "general upon all kinds of "spiritual excellence, and "there were many others "which he did not arrange "in numerical order, and "which he did not group "or classify. And he took "from the Commentary on "the blessed Matthew the "Evangelist the Discourse "which was composed by "Mâr John [Chrysostom] on "the praises of the monks "who were in Egypt, and "the Questions of the blessed "Mâr Abraham of Neph- "thar, and demonstrations "and other histories which "he himself had collected "from the writings of the "Fathers. And he arranged "the whole book in two "sections; in the first portion

ܡܟܣܐ ܕܠܒܐ ܡܚܕܐ ܀ ܐܝ ܡܢ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܐܬܪ ܀ ܘܡܚܒܪ ܡܟܝܟܐ ܠܟ ܡܣܟܐ ܒܟ ܡܣܟܐ ܕܒܥܐ. ܐܦܣܩܢܐ ܐܟܝܡ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܫܒܥ ܡܐܐ ܘܚܡܫܝܢ ܘܬܪܬܝܢ ܀ ܕܢܬܠ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܟܠ ܣܓܝ ܕܪܘܚܢܝܘܬܐ ܀ ܘܣܓܝ ܐܚܪܢ ܕܠܐ ܣܕܪ ܒܣܕܪ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܐܘ ܒܣܕܪ ܡܢܝܢ ܀ ܘܐܟ ܕܠܐ ܟܢܫ ܐܘ ܦܠܓ. ܘܐܚܕ ܡܢ ܦܘܣܩܐ ܕܦܫܩܢ ܒܫܘܡܥܗ ܕܡܪ ܡܬܝ ܐܘܢܓܠܝܣܛܐ ܕܐܬܚܒܪ ܒܫܘܡܥ ܡܐܡܪܐ ܕܐܬܟܬܒ ܥܠ ܡܪ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܀ ܥܠ ܫܒܚܐ ܕܢܣܟܐ ܕܐܬܘ ܒܡܨܪܝܢ ܘܫܐܠܬܐ ܕܡܪ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܕܢܦܬܪ ܀ ܘܡܐܡܪܐ ܘܫܪܒܐ ܘܫܐܪ ܣܦܪܐ ܕܟܬܒ ܒܟܠܗ ܀ ܘܣܕܪ ܠܗ ܠܟܬܒܐ ܗܢܐ ܒܬܪܬܝܢ ܦܨܐ ܀ ܒܩܕܡܝܬܐ

"were the histories of the "holy Fathers, which were "composed by Palladius and "Hieronymus, and in the "second portion the quest-"ions and the narratives (*or*, "matters) of the Fathers "which he had arranged and "classified. And he called "this Book 'PARADISE', and "thus hath it been handed "down and accepted in all "the Monasteries of the East, "and the Fathers in every "place have praised his "ability and applauded his "work. And being inflamed "by love for him I have "written down his honour-"able memorial among the "histories of the holy men "who were his companions "in his work and congre-"gation."

ܕܗܝܢ ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܕ
ܐܒ̈ܗ̈ܬܐ ܩ̈ܕܝ̈ܫܐ ܕܐܬܟ̈ܬܒܘ ܒ̈ܝܕ
ܦܠܐܕܝܘܣ ܘܗܝܪ̈ܘܢܝܡܘܣ ܘܒ̈ܬܪ̈ܝܬܐ
ܕܬ̈ܪ̈ܝܢ ܫ̈ܐܠ̈ܬ̈ܐ ܘܣ̈ܝ̈ܦ̈ܘܪ̈ܐ ܕ
ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̈ܬܐ ܕ̈ܐܬܟ̈ܬܒ ܒ̈ܗ ܩ̈ܕܡ ܗ̈ܘ
ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̈ܬܐ ܟ̈ܕ ܣ̈ܕܪ̈ ܘ̈ܦ̈ܪ̈ܫ̈ ܗ̈ܘ.
ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̈ܬܐ ܗ̈ܢ ܣ̈ܦ̈ܪ̈ ܩ̈ܕ̈ܝ̈ܫ̈ ܗ̈ܘ
ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̈ܬܐ ܕ̈ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̈ܬ̈ ܩ̈ܕ̈ܝ̈ܫ̈ ܗ̈ܘ.
ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̈ܬܐ ܕ̈ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̈ܬ̈ ܩ̈ܕ̈ܝ̈ܫ̈ ܗ̈ܘ:
ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̈ܬܐ ܕ̈ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̈ܬ̈ ܩ̈ܕ̈ܝ̈ܫ̈ ܗ̈ܘ.
ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̈ܬܐ ܕ̈ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̈ܬ̈ ܩ̈ܕ̈ܝ̈ܫ̈ ܗ̈ܘ:
ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̈ܬܐ ܕ̈ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̈ܬ̈ ܩ̈ܕ̈ܝ̈ܫ̈ ܗ̈ܘ:
ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̈ܬܐ ܕ̈ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̈ܬ̈ ܩ̈ܕ̈ܝ̈ܫ̈ ܗ̈ܘ:
ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̈ܬܐ ܕ̈ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̈ܬ̈ ܩ̈ܕ̈ܝ̈ܫ̈ ܗ̈ܘ ❖

Now, taking the text as it stands, we see that the Recension of the Book of Paradise made by ʿAnân-Îshoʿ contained two parts; in the first were the histories of the Fathers by Palladius and Jerome, and in the second were 615 "Chapters", divided into 14 sections, and 430 other "Chapters" duly numbered, and many other "Chapters" neither numbered nor arranged, which ʿAnân-Îshoʿ had himself collected during the course of his reading. In the edition of Thomas of Margâ's Book

of Governors which I published in 1893, I translated his description of the contents of the second volume of the Book of Paradise thus (vol. ii. p. 190):—"He "arranged and fitted together in smooth order, six "hundred chapters, [divided] into fifteen Canons, each "containing forty sections," that is to say I made out that the first part of the second volume of ʿAnân-Îshôʿs Recension contained a collection of "Chapters" which differed both in number and in division into sections from the arrangement of the "Chapters" in Lady Meux Manuscript No. 6. The use of the word "Chapters" (ܦܨ̈ܩܐ) was puzzling, for the words six hundred "Chapters" suggested a very large work indeed, and if to these were added the other four hundred and thirty "Chapters" that were numbered, and the miscellaneous unnumbered "Chapters" mentioned by Thomas of Margâ, it seemed that ʿAnân-Îshôʿ's Recension must have filled several large volumes. It is, however, clear that Thomas does not use the word "Chapter" here in the ordinary way, and a persual of the second half of ʿAnân-Îshôʿ's Recension shows that in literature of this kind it denotes either a "Saying" of an ascetic, or a narrative of some act in his life, or a question and answer which have reference to the Fathers and to spiritual excellence. In fact, as Dom CUTHBERT BUTLER has very rightly pointed out the word ܦܨ̈ܩܐ which Assemânî translated "Capitulum", and I "Chapters", means "Apophthegmata", for "what "ʿAnân-Îshôʿ did was to rearrange the 'Conversations of "the Elders'" (BUTLER, *Lausiac History*, p. 92, note 12). This conclusion simplified the matter a little, for it made it certain that the "Chapters" mentioned by Thomas of Margâ, and the "Sayings of the Fathers," whether each contained five or fifty lines of text,

were one and the same thing, and all that remained to be done was to try and harmonize the number of the "Chapters" or "Sayings", and the number of the sections. With the view of doing this I counted the "Sayings" in the manuscript and found that the first section contained 62 "Sayings", the second 41, the third 31, the fourth 22, the fifth 24, the sixth 53, the seventh 11, the eighth 40, the ninth 50, the tenth 112, the eleventh 39, the twelfth 13, the thirteenth 13, the fourteenth about 516, and the fifteenth 63. Many of the "Sayings" contain more than one "Saying", *e. g.*, that which is attributed to Abbâ Moses consists of *seven* distinct Apophthegmata (see Page 849, No. 117), and it is not always possible to be certain where a "Saying" ends. Now, if we add up the numbers of the Apophthegmata given in the fifteen sections enumerated above, it will be found that they amount to about 1090, and it is thus tolerably clear that they represent the 615 chapters mentioned by Thomas of Margâ, and the 430 additional "Chapters" and some at least of the unnumbered "Chapters" which ʿAnân-Îshôʿ collected independently. Thus, although the manuscript contains substantially all the "Chapters" which Thomas describes, there is no possibility of identifying the first thirteen sections of the Sayings of the Fathers, which contain in all about 511 "Chapters", with a work consisting of "fifteen Canons, "each containing forty sections." We must therefore reject the emendation proposed in my "Book of Governors", vol. ii. p. 190, note 1.

We may now consider the other contents of the manuscript, and describe it briefly. Lady Meux MS. No. 6 consists of 353 paper leaves measuring 13 1/2 inches

by 9 inches. Each page is occupied by one column of writing, generally containing 28 lines. The quires are thirty-six in number, and are signed by letters. The volume is written in a fine, bold Nestorian hand, with numerous vowel points. In the colophon (fol. 352[a]) the whole book is described as containing "the Histories "and Triumphs of the holy Fathers [and] solitary monks "which were composed by the holy and excellent Mâr "Palladius, Bishop of Helenopolis, and which he wrote "for Lausus, the chamberlain" [of the Emperor Theodosius]. It was copied by ʿÎsâ bar-Eshaʿyâ, the son of Cyriacus, a deacon of Eḳrôr, in Alkôsh, the village of Nahum the Prophet, and the work was finished on the sixth day of the Latter Teshrîn in the year of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, 1890, when Mâr Êlîyâ was Catholicus and Patriarch of Babylon of the East. We may note in passing that in the colophon the whole of the contents of the book are attributed to Palladius, Bishop of Helenopolis, although the very first work in it, viz., the Life of Anthony the Great, is expressly stated to have been composed by Athanasius, Archbishop of Alexandria, and we know well that by far the larger part of the rest of the contents were not composed by Palladius. This fact need not, however, trouble us, for it only means that the scribe followed the practice which has been common in the East from time immemorial, and grouped under the name of Palladius all the works which dealt with the Histories and Sayings of the monks, and which might well be considered akin to the subject matter of the Book of Paradise. It is, of course, a careless way of speaking, but as Dom CUTHBERT BUTLER has pointed

out,[1] it was adopted by the late WILLIAM WRIGHT, and I have followed his example.

The following are the contents of the manuscript:—

I. THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE OF ANTHONY THE GREAT BY ATHANASIUS, ARCHBISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA. Foll. 1—41[a].

II. THE BOOK OF THE TRIUMPHS OF THE HOLY FATHERS WHO WERE MONKS, WHICH IS CALLED "PARADISE".

a. The Epistle of Palladius to Lausus the Prefect. Fol. 41[b].

b. A description of the plan (*or*, object) of the Book. Fol. 42[a].

c. Counsels to Lausus. Fol. 43[b].

HISTORIES OF THE HOLY MEN:—

1. Of Abbâ ISIDORE of Alexandria. Fol. 47[b].
2. Of DOROTHEOS of Thebes. Fol. 48[a].
3. Of the Virgin [POTAMIOENIA]. Fol. 50[a]. Following these are the words:—"Here end "the triumphs of Isidore, and Dorotheos, and "the virgin."
4. Of DIDYMUS. Fol. 50[b].
5. Of ALEXANDRA of Alexandria. Fol. 51[b].
6. Of MACARIUS the lapidary and the wealthy virgin. Fol. 52[a].
7. Of the monks who lived in Nitria. Fol. 53[a].
8. Of AMMON, the first monk in the Nitrian desert, who saw Anthony, and whose soul was taken to heaven by angels. Fol. 54[a].
9. Of 'ÔR who was visited by MELANIA. Fol. 55[b].
10. Of PANBÔ (*or*, PAMBÔ), who was visited by MELANIA. Fol. 55[b].

[1] *Lausiac History*, p. 95.

11. Of AMMONIUS, the disciple of PAMBÔ, who received RUFINUS the prefect after his baptism, and who knew by heart 10,600 of the Sayings of the Fathers. Fol. 56[b].
12. Of BENJAMIN of Mount Nitria, who died of dropsy. Fol. 57[b].
13. Of APOLLONIUS the benevolent merchant. Fol. 58[a].
14. Of PAESIUS and ISAIAH, who were brethren by blood. Fol. 58[b].
15. Of MACARIUS, the child of his cross. Fol. 59[b].
16. Of NATHANIEL, who lived in a cell for 37 years. Fol. 60[b].
17. Of MACARIUS the Egyptian, the disciple of ANTHONY. Fol. 61[b].
18. Of MACARIUS of Alexandria, who visited the Garden of JANNES and JAMBRES. He is said to have healed a man of cancer in the head. Fol. 64[a].
19. Of PAUL THE SIMPLE, the disciple of Anthony. Fol. 68[b].
20. Of PACHOMIUS of Scete. Fol. 71[a].
21. Of STEPHEN the Libyan. Fol. 72[a].
[This History is followed by a note which declares the necessity of recording the histories of those who have fallen.]
22. Of WÂLÎS (VALENS) the Palestinian, who went mad. Fol. 73[a].
23. Of AHRÔN (HERO) the Alexandrian, who fell into a dissolute life and repented. Fol. 74[a].
24. Of PTOLEMY the Egyptian, who fell into a dissolute life and did not repent. Fol. 75[a].
25. Of ABRAHAM the Egyptian, who went mad. Fol. 75[a].

26. Of the virgin of Jerusalem who fell. Fol. 75[b].
27. Of a virgin of Caesarea who fell, and who brought a false accusation against a certain reader. Fol. 75[b].
28. Of a virgin who fell and repented. Fol. 76[a].
29. Of the virgin of Caesarea, who fell, and who could not bring forth her child, because she had made a false accusation against EUSTATHIUS, the reader. Fol. 76[b].
30. Of the blessed woman ṬÊHÎSÎYÂ (THAISIS) Fol. 77[b].
31. Of ELIJAH, who built a nunnery near Thebes. Fol. 79[a].
32. Of DOROTHEOS, his successor. Fol. 80[a].
33. Of PACHOMIUS THE GREAT. His rules for his monastery of Tabenna.[1] Fol. 80[a].
34. Of the virgin of Alexandria who hid ATHANASIUS. Fol. 83[a].
35. Of PIAMON, the virgin and prophetess. Fol. 84[a].
36. Of AMMAN (*or*, EMMAN) ṬALÎDÂ of Antinoë. Fol. 84[b].
37. Of ṬÎMÎRÔN (TAOR) the virgin. Fol. 84[b].
38. Of the virgin who gave a copy of the "Stromata" of Clement to her abbess, and bequeathed a commentary on Amos the Prophet to the Bishop of Alexandria. Fol. 85[a].
39. Of the virgin and of MAGISTRINUS who fought with wild beasts for her sake. Fol. 85[b].
40. Of MELANIA the elder. Fol. 86[b].

[1] In Bedjan's *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. VII, this is followed by "AN APOLOGY, AND PREFACE, AND ADMONITION"; I have reprinted his text as [Chapter XXXIV].

41. Of MELANIA the younger. Fol. 89[a].
42. Of OLYMPIAS. Fol. 90[b].
43. Of CANDIDA. Fol. 92[a].
44. Of GELASIA. Fol. 92[b].
45. Of JULIANA. Fol. 92[b].
46. Of HERONION and his wife BOSPHORIA. Fol. 92[b].
47. Of MÂGHANÂ (MAGNÂ). Fol. 93[a].
48. Of [MISERICORS] of Ancyra. Fol. 93[b].
49. Of JOHN OF LYCUS. Fol. 94[b].
50. Of POSSIDONIUS the Theban. Fol. 96[b].
51. Of CHRONIUS of Phoenix. Fol. 97[b].
52. Of JAMES THE LAME and PAPHNUTIUS. Fol. 98[a]. [Mentions the death of CHAEREMON the anchorite, and the deaths of two brethren, one being killed by a fall of earth, and the other by thirst].[1]
53. Of DIOCLES the grammarian. Fol. 100[a].
54. Of ḲÂPÎṬÔN (CAPITON). Fol. 100[b].
55. Of the monk who went mad. Fol. 100[b].
56. Of EPHRAIM, the deacon of Edessa. Fol. 101[a].
57. Of INNOCENT of the Mount of Olives. Fol. 101[b]. [He possessed a relic of John the Baptist.]
58. Of ELPIDIUS, the Cappadocian. Fol. 102[b].
59. Of EUSTATHIUS his brother. Fol. 103[a].
60. Of SISINNIUS, the disciple of ELPIDIUS. Fol. 103[a].
61. Of GADDANUS the Palestinian. Fol. 103[b].
62. Of ELIJAH who lived in a cave. Fol. 103[b].
63. Of SÂBHÂṬ (SABAS) of Jericho. Fol. 104[a].
64. Of SERAPION of the Girdle. Fol. 104[a].

[1] This History is incomplete in Lady Meux MS. No. 6; the missing portion is supplied from Bedjan's *Acta SS.* tom VII, as are the Histories of Solomon and Dorotheos.

65. Of EULOGIUS and the Arian. Fol. 107a.
"Here endeth the First Book of the Histories "of the Holy Fathers which were compiled "by Palladius."

III. THE SECOND BOOK OF THE HISTORIES OF THE FATHERS AND MONKS WHICH WERE COMPILED BY PALLADIUS. Foll. 109a—157b.

1. Of MARK the monk. Fol. 109a.
2. Of Mâr PAULUS (PAULE, *or*, PAWLE), the prince of monks. He buried Anthony with the help of two lions. Fol. 109b.
[At the end of the History "Jerome the sinner" entreats the prayers of his readers. This is followed by a note which says that some say the histories of Paule, Mark, and Macarius were compiled by JEROME.]
3. Of a youth of Alexandria.[1] Fol. 113b.
4. Of an old man in Scete and his disciple. Fol. 116b.
5. Of a certain disciple. Fol. 118b.
6. Of a certain disciple. Fol. 118b.
7. Of PETER. Fol. 119b.
8. Of a certain disciple. Fol. 119b.
9. Of AURELIUS (ADOLIUS) of Tarsus. Fol. 120a.
10. Of MOSES the Indian, the captain of thieves. Fol. 120b.
11. Of PÎÔR the Egyptian. Fol. 122a.
12. Of MOSES the Libyan. Fol. 122b.
13. Of a certain wandering monk. Fol. 123a.
14. Of EVAGRIUS of Pontus. Fol. 124b.

[1] Delete the name Aurelius from the tops of pages 313–317 of my translation.

15. Of MARK (MALCHUS). Fol. 126[b].
16[1]. Of BESSARION. Fol. 131[b].
17. The miracles of BESSARION. Fol. 132[b].
18. Of the man who [possessed] nine virtues. Fol. 133[b].

    [In Bedjan's edition, after the story of the monk of the nine virtues, we have:—1. The History of MÂRÎÂ *or*, MARYÂNÂ. 2. Of a certain sage. 3. Of two Persian brethren. 4. Of a certain virgin. 5. Of STEPHÂNÂ.[2] 6. Of EUCARPUS. 7. Of a deacon in Egypt. 8. Of a Bishop who fell. 9. Of a neighbour of Poemen. 10. Of a monk who denied Christ. 11. Of an old man in Scete. 12. Of SERAPION and the harlot. 13. Of the harlot and the sub-deacon. 14. Of Apollo in Scete. 15. Of COSMAS. 16. Of MACARIUS who was falsely accused. 17. Of the Melchisedekian. 18. Of Macarius the Egyptian.[3]]
19. Of MARK THE LESS. Fol. 135[a].
20. Of PAUL THE SIMPLE. Fol. 136[b].
21. The Ασκητικόν of PACHOMIUS. Fol. 136[b]-155[b].
    1. Of the discourse of THEODORE.
    2. Of SYLVANUS the actor who became a monk.

[1] As Chapter XVI of my translation I have given renderings of a group of Histories of monks who went naked and lived with the beasts of the desert; the Syriac texts are from Bedjan, *op. cit.*, p. 251ff.

[2] Probably a variant of the History of Stephen the Libyan already mentioned.

[3] The translations of these Histories form Chapters XX-XXXVII of the Second Book in this edition.

3. Of the funeral of a sinner.
4. Of the funeral of a saint.
5. Of what PACHOMIUS heard the devils say.
6. Of PACHOMIUS and the cook.
7. Of the revelation to PACHOMIUS.
8. Of a second revelation.
9. Of a third revelation.
10. Of the Doctrine of PACHOMIUS.
11. Of PACHOMIUS and the wheat.
12. Of PACHOMIUS and the broker.
13. Of PACHOMIUS and the monk who wished to be a martyr.
14. Of PACHOMIUS and the phantom.
15. Of PACHOMIUS and the gift of tongues which he received.
16. Of PACHOMIUS and Yâwnân the gardener.
17. Of PACHOMIUS and his oratory.
18. Of PACHOMIUS and the heretics.
19. Of PACHOMIUS and the monk.
20. Of his contempt for vain glory.
21. Of the brother with tender hands.
22. Of the brother of PALLADIUS. Fol. 156[b].

IV. THE HISTORIES OF THE SOLITARY MONKS WHICH WERE COMPOSED BY HIERONYMUS. Foll. 157[a]-197[a].

1. The Author's Apology. Fol. 157[a].
2. Of JOHN OF LYCUS. Fol. 159[a].
3. Of Abbâ 'ÔR. Fol. 167[b].
4. Of Abbâ AMMON. Fol. 169[a].
5. Of Abbâ ABBÂN (BENUS). Fol. 169[a].
6. Of the brethren in OXYRHYNCHUS. Fol. 169[b].
7. Of Abbâ THEON. Fol. 170[a].
8. Of Abbâ ELIJAH. Fol. 170[b].
9. Of APOLLO (and AMMON). Fol. 171[a].

10. Of Abbâ Apellen. Fol. 179[b].
11. Of another Apollo and of John. Fol. 181[a].
12. Of Abbâ Paphnûtius. Fol. 182[b].
13. Of Abbâ Eulogius. Fol. 185[a].
14. Of Abbâ Isidore[1]. Fol. 185[b].
15. Of Abbâ Copres and Abbâ Peṭarpemôṭîs. Fol. 186[a].
16. Of Ôr, Isaiah, Paul and Nôpî, the confessors. Fol. 191[a].
17. Of Evagrius. Fol. 191[b].
18. Of Pithyrion. Fol. 192[a].
19. Of the blessed Fathers. Fol. 192[b].
20. Of the monks in Nitria. Fol. 193[b].
21. Of Ammon the first. Fol. 194[a].
22. Of another Ammon. Fol. 194[b].
23. Of Didymus. Fol. 195[a].
24. Of Cronius. Fol. 195[a].
25. Of three brethren. Fol. 195[a].
26. Of Philemon. Fol. 195[b].
27. Of John of Decapolis. Fol. 195[b].
28. Of Serapion. Fol. 195[b].
29. Of Apollo the Martyr. Fol. 196[a].

"Here end the Histories which were written "by Hieronymus the monk."

V. The Counsels of the holy old men, and the questions and answers of the brethren. Foll. 197[b]-350[b].

1. On fleeing from men, on the solitary life, and on dwelling in the cell continually. Compiled by Palladius. Nos. 1-62. Fol. 197[b].

[1] This History is followed by that of Dioscurus in Bedjan's edition.

2. On FASTING and ABSTINENCE. Nos. 63-103. Fol. 205[a].
3. On VIGIL and PRAYER. Nos. 104-134. Fol. 209[b].
4. On WEEPING for sins. Nos. 135-156. Fol. 213[b].
5. On SELF-DENIAL. Nos. 157-181. Fol. 215[b].
6. On PATIENCE. Nos. 182-235. Fol. 218[b].
7. On SUBMISSION to God. Nos. 236-245. Fol. 226[b].
8. On the strict WATCHING of thoughts, &c. Nos. 246-386. Fol. 228[b].
9. On LOVE and CHARITY. Nos. 387-435. Fol. 247[b].
10. On HUMILITY. Nos. 436-547. Fol. 256[a].
11. On FORNICATION. Nos. 548-586. Fol. 269[a].
12. On the acceptance of REPENTANCE. Nos. 587-722. Fol. 275[a]. Nos. 101-400. Fol. 295[a].

13-16. On SLUGGISHNESS, vain glory, &c. Fol. 333[b].

17. Sayings found by ʿAnân-Îshoʿ in other books. Nos. 1-39. Fol. 341[b].

18-22. Miscellaneous Sayings, questions and answers, &c. Fol. 345[b].

With the above list of the contents of Lady Meux MS. No. 6 before us we are now able to consider Thomas of Margâ's description of the contents of ʿAnân-Îshoʿ's Recension of the Book of Paradise. As Thomas says nothing about the life of Anthony the Great by Athanasius forming a part of it, we may assume that this was prefixed to it by some later editor or scribe who thought that the Histories of the monks of Egypt ought to be prefaced by a detailed account of the man who has commonly been regarded as the founder of Christian Egyptian asceticism. Thomas says that

the first volume of ʿAnân-Îshôʿ's Recension contained the Histories of ascetics both by Palladius and Jerome, and in the MS. we find that the first group of lives of the Fathers is called "PARADISE", and is attributed to PALLADIUS, that the second group is also said to have been compiled by PALLADIUS, and that the third group is attributed to HIERONYMUS, or JEROME. Thus it is quite clear that the three groups of lives in the MS. were those which formed the first volume of ʿAnân-Îshôʿ's "PARADISE" as described by Thomas, and that the large collection of about 1090 Sayings of the Fathers in the MS. represents the second volume of "PARADISE" as understood by Thomas.

The character of the three groups of lives and of the Sayings of the Fathers has been carefully discussed by Dom CUTHBERT BUTLER, who has arrived at the following conclusions:[1]—

1. The second group of lives in reality contains very few sections by Palladius, and the ascription of that collection to him is incorrect; the histories in it which he attributes to Palladius are those of Mark, Eulogius, Adolius, Moses the Indian, Pior, Moses the Libyan, Evagrius, and the Brother who lived with him.

2. The first group of lives, which is called "PARADISE", more nearly represents the true LAUSIAC HISTORY of Palladius than the second; "of all the Syriac works "that went under the name of Palladius, the Lausiac "History alone is really his; and of the Lausiac History, "properly so-called, two translations have occurred "among the several MSS. that have come under view, "but only one redaction; no reason has been met with

[1] *Lausiac History*, p. 78.

"for suspecting the existence of any other redaction "among the Syrians. And (almost needless to add) "that redaction substantially agrees with the one which "has in these pages [*i. e.*, Mr. BUTLER's] been known "as the short Recension (B).[1] Both Syriac versions "carry back this recension in its main features to the "early sixth, if not the fifth, century" (p. 95).

3. The third group of lives, which is attributed to Jerome by the Syrians in general, represents a Syriac version of the "History of the Monks in Egypt," which was originally written in Greek, perhaps by Timotheus, Archdeacon of Alexandria (p. 277), and translated into Latin by RUFINUS, between A.D. 400 and 410 (p. 13).

4. The Sayings of the Fathers, which according to Thomas of Margâ formed the second volume of ʿAnân-Îshôʿ's work, are not by Palladius; on the contrary, they are translations from Greek and Latin sources, and were collected by ʿAnân-Îshôʿ.

The conclusions stated in the above paragraphs are undoubtedly justified by the facts as we now know them, and they help to clear away many of the difficulties which have for generations surrounded Palladius and his Book of Paradise. There is reason to believe that when Dom CUTHBERT BUTLER and Dr. PREUSCHEN[2] have finished their labours on the Greek text of the Lausiac History we shall have an edition which will represent substantially the work as it originally appeared, early in the V^th^ century, and there are sufficient grounds for thinking that the Syriac version may prove to be

[1] See ROSWEYDE, *Vitae Patrum*, Appendix pp. 933-977.

[2] See his work already published, *Palladius und Rufinus*, Giessen, 1897.

a tolerably faithful rendering of the Greek. In any case, the reader has before him the full Syriac text of the copy of the Môṣul manuscript, and a fairly literal English translation of the same; it is to be hoped that the present edition will contribute to the elucidation of the history of one of the most remarkable phases of religious thought which the world has ever seen.

BY THE POWER OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST WE BEGIN TO WRITE THE BOOK OF THE HISTORIES OF THE GLORIOUS ACTS OF THE HOLY FATHERS, [WHO WERE] MONKS OF THE DESERT, AND WHO HATED THE WORLD AND ALL THAT BELONGETH THERETO, WHICH WAS COMPOSED BY THE HOLY MAN OF SPIRITUAL EXCELLENCE MÂR PALLADIUS, BISHOP OF THE CITY OF HELENOPOLIS, AND WAS ADDRESSED TO LAUSUS, THE PREFECT.

THE LIFE OF SAINT ANTHONY

BY

ATHANASIUS, ARCHBISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA.

[Page 3] LET US BEGIN NOW, BY THE HELP OF OUR LORD, AND WRITE FIRST OF ALL THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE AND ACTS OF THE SAINT AND MIGHTY ONE OF GOD, THE BLESSED MÂR ANTHONY, WHICH WAS COMPOSED BY SAINT ATHANASIUS, THE ARCHBISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA. MAY OUR LORD HELP AND STRENGTHEN THE WRITER TO WRITE, AND [THE READER] TO READ AND TO PERFORM EVERYTHING WHICH IS COMMANDED [HEREIN]. AMEN. O LORD, HELP ME, AND BRING ME TO THE END [OF THE WORK]! AMEN.

Marvellous care and the merciful exhortation of your understanding for the monkish brethren who are in Egypt have moved me with solicitude [to hope] that by constant meditation on the following stories your mind may be drawn to perfection, so that you may not be repeating with your mouth[s] only these triumphs, and others which are like unto them, but that also in your persons you may be preachers of the example of these lives and deeds. Now, your careful solicitude is seemly and is most acceptable, and in this respect you have become ministers of the exalted Will, for it is right that this sight should not depart from the mirror of your career, and that ye should know at once the craftiness of the Enemy, that is to say, what form it taketh, and what it is, and with what it bringeth [a man] to nought. And this thing hath been wrought at this time by God, for behold, monasteries which

flourish like the flowers and sweet scents of the spring-time have been scattered throughout the whole earth, and the sign of the solitary ascetics ruleth from one end thereof unto the other. It is then beautiful for us to take hold of and to embrace this power of discernment [Page 4] which your mind hath conceived, and to be the ministers of the fervour of your love with joy and solicitude. For who could be negligent of this service and be blameless, inasmuch as those who have invited me [to write] the history of the triumphs of a righteous man are themselves righteous? And may the Giver of gifts (blessed be His honour!) Himself open the door of our entreaty, and may we snare each one of the stories which we have been deputed by your love to write, not for our own sake, but for the sake of your most excellent entreaty, and for the sake of the warlike [thoughts] which are in you, that we may fulfil your labour, and for the sake of the work of him who triumphed by these acts and deeds, in order that his triumphs may never die among his sons in our Lord; and finally for his name's sake, that in this history we may also magnify the glory of God [and shew forth] how great is the might which He giveth unto those who fear Him.

Now, we have been deputed by your love to write down the triumphs of the blessed Anthony, and to send the history of them to you[1] in writing [which will shew] how the beginning of his discipleship came to pass, and what manner of life[2] he led before this, and with what manner of life he brought his days to a close, and whether all the words which have been spoken concerning him and have come to our hearing are true; and straightway with joy I have devoted myself to the fulfilment of your command. And in the mere writing of a commemorative history of the blessed

[1] Literally, "by the bringer of a letter".
[2] Literally, "what was his order before this".

Anthony I also shall gain great benefit, for I am convinced, O my beloved, that by the narrating of these histories two things will be effected; we shall increase the renown of the man of God in honour and wonder, and we shall begin to instruct your minds step by step,[1] for the acts of the blessed Anthony are a perfect example for the solitary ascetics. Now, as concerning what ye have heard about him aforetime, O my beloved, from those who [lived] with him, or [from those] who heard [them] from those who were with him continually, or from those also unto whom word of him was handed down by tradition [Page 5] ye shall have no doubt whatsoever. Ye have only heard a little out of a great quantity, and only just as much as the mind (*or*, memory) is able to narrate, and mine own mind also testifieth that such is the case, and in compiling the present history I have also learned that such is the case. For when I thought that I had collected and enumerated a large number of stories, suddenly a great many others, which were far more numerous than those which had already been collected by me, sprang up, and made my mind to swim;[2] but as many as I was able to remember and to collect my mind hath, with joy, committed to writing. And as for you, cease ye not to ask questions and to enquire [concerning the blessed Anthony], especially those who come by river from the Thebaïd, that is to say from Inner Egypt, for it may happen that from those from whom ye expect to hear nothing ye may increase your knowledge greatly. For when a man belongeth unto those who have knowledge he repeateth a story which he knoweth, and though we may think and be convinced that we have collected too many, [we find that our] narrative is immeasurably short. Now many of those who openly received [the accounts] of the wonderful things which

[1] Literally, "by measure".
[2] *I. e.*, overwhelmed and flooded his mind.

were wrought by his hands have departed from this world; and of those who are still living how many are there who have not revealed unto us concerning the things which were spoken with him or which were done near him! And what man would wish to narrate unto his companions only a few stories out of many?

And when I had received [your] letter, and had read and seen the force thereof, and what it demanded, I was wishful to send and bring certain solitary ascetics who were always with him, so that, peradventure, between them and me I might be able to fulfil your desire. But because the time in which ships could travel from Egypt to the Thebaïd, and from the Thebaïd hither, was unfavourable, and the bringer of the letter was in haste, and because I knew that I had been with Saint Anthony continually, I made it to be a care unto me to write myself unto your love, and tell you what I was able to learn about, whatsoever happened for a long time, and [how] I poured water upon [Page 6] his hands, observing carefully the word of the truth, lest a man should hear what was superfluous and should be in doubt, or should despise and belittle that which he heard.

Now, by race the blessed Anthony was an Egyptian, and he was descended from a noble family, and was, indeed, an owner of slaves. His forefathers were believers, and from his earliest childhood he was brought up in the fear of our Lord; and when he was a child and was being reared among his own kinsfolk he knew nothing of his father or of what went on among his own people. He was so quiet, and his mind was so humble that he did not even trouble his parents with the work of [asking] questions. He was exceedingly modest (*or* shamefaced), and he was honest beyond measure. He was unable to learn to read or to write because he could not bear the rough behaviour of the boys [in the school]; his whole desire was to be even according to what is written about Jacob, "He was a

simple man, and a dweller in tents".[1] He clung closely to his parents, and when they came to church he would [run] before them in the flow of his affection, and he was not like an [ordinary] child, the course of whose customary attendance is broken by the play hour of childhood,[2] and he never neglected [the observance of] any of the seasons of the Church; he neither neglected [them] in his childhood, nor held them lightly in his early manhood. And from the time when he was a child and knew how to distinguish between good and evil, his going to church was not a mere matter of custom, but was [the result of] discerning understanding. And moreover, he did not wait for his own people (*or* parents) to be admonishers unto him, because by his life and acts he became a teacher unto them. For they learned by the experience [of] his childhood that he did not live among them like an ordinary simple child, and they accepted the proof of the rectitude of his early manhood; he paid them honour after the manner of a full-grown man, and they regarded him as the master of the house (*i. e.*, steward).

Now when the time had arrived and they brought their days to an end, [Page 7] and they departed from this world, he was left behind with one little sister, when he was about eighteen or twenty years old, and it happened from sheer necessity that he had to be the ruler of the house and of his sister. And when as yet not six months had passed since the death of his parents, and when, according to his wont, he was continually in the church, it came to pass one day when he was in the church that a righteous idea entered his mind, and that he began to meditate within himself how the blessed Apostles forsook everything and followed after our Redeemer; and how the others who succeeded them and walked in their footsteps

[1] Genesis XXV. 27.
[2] Or, "the amusement of youth".

sold everything which they possessed and laid [the money which they received] at the feet of the Apostles, that it might be spent upon the poor; and how great was the blessing of those who had in this wise obeyed the voice of our Redeemer. Now whilst he was meditating these and such like things, the Lesson was being read, and at the end of all [the passages from] the Scriptures, the Gospel was read, and he heard our Lord Who said unto the rich man, "If thou wishest to "be perfect, go and sell everything which thou hast, "and give to the poor, and take thy cross, and come "after Me, and there shall be unto thee treasure in "heaven".[1] And the blessed Anthony received the word of the Gospel as a sign, and he reflected that this reading had not taken place as a matter of chance, but in order that the righteous idea which had taken up its abode in him might be confirmed. And straightway he went out from the church, and departed and set in order his house and the possessions which he had inherited from his parents. Now he had three hundred fields, a great estate [which produced] abundant crops, and these he remitted to the people of his village, so that they might trouble neither himself nor his sister; but the remainder of his other possessions which were in [Page 8] the house he sold, and gathered in money not a little, which he distributed among the poor, but he laid by a little which was sufficient for his sister's wants.

And when, on another First Day of the week, he had again entered the church at the time of [the reading of] the Gospel, he inclined his ear carefully to see what word would come forth for him; and as he was inclining his ear the word of our Lord to His disciples was immediately read out, saying, "Take no thought "for the morrow".[2] And straightway he received the

[1] St. Matthew XIX. 21.

[2] See St. Matthew VI. 25, 31, 34; St. Mark XIII. 11; St. Luke XII. 11, 22.

commandment readily, and he went out and distributed that which remained to him for his sister among the poor. Now unto his sister he spake words of love, and of truth, and of the fear of God, and he made her mind to be after the manner of his own; and he delivered her over to certain chaste nuns who were to be found at that time. And when he had made an end of these things he forthwith became a solitary monk, and he took no care for anything whatsoever except his soul, and he began to train himself in the strictest abstinence and self-denial. Now he dwelt alone in a house which was by the side of the village, for as yet there were no monasteries for ascetics in Egypt, and among the monks there was no man who had any knowledge of the inner desert; but everyone who wished to have a care for his soul used to seek out a habitation of this kind. Saint Anthony did not betake himself to the mountain at a great distance from the village, but only at a sufficient distance therefrom so that he might be somewhat apart from the habitation of men. And at that time there was in another village on their borders a certain blessed old man, who from his youth up had lived a life of solitary asceticism, and this man the blessed Anthony saw, and was envious[1] of his fair deeds. First of all he also began to live by the side of the village, in places which were free from the feet [of men], and whilst living in this abode his mind was rent with doubt about the fair works [of the ascetic life], and he gave his soul no rest, for he was constant [Page 9] in meditation about the truth. And he used to ponder within himself [and say], "How did "the righteous men of old live? With what manner of "triumphs did they please God? And who can make "me worthy of even a sight of these?" And as a result of this meditation which arose from love of the righteous men he began to ask and enquire, "What was the

[1] *I. e.*, he wished to emulate his beautiful works.

"condition of the righteous men? And who shall inform "me concerning them?" And whilst asking questions that he might learn something about any of the righteous men who were in [that] place, in the fervour of his love he used to go forth strenuously to seek him;[1] and he did not at first return to his own place, without first of all accepting the person of the man of God. And he was like unto the wise bee which hovereth and resteth over plants of every kind which are filled with honey that it may fill its habitation with the goodness of the earth. In this manner he himself also received from the sight of each of the righteous men provision[2] for the marvellous way; and thus was his mode of life at the beginning of his ascetic career. And his thoughts were exceedingly well trained by him at the beginning of his [life of] righteousness, so that he might not in any wise be anxious about his family, or be fettered by the love of kinsfolk, or be held fast by the affairs of this temporary life; from all [these] he purged himself that he might be a pure offering unto God. Now he used also to labour with his hands, because he had heard [the words], "If a man doth not "work he shall not eat;"[3] with a very little [of the produce] of the work of his hands he used to provide himself with food, and the rest he spent upon the poor. And he prayed continually, for he had heard [the words], "Pray, and let it not be tedious unto you;"[4] and he was wont to listen to the reading of the Scriptures in such wise that not one word might fall to the ground, and henceforth he kept in his mind the remembrance of the commandments which he heard, and they became unto him even as the Scriptures.

Now by these acts and deeds the blessed Anthony

[1] *I. e.*, the old man mentioned above.
[2] Read ⲥⲱⲟⲩ.
[3] 2 Thessalonians III. 10.
[4] 1 Thessalonians V. 17.

was shewing love to his soul and, [Page 10] even as it is written, "He found favour with God and with "man;[1]" for when it happened that he went [to visit] the righteous men, he hearkened unto them and was subject unto them wholly and in everything, and the love with which they loved him was such that if it happened that he tarried in paying his visit to them they were wont to send after him with anxious care. They observed how greatly he was the object of [God's] mercy, and how great a measure of the love of the things which were spiritual was found with him, and they saw how easy it was for him to gain a reward by trafficking in the riches of heaven. Therefore each one of them, according to the measure of his power, took him by his hand. And they looked and saw that he was to be perfected as a chosen vessel, and they observed when as yet he himself saw it not that he had adapted for himself a glorious rule of life among the righteous men. For what joy is there unto which graciousness is not found to be yoked? Or what humility is there wherewith those who possess it are adorned in which it doth not dwell? Or what love is there, which is the foundation of all the commandments, which it doth not rule? And what man is there who, when he imagineth himself to be merciful, is not carried away thereby, and with whom it is not the chief thing? Wrath, and jealousy, and calumny as from him . . . . . .[2]

Now Saint Anthony was the storehouse of fasting, and of prayer, and of ascetic practices, and of patient endurance, and of love, and of righteousness, which is the mother of [them] all, but towards those who were young monks like himself he was not envious, except in one matter only, that is to say, he would not be second to any of them in fair works. And he con-

[1] St. Luke II. 52.
[2] The text is defective here.

trived in every possible manner not to give offence to the wicked man, on the contrary, [he wished] that those who were yoked together with him might be drawn to his opinion (*or* mind) by his carefulness and graciousness, and that they might go forward[1] in their career. And he worked matters in such a manner that they were not only not envious of him, but they [Page 11] rejoiced in him and gave thanksgiving for him. Now by reason of these triumphs every man used to call him "Theophilus", which is, being interpreted, "God-loving", and all the righteous gave him this name; and some of them loved him like a brother, and some of them like a son.

And when the Enemy, the hater of the virtues and the lover of evil things, saw all this great perfection in the young man, he could not endure it, and he surrounded himself with his servants,[2] even as he is wont to do, and began [to work] on Anthony; at the beginning of his temptations he approached him with flattery, and cast into him anxiety as to his possessions, and solicitude and love for his sister, and for his family, and his kinsfolk, and the love of money, and lusts of various kinds, and the [thought of the] rest [of the things] of the life of [this] world, and finally of the hard and laborious life which he lived, and of the weakness of body [which would come upon him] with the lapse of time; and, in short, he stirred up in him the power of the thoughts so that by means of one [or other] of them he might be flattered, and might be made to possess shortcomings and be snared by his incitements.

Now when the Enemy saw that his craftiness in this matter was without profit, and that the more he brought temptation unto Saint Anthony the more strenuous he was in arming himself against him with

[1] *I. e.*, make progress.

[2] Reading ⲙⲙⲟϥⲛⲧⲥ.

the armour of righteousness, he attacked him with the vigour of early manhood which is bound up in the nature of our humanity, and with the incitements of passion he used to trouble him by night,[1] and in the day time also he would vex him and pain him with the same to such an extent that even those who saw him knew from his appearance that he was waging war against the Adversary. But the more the Evil One brought unto him filthy and maddening thoughts the more Saint Anthony took refuge in prayer and in abundant supplication, and amid them [all] he remained wholly chaste. And the Evil One was working [upon him] every shameful deed according to his wont, and at length he even appeared [Page 12] unto Saint Anthony in the form of a woman, and the rest of the things which appertain unto pride he was performing readily.

But the blessed Anthony knelt down upon his knees on the ground, and prayed before Him Who said, "Before thou criest unto Me I will answer thee",[2] and said, "O my Lord, this I entreat of Thee; let not Thy "love be blotted out from my mind, and behold, I am, "by Thy grace, innocent before Thee." And again the Enemy multiplied in him the thoughts of lust until Saint Anthony became as one utterly burnt up, not through the Evil One, but through himself; but he girded himself about with the threat of the thought of the Judgment, and of the torture of Gehenna, and of the worm which dieth not. And whilst meditating on thoughts which were against the Evil One, he prayed for thoughts which would be hostile to him. Thus, to the reproach and shame of the Enemy, these things could not be performed; for he who imagined that he could be [as] God was made a mock of by a young man, and he who boasted [of his power] over

[1] Read ܠܠܝܐ.

[2] Isaiah LXV. 24.

flesh and blood was vanquished by a man who was clothed with flesh.

Now in all these things our Lord, Who put on a [human] body for our sakes, was his helper, and He strengthened him to become a shield against the Evil One, so that according to this act of grace which was wrought on our behalf, before any of the blessed men lived by the merit of his agony He taught us in what it is meet that we should boast. For when one repeated too often these triumphs which were wrought for him, Saint Anthony answered and said, "It was not I who "worked, but His grace which was with me." Now when the Enemy saw that he was vanquished in this fight, and that his craftiness was driven away and brought to nought by the thought (*or* mind) of the righteous man, he gnashed his teeth, and cried out that he would shew the righteous man his inner nature in an external form, that, peradventure, by means of fear and terror he might find an opportunity to perform his will. And he appeared unto Saint Anthony in the form of an Indian youth, and he began to say unto him, "Whom seest thou? I have come, and behold I "will stand up, and I will overcome thee, and I will "bring thee low, even as I do many." And whilst he was saying [Page 13] these words, the blessed Anthony signed himself with the Sign of the Cross, and ceased to tremble, and the Enemy saw the Sign of the Cross, and straightway was terrified. And when the blessed Anthony saw that he was terrified, he began to ask him a question, saying, "Who art thou, by "whose voice such words as these are heard by me?" Then the Enemy began [to say] unto him after the manner of a man who roareth, "I, even I, am the "lover of error and of fornication, and it is I who "cast the incitements of these [thoughts] and flatteries "[into the mind of man]. It is I who have taken "upon myself to lead many astray, and I fight against "every man, and I am against righteousness, and I

"am, even as the Prophet called me, the 'spirit of "'fornication',[1] for through me have gone astray all "those who have stumbled. It is I who have injured "thee on several occasions, and thou hast been held in "contempt [by me] in everything." And the blessed Anthony gave thanks unto the Lord, and gained great encouragement, and said, "What power thinkest thou "that thou hast in thee, O Enemy, to resist the might "of the Cross? Well hast thou appeared in the form "of an Indian, for thou art black in thy nature, and "thou art feeble in thy strength even like a youth who "hath been overcome by punishment. Thou art esteemed "as nought by me, and I tremble not at thy wiles; for "the Lord helpeth me, and I shall look upon mine "enemies." Now when that black being heard these words, straightway his appearance vanished from the sight.

This is the first strife which Saint Anthony [waged] against his Enemy, or rather, this is the first assistance which came on behalf of Anthony from our Redeemer, Who vanquished sin in His own body, that the righteousness of the Law might be fulfilled in us, and that we might not walk after the flesh but after the spirit. But although the blessed Anthony saw the Enemy made powerless and brought low, he neither neglected his prayer nor ceased from his [wonted] course [of life], for he knew well that his contest was against a crafty being, who although he had been vanquished would not cease [to trouble], and who, whenever he could find an opportunity through some small negligence, would suddenly rise up and vanquish [Page 14] him that had on several occasions gained the victory over him. For Saint Anthony knew that there was no cessation to his wrongdoing, and that he wandered about like a roaring lion seeking whom he might break; and he had learned from the Scrip-

[1] Hosea IV. 12.

tures that the snares of the Adversary were many, and he was persuaded of himself that his work was thus, and with strenuousness and with an object he was working in the fear of God.

And he pondered in his mind that although the Enemy had not been able to snare him with lusts of divers kinds, he had still other means (*or* causes) whereby he was wont to make our humanity to sin; for the nature thereof yearneth to sin always. Now it is especially right for us in the time of our victory, when we have our mind with us, to oppress and bring our body into subjection to the will of freedom and of righteousness, lest whilst we are imagining that we are victors [in one group of things] we find that we are vanquished by others which are their opposite. And Saint Anthony was in this mind, and [he was meditating] these thoughts always, and day by day he was adding labour unto his former deeds of asceticism; and many were wondering at the greatness of the patient endurance which he possessed, and how long-suffering he was in his afflictions. For behold, the freedom of his spirit (*or* soul), and the thought of his mind, by reason of the great length [of time] which they were practised by him, as it were renewed him, and changed him from one thing to another; and he used to derive [as] a base some small matter from the example of others, and take it and polish it in his own person, and with him it became so beautiful that the spectators thereof imagined that it was to be found with him alone. For he was a perfect handicraftsman in matters which related to the fear of God, and wheresoever he saw that one of the heavenly works[1] of uprightness was being practised by a man who was not honouring it according to what it was, he would take it, and polish it in his own person, and would make manifest how great its beauty was.

[1] Read ܥܒܕ̈ܐ.

And Saint Anthony kept vigil to the utmost, [Page 15] and to such an extent that the greater number of his days dawned on him without his having had any sleep. He was wont to eat at eventide daily, but on occasions he passed three days, or four days, or whole weeks at a time [without eating]. His food was bread and salt, and his drink was water, and in the matter of wine, and flesh, and other dainty meats he declared [them] to be so superfluous, that they were not even used by ordinary monks. What he slept upon was a mat made of palm leaves only, but for a very long time he used to make the bare ground his bed. He was, moreover, exceedingly careful not to anoint himself with oil, for he used to say that oil rendered the body soft and made the members thereof effeminate, and for this reason [he] required young men to distil upon themselves from their minds within the oil of strenuousness. He was also mindful of the word of the Apostle which he spake, saying, "When I am weak "(*or* sick), then am I strong."[1] And he possessed a wonderful mind, for he never pondered and thought how far he had advanced in discipleship, but each day he kept in mind that he had only just begun at the beginning thereof; for he remembered the word of the Apostle which he spake, "That which is behind me I "forget, and I stretch forward unto the things which "are before me,"[2] and also the word of the Prophet Elijah which he spake, "As the Lord liveth, before "Whom I stand this day."[3] Therefore he prepared himself to be worthy to stand always before the Majesty, even as the man who stood on that day before the Lord; and he used to say to himself, "It is right that a monk should know that in his manner of life (*or*, habitation) and in his acts and deeds he must be an

[1] 2 Corinthians XII. 10.
[2] Philippians III. 13.
[3] 1 Kings XVII. 1.

alien unto the world, and an associate (*or* son of the yoke) of the angels who watch.[1]

And after these things he dwelt also in another frame of mind, and, having pondered in his mind that he would go forth from the village, he departed and took up his abode in a tomb which was situated in a mountain which lay close by the village;[2] and he commanded one of [Page 16] his acquaintances to bring him a morsel of bread from time [to time].[3] And having done these things and entered into the tomb and shut the door upon himself, straightway the Adversary, together with a multitude of devils who were his associates, burst in upon him there, for he was afraid to let Saint Anthony go from the village altogether, and he began to say unto him, "How great "is that which thou endurest! And to what limit wilt "thou drive thyself? Thou hast come and hast entered "into the place of our abode. What man is there who "hath ever done the like? And when[4] was it ever "heard that men ought to live among the tombs? We "have been driven out of the village, and we shall "also be driven out from among the tombs. Now "therefore will we take vengeance upon thee, for it is "thou who hast made fools of us." Then they began to smite him with blows, and they smote him so severely that at length he fell [on the ground], and nothing but his breath was left in him; and Saint Anthony used to relate that the blows with which the devils smote him were more severe than those of the children of men. But God brought help unto him, and would not deliver him over to death, for He put it into the mind of him that used to visit him to come quickly, and to open [the door of] the tomb according

[1] The "Watchers" were one of the nine orders of angels.
[2] *I. e.*, in the cemetery which belonged to the village.
[3] Read ܒܙܒܢ ܟܙܒܢ "now and then".
[4] Literally "where".

to his wont, and he saw the blessed Anthony who was like unto a dead man by reason of the blows; and straightway he lifted him up and brought him to the church in the village. And there collected about him no small mass of people, and they gathered together and sat by his side as if he had been a dead man. Now by the sweet rest of sleep the blessed Anthony was refreshed, [and he was relieved] from his affliction, and he came to himself, and he turned round and saw that all the people were asleep, and that only his friend who was sitting watching by his pillow was awake; and he made a sign to him, and he drew nigh unto him, and Saint Anthony said unto him quietly, "Come, "do [an act of] righteousness (*or* charity) lest the heart "of the people should think and mankind should "imagine that there is still power left in the Evil One, "and that they should be afraid to lift up the heel "against him."

And the man hearkened unto him, and whilst the people were quiet [Page 17] and asleep, he lifted him up and carried him to the tomb, and shut the door as usual. Then Saint Anthony prayed as he was lying down, for he had no power in him to stand up, and when he had multiplied [his] prayers, he said with a loud voice, "Where are ye, O children of Gehenna? "Here am I, even I, Anthony, and I will not depart "from this place until your destruction from this place "shall be [effected]: for although ye multiply tortures I "shall not be remote from the love of Christ." And next he said with a loud voice, "Though a whole "camp [of devils] encamp against me my heart shall "not fear;" such were the words which this man, this athlete, proclaimed in his striving. Then the heart of the Enemy of righteousness melted within him, and he cried unto the dogs his kinsfolk, and whilst emitting smoke said unto them, "Do ye not say unto me, What "shall we do unto this man, this insolent fellow, who "hath treated us wholly with contempt and disdain?

"His heart is not afraid of the quaking terror, his "hearing is not perturbed by words (*or* voices), his "eye is not terrified by visions, and his body hath no "fear of blows. Who among you can give [me] counsel "as to what shall be done?" And thereupon they contrived the following plan.

Now it is very easy for the Enemy to make apparitions and appearances of such a character that they shall be deemed real and actual objects, and [straightway] phantasms of this kind made the similitude of an earthquake, and they rent asunder the four corners of the house, and they entered therein in a body from all sides. One had the form of a lion, and another had the appearance of a wolf, and another was like unto a panther, and all the others were in the forms and similitudes of serpents, and of vipers, and of scorpions. The lion was roaring as a lion roareth when he is about to slay; the bull was ready to gore [him] with his horns; the panther was prepared to spring [upon him]; and the snake and the viper were hissing, and they appeared to be in the act of hurling themselves upon him; and the sounds which they made and the forms in which they shewed themselves were terrible. Now the blessed man Anthony was not disturbed (*or*, frightened) by their commotion, and his mind remained in an unruffled condition.[1] And as he was lying down he laughed [Page 18] at these phantoms, and said, "Thus there is no power in you. Ye have "taken unto yourselves the forms of wild beasts, and "if there had been any power whatsoever to do harm "in you, for one of you only to come [against me] "would have been sufficient; but because our Lord hath "cut off the things which incited you, and the goad "of your wickedness hath no strength therein, ye lay "plots and snares thinking that peradventure ye will be "able to make men quake by fear only. And moreover,

[1] Literally, "without tempests."

"whosoever hath had experience of your feebleness "[knoweth] that ye have obtained as your helpers the "mere forms and appearances of wild beasts."

And Anthony also spake unto them in very great boldness of heart, saying, "If ye have indeed received "power over me, or if it be in your power to do me "harm, hesitate ye not to do it, only draw nigh speedily "and do ye whatsoever ye lust to do; but if ye be "unable to do anything, wherefore do ye weary your-"selves in vain? For our faith in our Lord is a seal "and a wall unto us." Now our Lord was not unmindful of the athlete Anthony, and He appeared unto him after his victory. And the blessed Anthony lifted up his eyes, and he saw a roof-curtain drawn aside, and a ray of light descended therefrom upon him; and straightway the devils dispersed in terror, and the sufferings of his body were relieved, and the blessed man felt the help of our Lord [nigh unto him], and understood.

Then having waited for a space, and having recovered somewhat from his tribulations, and having enjoyed rest from the graciousness of the revelation of our Lord, he lifted up his voice, and said, "O my Lord, I adore "Thine help: where wast Thou before these sufferings "and tribulations came upon me?" And straightway a voice came to him, saying, "Here was I by thy side, "O Anthony, and I have never left thee, for I remained "that I might look upon thy strife; but inasmuch as "thou hast triumphed completely, and hast not been "broken down with sadness in thy tribulations, I will be "unto thee a Guide and a Comforter, and I will make "thee to be renowned as a faithful servant throughout "all the earth." And when these words had been heard by him straightway [peace] came upon his body, [Page 19] and he had rest from his afflictions. Then he rose up and bowed the knee, and prayed, and gave thanks unto God Who had visited him; and from that time onwards he perceived that he had very much greater

strength in him than formerly. Now at that time Anthony was about five and thirty years of age.

And it came to pass that on the following morning he departed from the tomb and went forth to that solitary old monk who used to dwell by the side of the village, and he tried to persuade him to go with him to the desert, but he excused himself from this, for one thing because of his old age, and for another because he had not been in the habit of living in the desert, and indeed at that time none of the monks lived there. And straightway Anthony rose up and prayed with the old man, and he besought him to join his prayers unto his that God might make his way prosperous before him; and [afterwards] he went forth [alone] into the desert. And once again the Enemy went forth after him, and when Anthony was exhausted by reason of the distance [of the way], he began to contend with him. Now when the blessed man Anthony had journeyed along the road [and had arrived] at the skirt of the desert, he perceived that the Enemy had cast down before him a large silver tablet,[1] but the blessed man knew that these things were of the wiles of the Evil One, and he made him to know that this example of his handicraft which had been fashioned by him could not cause him to err. And looking at the tablet he answered and said, "Assuredly the Evil "One [wisheth to do me evil] by means of this tablet. "How can it have come in the desert? This is no "frequented road, and there is no inhabited land near, "and thieves do not dwell in this country; it is the "handiwork of the Evil One. Thou shalt not, O [Enemy], "pervert my mind by this thing; may thou and it go "to perdition." And having made an end of his words the silver tablet was consumed and disappeared like smoke before the fire of the words of the blessed man Anthony.

[1] Or, plate.

But again the Evil One shewed him some gold, and it was real gold, and Anthony fell into anxious thought and pondered, [saying], "What is this thing? "It is either a piece of the handiwork of the Evil One, "or it is a temptation from God, and a trial [Page 20] from "Him (may His Honour be blessed!) Who hath restrain- "ed me from the blandishments of the Evil One, [who "saith], Behold, I will shew him real gold;" but the blessed man was not overthrown thereby, and he esteemed the gold as filth. [And Anthony said unto the Evil One], "Choose thou some other kind of handi- "work and snare, for out of this one have I delivered "myself." Now whence that gold came or how it got there Anthony telleth us not, and we, even after most careful thought are unable to afford any information on the matter; but [what Anthony saw] was gold, and gold in large quantities, for the blessed man marvelled at the great abundance thereof.

Now when the Evil One saw that he had protected himself by the Sign of the Cross and was praying, and that he did not remove himself from his place, he stepped aside and passed away quickly in the form of a flame of fire, and he neither turned nor looked at him. And Anthony was particularly well armed for this species of warfare and [he fought] valiantly, and he set out again on the road whereon he had been travelling. And having arrived at the desert he went up into a mountain wherein there were serpents; but inasmuch as the snakes found there were very numerous, he departed from that place and came to the border [of the desert] to dwell[1] and took up his abode there. And the snakes, which were there when the righteous man set his foot upon that spot, speedily gave place unto him, and each one of them made the greatest possible haste to escape from him, as if he had been one whose

[1] The text is probably corrupt here.

smell was distracting to them, and they knew that this man was not [one] of the people of that country.

Now therefore the blessed man Anthony took up his abode there by himself, and he shut himself in; and he laid in a supply of bread once every six months (for the Egyptians were in the habit of making at one time bread sufficient even for a whole year), and as for water he found that there. And he went and dwelt there in a place which was like a cleft in the rocks, with the intention of seeing no man and of being seen by none, and he had his abode there for very many years; in the roof of his house there was a small opening, and through this he used to receive [bread] twice yearly, for the mountain wherein he dwelt was [remote] from inhabited land. Such people as came to him [Page 21], whom he could not be induced to admit into his presence remained outside, perhaps for one or two days, and when they strained their ears that they might hear something, they would hear a noise like that of a mighty multitude of people, and confused sounds, and some sounds were like the voices of men shouting loudly, and some were great cries of lamentation, and some were those of men of slaughter and of a mighty tumult. And among all these was a voice which said, "Depart thou from us! Why hast thou come to our "country and to [cause] our death? Hast thou never "heard that which thy Lord spake concerning us, saying, "Evil spirits dwell in the desert, and in waste places, "and in the lands wherein there is no water? Behold, "henceforward thou shalt know that this is our habitation; "depart thou, and give place unto us once more."

And when these words were heard those who were outside [Anthony's dwelling] thought that men had entered therein through the roof of [his] house and that they were quarrelling with him; but when they had gone round about the house they found a small opening (?)[1]

[1] The text has ⲃⲁⲥⲓⲗⲓⲕ "basilisk"; read ⲃⲉⲕⲁⲕ (?)

in the wall, and having looked through it they saw the blessed man alone. Then they understood that those voices were those of the devils who used to wage war against him, and mighty dread came upon them, and they began to cry out to the blessed man Anthony. Now the just man was more ready to hearken unto their words than unto the tumult of the devils, and to hold converse with them, and he would draw nigh to the side of the door, and say unto them, "Come ye nigh unto me, and be not perturbed;" and having conversed with them graciously, and filled their hearts, he would dismiss them in peace, and admonish them, saying, "Be ye afraid neither of sounds (*or*, "voices) nor of phantoms of this kind, for in this wise "the devils are wont to act towards those who are "timid; but seal ye yourselves with the Seal of the "Cross, and return ye unto your homes in confidence "and forgive those who make you laughingstocks." Thus they were dismissed in peace. And as for Anthony himself he had dwelt in strife with the devils for a long time past, and was very courageous, and the strength which was in him was added to in proportion as [Page 22] he saw that his enemies were vanquished.

Now when the report of the kind of strife in which he lived reached his friends and acquaintances, they set out to go to him, for they thought that they would certainly find him dead;[1] and, having arrived at the place where they wished to be, they came to the side of his house, and inclined their ears at the door that peradventure a sound or breathing might be heard inside. And they heard a sound like the voice of one who played a harp and said, "Let God arise, and let "all His enemies be scattered, and let all those who "hate Him flee before Him; let them be destroyed "even as smoke is made to disappear, and as wax "melteth before the fire let the wicked perish before

[1] Read ضَبِيبَة.

"God."[1] And again, "All the nations compassed me "round about, and in the Name of the Lord I destroyed "them."[2] And the blessed Anthony lived in this habitation about twenty years.

And it came to pass that in the process of time his fame reached all the monks who were in Egypt, and all the other folk therein who did not lead the life of the ascetic and recluse, and men of distinction, and monks in Egypt began to come unto him in large numbers; the Egyptian monks came that they might copy the manner of his life and deeds, and the laity came that he might pray over them, and might heal certain of them of their sicknesses. One day, when a multitude of people had come there in a body [to see him], and they had besought him repeatedly [to speak to them], and he had answered them never a word, they lifted the door out of its socket, and threw themselves down on their faces before him, and made supplication unto him and pacified him, and then each man among them stood up, and made known his request unto him. And having gone forth [to them], even like a man who goeth forth from the depths of the earth, they saw that his appearance was like unto that of an angel of light, and they marvelled why it was that his body had not been weakened by all his confinement, and why it was that his understanding had not become feeble, and why, on the contrary, his appearance, and his bodily stature, and his countenance were then as they had known them always to have been in the times which were past. Now when he saw [Page 23] a large concourse of people he was not disturbed, and when they brought their petitions unto him he was not moved to impatient anger, but he remained in a placid and thoughtful state, for the Living Word was unto him a guide. Among those who

[1] Psalm LXVIII. 1, 2.
[2] Psalm CXVIII. 10.

came unto him there were many who were indeed very sorely afflicted, and our Lord healed them by the hand of the blessed man; and moreover, God gave him such a measure of grace in his speech that every man was wholly gratified thereat, for those who were in affliction and distress were encouraged to endure thereby, those who were occupied with contention were quieted thereby, those who were afflicted sorely became longsuffering, the haughty were made humble thereby, and the arrogant were brought low thereby, in order that every man might learn the doctrine of righteousness. For he used to say, "That we "should possess anything besides Christ is unnecessary,[1] "and we should not esteem anything of value besides "the love of Christ, neither possessions, nor kinsfolk, "not even our soul itself. For if God did not spare "His Son, but delivered Him up on account of our sins, "how much the more is it right for us, having tasted "and known Divine grace, to give our souls, not on "His behalf, for such a thing is not required from us, "but on behalf of our own lives." By these words he used to persuade many to withdraw themselves from this world and from the worry thereof, and to take refuge in a habitation of monks.

And he began to increase from that time with Christ in simple-mindedness, and in love towards strangers, and in longsuffering; now these things not only go with us, but they also go before us, and they make ready for us a place in the country of the humble and meek, and no man should lack them, especially when he knoweth the will of his Lord, and that he is bound to prepare himself according to His will. Would any servant dare to stand before his master's face and say unto him, "Yesterday I toiled, but to-day I have done "nothing at all?" Or, have we not heard what our

[1] *I. e.*, if we possess Christ it is unnecessary to possess anything else, and compared with His love nothing is of value.

Lord said in the Gospel, "When a servant hath toiled "nobly, and hath laboured in the work which is outside, "as soon as he hath gone inside he shall weave a "place for his hands [Page 24] and shall minister unto "his Lord, and then happiness shall be his?" Now, since we have heard these things from the Divine Books, what reason can we have for being without the fear of God? Was it not for this that Ezekiel the Prophet was made a watchman? Did not Judas, because of the one night wherein he wrought wickedness, lose the labour of all his days?

Let us continue to be strenuous then, O children of our profession, and let it not become wearisome unto us, for our Lord hath been made a Guide unto us and unto every man who hath a desire for the virtues. And that it may not be tedious unto us the blessed Paul became an example unto us aforetime, and said, "I die daily."[1] Now if we were to think that we had to die daily we should never sin at all, and this is the explanation of the word which was spoken. If when it is morning we were to imagine that we should never arrive at the evening, and if also when it is evening we thought that we should never arrive at the morning: by this thought also the nature of our life would teach us that it is not a matter for confidence. If therefore we prepare our mind in this manner, and if we live with this thought therein, we should never be overcome by sin, and the lust of time would not reign over us, and we should not keep anger against a fellow creature of flesh, and we should not love the possessions which pass away, and we should forgive every man who offended us. And the lust for women would die in the heart, for how could it be ministered unto? For at all times every thing which is greater than its fellow overcometh its fellow, and the fear of God exalteth itself above everything.

[1] I Corinthians XV. 31.

Now therefore, O my beloved, let us be zealous in carrying out the work whereunto we have once bound ourselves, and let us travel to the end on the road whereon we have begun to journey, and let no man among us look behind him, lest we be like unto the wife of Lot.[1] It is not easy for him that shall turn behind him, after he hath received the doctrine of righteousness, to enter into the kingdom of heaven; he that turneth back, whatsoever be the way in which he turn, will repent of what he hath done, and he will turn to the elements of this world, even as [Page 25] a dog to his vomit. Be ye therefore not afraid as if ye were carrying a heavy burden, for the burden of our Lord is easy and light unto those who desire it; if therefore we have the desire everything is easy unto us. The children of this world travel over the seas and make journeys across difficult countries in order that they may learn profane wisdom, in the doctrine of which the means of righteousness is not employed, and in the praise of which there is no profit of life; but we are not wanted either to set out on a journey or to travel on the sea for the sake of the kingdom of heaven, for our Lord declared aforetime, saying, "The kingdom of heaven is within you."[2] So therefore, O my beloved, life is in our own hands to gain, for it is within us, and it is ministered unto by us. For the soul by its nature possesseth the perception of the understanding, and therefore our soul hath knowledge of what our life is; it is prepared by the nature of its creation, and is ready for everything which it wisheth. Therefore also Joshua, the son of Nun, commanded the people, saying, "Prepare your hearts before the God of Israel;"[3] and John also said, "Prepare your ways."[4] Now when

[1] Genesis XIX. 26.
[2] St. Luke XVII. 21.
[3] Joshua XXIV. 23.
[4] St. Luke III. 4.

the Book decreeth the preparation of the soul, it wisheth that the rectitude of the nature of its first creation shall be in it, but when it goeth forth from its limit it is condemned by the Book like the Evil One. Therefore the matter is not a difficult one unto us. For, if we remain in that wherein we were created from the beginning, life is in us and with us; and our mind also condemneth us when it thinketh evil and hath envy of the thoughts, and bringeth forth a deed of injury in an unseemly manner. Everything, therefore, is given into our own power to do, and there is no master set over us to command us what we shall do; moreover, there is no man who can restrain us either from thinking or doing fair things; whether we live or whether we die belongeth unto ourselves. For if we desire to hold ourselves excused[1] from thoughts of the wicked and of deposit[s],[2] let us take heed diligently and guard [Page 26] for our Lord the liberty, which hath been given unto us without blemish, as something which we have received from the beginning, and let us be faithful children unto the Lord. Therefore take ye heed, O my beloved sons, that ye keep not silence like those who have been brought low through sin, or by wrath or by lust; for it is written that the anger of a man perfecteth not the righteousness of God, and besides, lust conceiveth and bringeth forth sin, and when sin hath been performed completely[3] it bringeth forth death.

In this wise, O my beloved, let us lead the life of watchfulness and strenuousness, even as it is written, "Keep thine heart with all diligence,"[4] for we have cunning and crafty enemies, and it is against these that our strife must be, even as the Apostle said, "Our

[1] Or, to withdraw ourselves.
[2] *I. e.*, usurers and pledges.
[3] *I. e.*, been actually committed.
[4] Proverbs IV. 23.

"contending is not against flesh and blood, but against "principalities, and powers, and against those who are "masters of the world of darkness which is beneath "the heavens."[1] Their contending against us is very frequent, and there is no respite to their attacks upon us. Now even between the devils there is a distinction, and concerning their nature and concerning [this] difference it would be a labour to narrate; but we will here reveal and describe very briefly those things which are necessary to be learnt concerning their contending against us, and their temptings, and their blandishments (*or*, flatteries), and, in short, the whole system of their cunning.

Before this, however, it is proper for us to learn that the beings which are called devils were not created that they might be devils, for there is nothing evil in the works of God, and even they were created beautiful beings; but when they turned aside from the mind of righteousness, or from the heavenly understanding, they were removed to a distance from the place wherein they lived. And seeing that they were cast away by the exalted Will they drew nigh and mingled themselves among created things (*or*, creation), and they made the heathen to go astray wholly according to their desire; and against us, because they have envy of us, they multiply their contendings that, peradventure, they may be able to divert us from the way of the truth of the kingdom of heaven, and that we may not attain unto the country wherefrom they were swept out [Page 27] and fell. Therefore the labour of prayer and of abundant supplication is necessary for us, that through Divine Providence, and through the gift which we have received from the Holy Spirit, we may be able to know what distinction existeth between the evil spirits, and what each one of them hath been commanded to [seek] after, and by what

[1] Ephesians VI. 12.

manner of means the destruction of every one of them is to be brought about. For their cunning is very great, and they spread abroad the root of their net in everything. Therefore the blessed Apostle and the rest of the righteous men who, like him, had experience of and had tried the Tempter in everything, and it is for this very reason that they have declared it, said, "The artifices of the Evil One shall not overcome us." And I will now narrate something of what I have endured from them, and a little of the vast knowledge which I have of them, and, like the beloved Prophets, I will tell what I understand about them.

The whole race of devils is beyond measure an envious one, and it is altogether jealous of all mankind, and particularly of the monks, for they cannot bear to see heavenly deeds wrought and heavenly lives led upon the earth, and they, therefore, make hidden pits and snares for us, as it is written, "They have laid "their nets over my paths;"[1] now [the words] "their "nets" mean thoughts of iniquity. Let us, however, be not afraid of their commotion, and let us not be made lax by reason of their blandishments (*or*, flatteries); but let us be constant in fasting and in prayer, and straightway they shall be vanquished and disappear. Now when they depart let us not be confident and say, "Behold, they are put to shame, and we are freed "from them," for this species can never be put to shame, and it knoweth not how to blush; for whilst their temptations are being brought to nought on this side, they make an attack upon us on the other; and when they have examined and tried by what means the understanding may be flattered or made to be terrified, they multiply excuses (*or*, reasons) to it such as the following. The devils are in the habit of leading men astray with some such reason as this:—"Be- "hold, we will inform you concerning the things which

[1] Compare Psalm LVII. 7.

"are about to be," and then they shew them phantoms which reach up to the heavens, and mansions[1] which are exceedingly strong, [Page 28] so that by means of these similitudes they may lead astray those whom they are not able to injure in their minds.

It is quite unnecessary that we who are believers should be terrified either by the motions of the various species of devils, or by the various similitudes [which they assume], and we should not be afraid of their voices which are angry and threatening at one time, and which are flattering at another. For the Evil One is a liar, and there is no truth either in his words or his deeds. But although mankind once gave him power and sin lifted up its horn, our Lord hath now broken the goad (*or*, sting) thereof, and hath humbled it and brought it down beneath our feet; and it hath been made a thing for the Gentiles to trample upon and a laughingstock to the nations. And this is a proof that the matter is thus, and righteousness testifieth that it hath been performed in creation, for behold, he who, in his error, is exalted in his heart, and who boasteth that he can dry up the sea and can parcel out the dry land, hath not the power to destroy the heavenly mind which is in the monks, and he is unable to divert such a small and unimportant creature as myself from speaking about him. Now the devils are cunning, but they can only lead astray those upon whom they find an opportunity for exercising their wiles; they appear in all kinds of forms and similitudes, and it happeneth that the Evil One even demandeth for himself the form of righteousness, as it is written, "Satan even "taketh upon himself the form of an angel of light."

There is a time when we see no man and yet the sound of the working of the devils is heard by us, and it is like the singing of a song in a loud voice; and there are time[s] when the word[s] of the Scriptures

[1] Reading مقهٔ جحتم.

are heard by us, just as if a living man were repeating them, and they are exactly like the words which we should hear if a man were reading the Book. And it also happeneth that they rouse us up to the night prayer, and incite us to stand up; and they make apparent unto us also the similitudes of monks and the form[s] of those who mourn (*i. e.*, the anchorites); and they draw nigh unto us as if they had come from a long way off, and they begin to utter words like unto these, that they may make lax the understanding of those who are little of soul:—"It is now a law unto "all creation that we love desolation,[1] but we were un- "able [Page 29], by reason of God, to enter into our "houses when we came unto them, and to do fair "things." And when they are unable to work their will by means of a scheme of this kind, they depart from this kind of deceit unto another, [and say], "How now is it possible for thee to live? For thou hast "sinned and committed iniquity in many things. Think- "est thou that the spirit hath not revealed unto me "what hath been done by thee, or that I know not "that thou hast done such and such a thing?" If, therefore, a simple brother hear these things, and feel within himself that he hath done even as the Evil One [hath said], and he be not acquainted with his craftiness, his mind shall be troubled straightway, and he shall fall into despair and turn backwards.

It is then, O my beloved, unnecessary for us to be terrified at these things, and we have need to fear only when the devils multiply the speaking of the things which are true, and then we must rebuke them severely; for even in the days of our Redeemer when they spake[2] [unto Him] the things which were true

[1] *I. e.*, the belief that we love desolation (*or*, destruction) is so firmly implanted in men's minds that it has become a fundamental conception in them.

[2] Read مضكر.

He rebuked them and made them to hold their peace and to speak not, lest they should mingle their wickedness with the truth in the words which they were speaking. Let us then take heed[1] that we incline not our hearing to their words, even though they be words of truth which they utter; for it would be a disgrace unto us that those who have rebelled against God should become [our] teachers. And let us, O my brethren, arm ourselves with the armour of righteousness, and let us put on the helmet of redemption, and in the time of contending let us shoot out from a believing mind spiritual arrows as from a bow which is stretched (*or*, bent). For they are nothing at all, and even if they were their strength hath in it nothing which would enable it to resist the might of the Cross. Whatsoever they do they do like thieves and robbers, and not after the manner of fighting[2] men, for they have not the strength to stand up and to contend for any length of time; and they shout, and wrangle, and make tumultuous noises and commotions that, peradventure, by means of the sheer fright which they themselves inspire they may be able to lead away captive weak minds and to make them do their will. If they had the power to perform [Page 30] anything, or to do any harm whatsoever, so much tumult, and outcry, and trouble would be unnecessary, and if one of them only were to come he could perform [by himself] that which he had been deputed to do. For when the angel of truth was sent by the Lord of creation against the camp of the Assyrians he had no need of many companions, and he came not with tumult and terror, but with quietness and firmness he made use of the power which had been given to him, and destroyed one hundred and fourscore and five thousand of the

[1] The text reads ܐܝܟ ܕܢܣܡܝ, but is probably corrupt.

[2] *I. e.*, like freebooters and not like soldiers who have been trained in a regular army.

Assyrians; but the assembly of the evil ones, because it possesseth not the power of performing its own will, maketh use of means which are full of terror.

Now if any man shall say, "Supposing now the "devils to have no power in them, by what agency "did they bring upon Job all the calamity which is "written in the Book?" let him understand that he must think in this wise, that is to say, that the Evil One hath no power to do harm, and that God only gave it into his hands to tempt him; for if this were not thus He would not have stripped him of everything, and He would have had compassion upon his soul, for mercy is not found with him. In this wise must a man think. Moreover, the Evil One appeareth to have been particularly feeble, inasmuch as the just man vanquished him in the contest which he waged with a man; yet this is not a matter for wonder, my beloved, for Job the just was not given over into the hands of the Evil One. And know ye that unless God had so wished he would neither have had power over Job himself, nor over his herds and his flocks, nor over the miserable wealth of those who were spectators of him — if a man may say so. And that the matter is thus be ye persuaded from the blessed Gospel, for when our Lord restrained and pursued the devils in one place they besought him to permit them to enter into a herd of swine which was nigh unto them. If now the devils had not power over the swine, how much [less] can they have power over man [Page 31] who was made in the image of God? So therefore in proportion as it is necessary for us to increase our fear of God it is meet for us to add to the contempt which we should have for the congregation of the evil ones. Now in what way can we increase our fear of God, or in what way are we able to add to our contempt for the evil ones? The means by which both these things are to be performed are similar in each case. Whensoever we make our life and deeds better

than they were before, we increase the pleasure which we give to God, and we also multiply the contempt which we have for the evil ones; for the devils are far more afraid of the fasting of the monks, and of their prayers, and of their chastity, and of their abstinence, and of their meekness, and of their gentleness, than they are of their exploits, and they are afraid most of all of their righteousness which is in Christ; and all these [virtues] pierce them on every side after the manner of arrows, and for this reason they do all they can, and they become mad and foam at the mouth, that if they can help it they may not arrive at this condition of disgrace.

Therefore do not ye give unto them an opportunity in any matter whatsoever, neither when they come against us in the guise of enemies in wars, nor when under the form of friends they attempt to flatter us; for they are wont to draw nigh unto us in the guise of friends and to reveal matters unto us. At one time they will come unto us and inform us beforehand concerning the coming of the brethren, and at another we hear [from them] also rumours and reports [of things which are] remote; when therefore it happeneth that they tell us of something which is going to happen, and it cometh to pass, let us not be disturbed. For it is not a great thing, seeing that they themselves are spirits in their persons, that they should see and perceive the brethren who are coming to us, and should tell us beforehand of their coming, and should [make known] a matter which hath happened in a certain place, and that they should be as it were those who revealed it unto us. Now these things a runner who is swift in his course could do, and also a horseman who rideth rapidly. Therefore, let us not be led away after their deeds through such things, and let us neither marvel at them nor think that they are matters of importance, for that they are not things [Page 32] which have not been done already hath been made known

aforetime; but to reveal secret things and to make known what is to be performed aforetime are things which are in the hands of God only.

Know ye, however, O my beloved, that they have made known to many who were afar off the fortune of this our present congregation, and all matters which were in dispute; and of what I have said the following [words] will afford a proof and an explanation. It hath happened by chance that a man hath set out from India, or from some remote country, to come unto us, and when as yet we did not see him or know anything about him, straightway we have had sight of him and have heard where he was prepared to go, for immediately [the devils] seized upon the word[s] quickly and brought it unto us, saying, "Behold, such "and such a man from such and such a place is com-"ing unto you." It hath happened, moreover, that the man who was coming was a king, or that some obstacle hath prevented him from coming, whomsoever he was, or that having travelled a certain distance, which was not little, he returned to his own country, but nevertheless the shameful and reprehensible craftiness of the devils had found it out.

And thus it is also in the case of the waters of the river Gîḥôn (Nile) which is in our country, for they inform us beforehand whensoever they are going to rise. And whensoever they see the clouds and the abundant rain which [falleth] in India, (now this river Nile cometh from that country) they know and see that by reason of the storm which hath taken place in India, the river will be full from one bank to the other, and that the final rise of the waters of the Nile cometh they declare beforehand, and thus they lead astray the souls of various people who lack understanding. Now the inhabitants of India also if they had the power to travel as the devils have would come and announce the rise of the waters of the Nile to the people who are in Egypt.

And the matter is like that of the watchman when he goeth up to some high place in the sight of the whole camp and is able to see him that is coming before he arriveth; but he who cometh is also able to afford exact information concerning what is coming and what are the contents of his despatch, and what is the condition of the nation from whom he cometh. In like manner do the devils see or hear and give information [concerning what they see and hear beforehand]. Now if that which God meditateth concerning the waters of the river[1] . . . . . [Page 33] for He hath the power . . . .; their cunning handiwork is reprehensible unto us who are wise, but unto those who lack understanding their error is sweet. By such means of error as these hath paganism made its way throughout creation, but the Lord of created things came and rebuked him that did these things, and humbled his spirit; and behold, the earth is tilled by the law of righteousness, and by the sword of the Spirit; and behold, the thorns, and the briars, and all the weeds of the seed of the Evil One have been rooted out therefrom. Such are the means which are made use of by their error, and with such forms as these do they lead astray creation. And supposing there be among you, O my children, any man who shall say, "Behold, "do not the devils declare many things which they "have not [before] heard, and do not they see many "things which they have not before seen?" even if this be so, O my beloved, let not your minds be disturbed thereby; but enter ye into the counsel of your mind, and get understanding concerning the things of [this] world, and from these ye will obtain the power of [preserving your minds] free from storm[s].

And before all things know that the physicians, by means of the experience which they have gotten of their handicraft, are able to know of a certainty before

[1] The text is corrupt here.

a man falleth sick whether he will live or die, and how long the sickness will last, and when it will be at an end. And it happeneth that, even when a man himself hath no idea that he is about to enter into afflictions, the physicians from their constant practice and from the experience which they have acquired, are able to inform [him] concerning the sicknesses which are about to come upon him, even when the first symptoms thereof have not declared themselves. Now the power of foretelling things is even greater with those who steer ships than with the physicians, for they have experience of the heavens (*or*, sky) and of the wind which is therein, and they are able to declare several days beforehand on what day the heavens (*or*, sky) will change, and at what periods the wind will become strong, and these things they can do by their knowledge and by their experience. And know ye also that the ability of the devils is not superior to that of helmsmen and physicians, for they also by their experience of matters are able to declare what they have never before heard, and to describe what they have never before seen [Page 34]. Unto you then these devils and the supplication which concerneth them are superfluities; let those who are without them seek these things, but seek ye not freedom therefrom, and let it be unto you an object to finish your work.

For who [hath commanded us] that we should be strenuous in this matter, and should know it? Who among the men of olden time received praise because they had knowledge of events before they happened? And who [among them] was ever blamed because he had no knowledge of events which were afar off or were about to take place [immediately]? Each one of us will, however, be judged if he performeth not the work of righteousness, and not because he knoweth or doth not know. Therefore let us excuse ourselves from this supplication and let us pray, not

that we may know secret things, but that we may please the Divine Majesty, and that power may be given unto us to stand against the darts of the Evil One; but if we also desire to know hidden things, this too is in our own hands, and we must purify our heart as a habitation for the Holy Spirit, and behold, He will abide and rest in us, and by the rays of light which proceed from Him our eye will be able to see hidden things from remote distances. Did not Elisha, who was a man like unto ourselves,[1] through the purity of his heart see that which his eyes had never seen?

Ye must then make a distinction between the things of the Holy Spirit, and the things of the congregation of the Evil One. And perhaps ye will say, "How are "we to make the distinction?" First of all, pray and make supplication unto the Revealer of secret things that He will make you to possess [the power] of distinguishing between these matters; and for the rest I myself am bound to impart unto you gladly, as my sons, whatsoever I have learned from a long experience. The visions and revelations of the Holy Spirit are not of a terrifying or tumultuous character, for they take place under conditions of rest and tranquillity, and in like manner also with gentle pleasure and quiet satisfaction doth the soul feel the rise of the Holy Ghost therein, for it is not wont to put terror into people or to produce trembling where it maketh itself to be seen. Look ye now into the Scriptures and they will inform you in what manner the revelation of the Spirit taketh place, [Page 35] and they will shew you that it taketh place in restfulness, and gladness, and peace; these are the similitudes which are in the revelation of the Spirit, and whensoever it is brought about it is done in this manner. And if, after the manner of men, a man be straightway terrified or greatly moved through the love of the thing itself, or through the beauty of

[1] This appears to be the meaning of the sentence.

the revelation, and through the quietness and pleasure which are caused thereby, in due season the fear or terror will come to an end, and comfort and gladness will come to him in its place, even as Gabriel wrought for Zachariah, and according to what the other angels did for the blessed women at the grave of our Lord, and the angel who appeared unto the shepherds and proclaimed to them the good news of the birth of our Redeemer. And ye will find many other instances which are like unto these in the Scriptures if ye seek for them. Now if the soul be terrified or be afraid by reason of those visions it doth not follow that such fright is caused by the Evil One, for it may, peradventure, arise in it because the soul thinketh itself unworthy of the heavenly revelation which hath been vouchsafed unto it. This then is the manner of the revelation of the knowledge of the truth.

Now fright of the Evil One cometh about in this wise. First of all the soul is disturbed and terrified, and it heareth the sounds of a great tumult, and of the playing of musical instruments, and of singing, which are like unto those made at a feast of drunken men and in the caves of robbers, and because of these sounds which it heareth the timid soul is greatly moved, and for this reason it becometh afraid; and moreover, the other souls which are brave are terrified because they have heard strange sounds, for all their affairs in every possible way belong to tribulation and misery. And there is a time when they ask for the similitudes of the persons of the children of men in very truth, and although [they do] thus, it is well known that it is merely a phantom and the form of a man only [which they obtain]. For however much an Indian were to rub himself he could never make himself resemble a Greek, and similarly with Satan, however many forms of the children of men he might steal for himself in order to enable him to declare unto those who beheld him that the truth was with him, and to

lead into error [Page 36] the children of the truth, and however much the phantom might resemble the reality, that it could be compared with it is impossible. There is therefore no room for the devils to lead us into error by any one of these things, and whatsoever they do, they do to their own disgrace.

Understand ye also the following matter, and learn briefly concerning it, that is to say, in the revelation of the Spirit, and in the tumult caused by devils [in the soul] fear is vouchsafed. In respect of the devils, however, they can certainly stir up in us a tumult, and put terror therein, but they cannot turn them away and make an end of them; now whilst the Holy Spirit is revealing itself to a man, the soul is greatly moved by the majesty thereof, but the terror which it hath of Him cometh to an end speedily, and perfect happiness maketh its abode in him. Thus are the wiles and crafts of the Evil One, but, even according to the things which I have already said, let us not be moved by the fear which he causeth, and let us not be terrified at his visions, and let us not turn unto him and make ourselves subject to him so that he may say unto us, "Fall ye down and worship me." By his wiles and crafts he hath led the heathen into error, and they imagine that he is God, but the fearers of our Lord have prevented us, and they have gathered us into His habitation, and [thus] there is not given unto him an opportunity of leading us into captivity. For the Evil One is exceedingly bold, and he is without shame, and he even dared to approach our Lord in his madness and depravity, that is to say, the body which He had put on; and our Lord looked upon him and scorned him, and rebuked him, and said, "Get thee behind me, "Satan: for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord "thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve."[1] Through the consolation of these things especially the Evil One

[1] St. Luke IV. 8.

should be held in contempt in our sight; for the word which was spoken by our Lord to Satan was spoken on our behalf and on account of us, that in the same manner we ourselves might also rebuke the devils, and that as the Evil One was destroyed before the word of our Lord, so he might also perish and come to an end before our words, for in this he cannot multiply boasting.

Now when [Page 37] our word hath power over the devils, and the fiends [run] terrified from before us, let no man marvel when he rebuketh the demons and they become subject unto him, and let him not hold in contempt another man by whose hands a similar thing cannot be wrought, but let him examine first of all and understand the lives and works of various men, and from this [scrutiny] let him know with whom abideth Divine Grace, and where the righteousness of God resteth; for they will be unto us a very much better mirror than those who cast out devils, and in them the wicked will be able to see their blemishes and [so] become rebuked, and in them good men will be able to look carefully at their career and become strengthened. Whether a man becometh a prosperous toiler or an abject coward belongeth unto himself, but for a man to stretch out his hand against the devils and for them to yield place belongeth not unto him but unto heavenly Grace. For when the Disciples returned with joy unto their Lord from [preaching the] Gospel which they had been sent out to preach, they rejoiced in that even the devils were obedient unto their words. Now therefore let him that hath discernment look and hearken unto this answer which was given unto them:— "Rejoice ye not because the devils also have been "made subject unto you, but rejoice because your names "have been written down in heaven."[1] Now for names to be written down in the Book of Life is a testimony

[1] St. Luke x. 20.

to conduct which is pleasing[1] [to God] and an upright mind for those who are worthy of this thing; but power over devils is, manifestly, [a mark of] the grace of our Redeemer. And that [ye may know that] this is so, observe what Christ answered those who took refuge in this thing when the spirits were going forth before Him and they said unto Him, "In Thy Name we have "cast out devils, and have performed many signs and "wonders." And He said unto them, "Verily, verily, "I say unto you I know you not."[2] Therefore let us pray, as I have already said, that there may be given unto us the grace to seek after the [power to] distinguish between spirits, [Page 38] according to the word of the Book which saith, "Be not ye led astray by the spirits which err."[3]

[THE FOLLOWING IS] BY THE HOLY WRITER MÂR ATHANASIUS. Now I merit praise in that whilst repeating the triumphs of the blessed Anthony I desire to keep silence concerning many things, being at the same time very careful not to speak anything on mine own authority only; it is sufficient for me to record the things which actually took place. Let not any man imagine that we declare these matters as a pastime, but let him be sure that we narrate them as things which took place in very truth, and that we do so knowing from actual experience that they are true, and that we are only placing on record the wonderful acts of the blessed man that they may form a small memorial of him. Let the wise man know the purity of our intention and that we do not narrate the things which have been said by us in this history without a good object; and we shall be made strong by the measure of your love. For I am convinced that it would be

[1] *Or*, "testimony to a beautiful life, and character, and works."

[2] St. Luke XIII. 25.

[3] Compare I Timothy, chap. IV.

neither useful nor beneficial if matters of this kind were spoken of in a boastful manner, because our Adversary is very crafty, and it might happen that he could cause us to stumble even in a thing which concerneth the truth; therefore, whilst recording the narrative of the histories of the wiles and arts of the Evil One, it is meet that we should make you to be watchful against his subtlety.

The blessed and holy man Anthony [saith]:—How often then did they ascribe blessings in a loud voice, and whilst the voice of blessing was reaching my ears, the words of cursing were sent forth by them. For how many times did they inform me beforehand concerning the flood of the Nile,[1] that is to say, of the river Gîḥôn, and how many times did I say unto them, "And as for you what have ye?" And I used to say unto them, "I have no need to learn these things from "you," but they would come again to me after this in the guise of thieves, and they would surround me, and would stand up and utter threats against me, having at the same time their weapons upon them. And again, on another occasion they were suddenly found filling my house with serpents of various kinds, and with reptiles in large numbers, and with these there were also horses which neighed; then straightway I made myself ready and I stood up and I lifted up my voice in Psalms, and said, "Some [put their trust in] "chariots, [Page 39] and some in horses, but we will "be strong in the Name of the Lord our God,"[2] and immediately they came to an end and disappeared from before me. On another occasion they came to me by night, and they were holding torches of fire and were saying, "We have come now to burn thee [alive], O An-"thony," and as they were saying these things unto me I closed my eyes so that I might shew them that I

[1] *Or*, "the overflow of the Nile."
[2] Psalm xx. 7.

had placed their light in the portion of darkness; and straightway I put on the armour of prayer against them, and whilst I was praying the light of the sinful ones was extinguished, and it was no more.

And again, after a few months they came in the guise of the singers of the Psalms, and they began to speak to me [with words] from the Scriptures; but I, like a deaf man, did not hearken unto them. On another occasion they shook down upon me the habitation wherein I was living, but I laughed at them by reason of my confidence which [was placed] in our Lord, and my mind was in no way whatsoever disturbed by them. And after this they came unto me with whistlings and they were beating their hands together and dancing with joy;[1] but when they saw that notwithstanding all their clamour I did not cease to pray, and that I held not my peace from the singing of Psalms, like unto men who have been defeated and overcome they turned their songs of joy into lamentations, and they began to wail and to beat their breasts in grief, and at the same time I gave thanks unto my good Lord for all these things, and because He had broken, and destroyed, and brought low, and humbled, their audacious arrogance and mad folly.

And again, on another occasion, there appeared [unto me] a devil of an exceedingly haughty and insolent appearance, and he stood up before me with the tumultuous noise of many people, and he dared to say unto me "I, even I, am the power of God," and "I, even I, am the Lord of the worlds." And he said unto me "What dost thou wish me to give thee? Ask "and thou shalt receive." Then I blew a puff of wind at him, and I rebuked him in the Name of Christ, and I made ready to smite him, and when, as I thought, I did smite him, at that very moment all his strength

[1] Read ܘܡܚܕ̈ܝܢ.

and all his host [of fiends] at the [mention of] the Name of Christ came to an end. And on another occasion, when I was fasting, [Page 40] the crafty one appeared unto me in the form of a brother monk carrying bread, and he began to speak unto me words of counsel, saying, "Rise up, and stay thy heart with "bread and water, and rest a little from thine excessive "labours, for thou art a man, and howsoever greatly "thou mayest be exalted thou art clothed with a mortal "body, and [thou shouldst] fear sicknessess and tribu-"lations." Then I regarded his words, and I held my peace and refrained from giving [him] an answer. And I bowed myself down in quietness and I began to make supplication in prayer, and I said, "O Lord, make "Thou an end of him even as Thou hast been wont "to do him away at all times;" and as I concluded my words he came to an end and vanished like dust, and went forth from the door like smoke.

And again, how very many times in the desert hath he shewn before me things like phantoms which resembled gold in order that I might bow myself down before him and touch him even with my finger! I, however, never ceased from singing the songs of the Holy Spirit. And how very many times when I was receiving enjoyment in the Holy Spirit did he disturb me in anger, and he even dared so far as to strike me! Not that I myself am of any account whatsoever, but that it may be seen that the power of our Lord is mighty, and that it cannot be vanquished even in the feeble ones who believe in Him. And Satan laid upon me hard stripes (*or*, cruel blows), and in proportion as he multiplied them I kept crying out with a loud voice, saying, "There is nothing which shall "separate me from the love of God;" and after these words [had been said] Satan and the members of his host fell one upon the other, and each of them vented his wrath upon his fellow. Now it was God, Who aforetime reduced Satan to subjection, and God alone,

Who performed all these things which I have related; and [the Book] saith, "I saw Satan like lightning fall "from heaven."[1] And I, O my sons, remember the word[s] of the Apostle, who said, "I have spoken these "things for your behalf, both for myself and for Apollos "that ye may learn of us;"[2] in this wise ye also must learn of me [Page 41] these things which ye have heard, and ye shall not be wearied [in running] your course and ye shall not fear the appearances (*or*, visions) of Satan and of all his hosts. And even though I, like a simple man, have made use of these histories, it is for you to hold them to be true; for it is meet that we should bring forward in this place whatsoever we remember, lest under one pretext or another, or by some means or other, [Satan] draw nigh unto you, and that ye may find yourselves ready [to fight] against all his schemes.

Now on one occasion Satan approached the house one night and knocked at the door, and I went out to see who was knocking, and I lifted up mine eyes and saw the form of an exceedingly tall, and strong man; and having asked him, "Who art thou?" he answered and said unto me, "I am Satan." And after this I said unto him, "What seekest thou?" and he answered and said unto me, "Why do the monks, and "the anchorites, and the other Christians revile me, "and why do they at all times heap curses upon me?" And having clasped my head firmly[3] [in wonder] at his mad folly, I said unto him, "Wherefore dost thou "give them trouble?" Then he answered and said unto me, "It is not I who trouble them, but it is they "who trouble themselves. For there happened unto me "on a certain occasion that which did happen to me, "and had I not cried out to them that I was the "Enemy, his slaughterers would have come to an end

[1] St. Luke x. 18.
[2] Compare 1 Corinthians iii. 6.
[3] Literally, "And having multiplied and held my head."

"for ever. I have, therefore, no place [to dwell in], "and not one glittering sword, and not even people "who are really subject unto me, for those who are "in service to me hold me wholly in contempt; and "moreover, I have to keep them in fetters, for they "do not cleave to me because they esteem it right to "do so, and they are ever ready to escape from me in "every place. The Christians have filled the whole "world, and behold, even the desert is filled full with "[their] monasteries and habitations. Let them then "take good heed to themselves when they heap abuse "upon me." Then, wondering at the grace of our Lord, I said unto him, "How doth it happen that whilst "thou hast been a liar on every other occasion at this "present the truth is spoken by thee? And how is it "that thou speakest the truth now when thou art wont "to utter lies? [Page 42] It is indeed true that when "Christ came into [this] world thou wast brought down "to the lowest depths, and that the root of thine error "was plucked up from the earth." And when Satan heard the Name of Christ his form vanished and his words came to an end. Since, therefore, Satan himself confessed that there was nothing in his power, we are compelled wholly to despise him and his host. Such then are the crafts and wiles which are found with the Enemy and with the greedy dogs which form his host. And having learned the feebleness and helplessness thereof it is meet that we should make ourselves ready to [march] against them as over a road which our Lord hath trodden for us.

Let then these phantoms be a help unto us so that our minds may not be frightened by his cunning, and fear may not abide in us by reason of his impudence; and let not anxious thought be wrought in us, lest the Evil One gain greater strength, and let us not be afraid when he hurleth his darts at us lest this thing be an occasion unto him for boasting. And let us not be like stricken men, but let us be prepared at all

times [to act] as men who have vanquished the enemy; and let this thought be with us at all times, namely, that God, Who hath revealed and exposed the "powers "and dominions", is with us at all times. For [otherwise] when the evil ones draw nigh unto us, having made ready to come against us in the hope that they may gain some advantage over us, or may discover some thoughts of fear in us, for they prepare phantoms [which appear] unto us in the event that they may find that we are terrified and afraid, straightway, like thieves who have discovered a place which is without guardians,[1] they will enter into us and will lead us captives of their will, and our miserable souls will be found to be in an agitated state, not by reason of the punishment of the Adversary, but through our own sluggishness.[2] If, however, the evil ones find us in the love of Christ, and meditating continually on the hope [of that] which is to come, and thinking thoughts concerning the commandments of our Lord, and [believing] that the kingdom and dominion are His, and that the Evil One hath neither opportunity nor power to resist the might of the Cross, if, I say, the Evil One shall find any believing man in this state of mind when he draweth nigh unto him, [Page 43] at that very moment he will remove himself from him to a distance.

It was in such a frame of mind that he found Job who was prepared [to resist him], and the Evil One feared, and was ashamed, and he departed from him as from a man of war; on the other hand, he led captive to his will wholly Judah whom he found to be entirely destitute of such matters. Let us learn then fully from such examples and from such narratives, that if we wish to do so it is very easy for us to hold in contempt the Evil One. Let us meditate at all times on our Lord, and let our souls rejoice in His Hope,

[1] *I. e.*, find an opportunity when we are not on guard.

[2] Read ܒܥܘܬ ܕܫܠܝܬܘܬܐ.

and behold, we shall find that the Evil One will vanish from before us like the darkness, and we shall also discover that those who came to persecute us will turn [their backs] upon us like men who are chased out of the battle, for, as I have already told you, they are cowards. For the decree of doom (*or*, judgment) is at all times before them, and they are ever expecting the punishment which is prepared for them, and the fear of the Cross is cast upon them in proportion to their impudent audacity. Let then these and all the other things [which I have said] be unto you the means of understanding the insolent cunning of the Evil One, and of recognizing the similitudes of the forms of his appearances. If it happen therefore unto any of you that the appearance of one of these forms presenteth itself, be ye not forthwith terrified, but look upon it with great courage as it really is, and ask it, "Who "art thou? And whence comest thou?" And if it be a true revelation of the Holy Spirit, straightway the mind will feel that it is so, and will have confidence, and courage (*or*, consolation) will grow in you and fear will diminish; but if it be an appearance of the error of the Evil One, the thing will be confounded, and there will be no opportunity for it to be bold, and the form of the appearance will not tarry, and the question [which ye ask] will make manifest the courage of the confidence of refuge in our Lord.

On one occasion a manifestation revealed itself unto Joshua, the son of Nun, and he asked that which had appeared unto him who he was, and took his stand upon the question; and similarly Daniel also saw one of the Watchers and rejoiced at the sight, and was afraid at the measure of the honour of him that had come, but he was wholly comforted by the grace [Page 44] of the confidence which he had in his truth. And in like manner a revelation (*or*, manifestation) of the truth came to each and every one of the [saints

of] olden time, and none of the stratagems of the phantoms of the Wicked One ever led them astray.

And as the blessed man Anthony was saying these things, and every man was hearkening unto him with gladness, unto every man who listened unto him was given help of one kind or another according to his need; the man who was strong found his strenuousness to be increased, and the man who was weak found that he received encouragement, and the proud man found that his arrogance was overthrown and swept away, and every man was persuaded to reach forward confidently towards the hope which is to come. And all the people with one accord ascribed blessing unto the righteous man Anthony because such a degree of strength had been given unto him, and because such great wisdom had made its abode in him, and because that in the fierce strife and warfare which he waged against devils he was able to distinguish and discern the difference between good and evil appearances, and the manifestations (*or*, revelations) of our Lord from those which appertained unto devils. And in the days of the blessed man the habitations of the monks were accepted as tabernacles of praises, and Psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs were heard therein; and love and righteousness rejoiced therein, and therein was found the rest of prayer coupled with fasting. And the monks toiled in the labour of their hands that they might not be a burden upon any man, and of [the proceeds of] the sweat of their faces the poor and the needy were relieved. And the monastery [of Anthony] became at that time a wonder unto the inhabitants of the country, for behold, the silver, and the gold, and the riches of this world which were so highly esteemed in their sight, were despised and accounted as dross by such men as the monks thereof; and those at whose wastefulness, and drunkenness, and lasciviousness the monks marvelled, returned [to their homes] in wonder as [if they had seen] an angel and

not a human being. No sounds of dissension or contention were heard there, and no voice of the violent man(?) or of his gaoler sounded therein; [Page 45] well might a man describe that monastery in the words of the parable which was uttered in olden time, and say, "How fair are thy habitations, O Jacob, and thy "tabernacles, O Israel,"[1] for the country was as if the desert had been roofed over, and it was like a paradise which was by the rivers, and tabernacles which the Lord had stablished, and like cedars by the side of the stream.

Now therefore the blessed man, according to his wont, withdrew himself and departed to his habitation (*or*, cell) and to the place which was convenient for him to dwell in, and there like a mighty man he triumphed in the apparel of war; at all seasons he was mindful of the mansions which were in the heavens, and ..... He despised the world and held it in contempt, and his mind longed greatly for the kingdom of God, for already, even according to the word of the Apostle, he wished to be with his Lord. And moreover, he was greatly troubled when the time drew nigh in which it was proper for him to eat and drink with the sons of his habitation, for he was shamefaced, and he would fain depart from their midst, and he did not like any man to see him eating or drinking; nevertheless, although he felt thus at the appointed season he would eat [with them]. Now on the greater number of days the love which he bore towards the brethren would in this way draw him to their company, for he did not desire to grieve them in any way whatsoever, and he was as careful for them as if they had been himself; for he was mindful of the word of the Book which saith, "Ye are members,[2] each of the

[1] Numbers XXIV. 5.
[2] Romans XII. 5.

"other, and if one member be glorified the whole body "is glorified."

And this he used to say and teach unto them:—It is right that we should at all times follow after the food of the soul, for the soul worketh together with our spirit in the striving which is against the Adversary; but it is meet for the body to be in subjection and tribulation, for it very speedily becometh unduly exalted by the persuasion and flattery of the Evil One. And it is therefore right that the soul should be more prepared and more exalted than the body, that the body may not prevail (*or*, be strong) over it, and bring it low by the lusts [thereof]. And our Lord also gave this indication [Page 46] to the blessed Apostles, and commanded them, saying, "Be not care- "ful as to what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink, "for such things do the peoples of the earth seek after, "and your Father knoweth whatsoever things ye have "need of; but seek ye the kingdom of God and His "glory, and the things which are superior unto these "shall be added unto you."[1]

Now after these things some short time a storm and a persecution arose[2] in the Church, during the years [of the reign] of Maximinus, the wicked Emperor, and [the soldiers] began to seize and to take into Alexandria a great company of the blessed confessors; and the report of these things reached the blessed Anthony. And straightway he left his habitation and place of abode, and he made haste at the sound of the strife, and he said to himself, "I will go and draw nigh "[thereto], so that if Divine Grace call me it shall find "me prepared, and if it thinketh otherwise concerning "my unworthy self, I shall at all events be a spectator "of the strife;" now he desired exceedingly to enter

[1] St. Matthew VI. 31 ff.

[2] The persecution began A.D. 235: see Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* VI. 28; Rufinus, *Hist.*, VI. 19.

[the race], and to be accounted worthy of the athlete's crown. So he travelled on his way and drew nigh and arrived at the city, and he went in through the gate, and enquired where the athletes had been made to assemble, and where they had been gathered together, and asked concerning the report of the strife. And when he had heard and had learned where the place was, and in what manner of restraint they were fettered, he made his way thither; and as soon as he saw those who had been called by Divine Grace [unto death] at this time, he planned[1] with all diligence and by every means in his power that he might be a companion unto every one of them in the contest wherein they were to stand. And he prepared[2] and made himself ready to be with every man, and he became a prisoner in the prison with those who were shut up therein, and he ministered unto them and relieved their wants; and he passed his time continually in close companionship with the rest of the prisoners who were to be exiled, and those who were to be sent out from the country to the mines[3] and to the islands, and he ministered unto them with great pains and care. And he was found to be ready to accompany all such as were brought and were going in to their doom, both in their going in and coming out; as they went in he gave them encouragement and admonition, and as they came out [Page 47] he ascribed blessings unto them and sang hymns of praise. And it was his custom [to do this] day by day, and his acts were so well known and so famous in all the city that at length [the report thereof] came to the ears of the governor. Now when the wicked governor learned concerning

[1] Read ⲙⲉⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ.

[2] Read ⲙⲉⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲡ.

[3] Probably the mines to the west of Aswân, and those of the Wâdî ʿAlâḳi, which lie about 80 miles east of Dakkeh in Nubia.

him, and the people had informed him concerning Anthony's disposition and work, he marvelled at [the bravery of] his mind, and because he was neither moved by all the tortures and tribulations which were falling upon his companions, nor was afraid; and he commanded that he should no longer be found in the city, and that the other monks who were with should not come therein because they also were doing the same work.

And on another day certain athletes were summoned to the contest, and when the blessed Anthony knew of the command and threat (*or*, prohibition) of the judge, he washed and made white the apparel with which he was clothed (now his tunic was without shoulder coverings and was like the tunics with which the Egyptians cover themselves), and having arrayed himself in his clothing, he went and stood up inside the hall of judgment, opposite to the wicked judge; and when the men who had heard the commands of the king concerning Anthony and his companions lifted up their eyes and saw him, they prevented him that day from appearing before the judge, for they marvelled at him, and at his boldness concerning himself, and his courage in the face of death. Now all this threatening was very sad to him, and [in spite of] his contempt for the Enemy, the door which would enable him to testify was not opened; but God preserved him for the strengthening of those who testified, and for the benefit of those who were about to do so, and for the increase of the monasteries of the monks, and for the praise of the whole Church. And he continued to do this work until God was pleased to put an end to this persecution of the Church (now in those days the blessed Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, bore his testimony) (*i. e.*, was martyred); and after these things the blessed Anthony departed to his monastery and habitation, and he bore testimony continually, and, as it is written, he died daily, and after the persecution [Page 48] he was always adding a little more to the toil of his daily life.

Now he wore his apparel with the hair inside, and the skin outside, and to the day of his death he never touched his body with water, for he wished to keep it meagre, and he never dipped his feet in water without the sternest necessity; and no man ever saw him naked or exposed, except when he died, and his body was carried in honour by his disciples. He once decided that for a short time he would remain in silent contemplation, and that he would neither go outside his dwelling nor be seen by any man, and it came to pass that during the days wherein [he was thus occupied] a certain Roman nobleman whose name was Martînînôs[1] came to visit him, and he drew nigh and besought him to come forth and to pray with him, and to lay his hand upon his daughter, who was torn by a devil. And when the nobleman had waited a very long time, and had besought the blessed man incessantly to open his door, though he would not be persuaded to do so, Anthony looked [out of the window] and saw him, and said unto him, "O man, why dost "thou weary me? I am a man like unto thyself, but "if thou dost believe in the Christ Whom I serve, depart "in peace, and according as thou believest pray, and "it shall be [unto thee] even as thou wishest." Then straightway that man had full and complete confidence in the word which he had heard, and went back by the way he had come, taking his daughter with him, and she was delivered from the power of the subjugation of the Evil One. And God, Who did say, "Ask ye and receive",[2] performed very many things like unto this by the hands of Anthony; now many people who were smitten with diseases of several kinds thronged to him, and came and sat down by the side of his cell, and each of them obtained relief from their afflictions.

[1] *I. e.*, Martinianus. See Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 48.
[2] St. Matthew VII. 7; St. Luke XI. 9.

Now when he saw that much people were gathered together to him, and that the trouble which men and women caused him increased, he became afraid either lest he should be unduly exalted in his mind by reason of the things which God had wrought by his hand, or lest others should esteem him [Page 49] beyond what was right and more than he deserved, and he determined to go away from that place and to enter the Thebaïd. Then he took a little bread and went down and sat by the side of the river, and waited until he should see a boat going to that district to which he was ready to go. And as he was pondering these things in his mind, suddenly a voice from heaven was heard by him, and it called him and said unto him, "Anthony, whither goest thou? Why art thou depart-"ing from this place?" Now he was not afraid of the voice which came to him, but like a man who was accustomed to do so he spake with it, and answered and said, "Because, O my Lord, the people will not "permit me [to enjoy] a little silent contemplation; it "is for this reason that I am wishing to go up to the "Thebaïd, and especially do I desire it because the "people are seeking at my hands that which is wholly "beyond my powers." Then again the voice came to him, saying, "If thou goest up it will not be to the "Thebaïd only, and even if thou goest into the Thebaïd "as thou art thinking [of doing] thou wilt have to "endure toil greater than that which thou [performest] "here; if, however, thou wishest to enjoy silent con-"templation and to be at rest, get thee gone into the "innermost desert." And Anthony the blessed answered and said, "O my Lord, who will shew me [the way "to] that difficult place? For neither do I myself know "it, nor am I acquainted with or have knowledge of "men who do." Now whilst he was standing up there passed by certain Arabs who had made ready and set out on their way to go to that region, and the blessed man drew nigh unto them, and entreated them to let

him go with them, and they received him gladly because it was manifest that it was the commandment of God which was to be performed in this matter. And having travelled with them for three days and three nights, he arrived at a certain high mountain, and he found in the lower parts thereof water which was clear, and cool, and sweet, and a few palm trees, for the land which was by the side of the mountain was a flat plain; and the place was [Page 50] pleasing to the blessed Anthony, and he loved it well, and he loved it especially because God had been his Governor and had led him to that spot. Therefore Anthony encamped there and dwelt in that place, and he was exalted there like a king in the courts [of his palace].[1] Now when those Arabs who had brought him to that place saw [this], they wondered and marvelled, and they left with him a little bread which was found with them; and from that time forward whensoever they were journeying into Egypt and returning therefrom those Arabs, by reason of the wonderful things which they saw in the man, always passed by the place where he was, and also brought him bread. Now there were found in that region a few small birds [which came] from the palm trees.

And it came to pass that after a time it was heard by the brethren where he was, and like beloved sons they remembered their righteous father, and they made enquiries and found out where the place was,[1] and they laboured strenuously and sent to him everything that could be of use to him. Now when the blessed Anthony saw that the brethren had begun to take trouble for him, he besought those who had begun to go to him to bring him a little wheat and a hoe, and when they had brought them to him, he went about the land at the foot of the mountain, and found a little

[1] Or, "in the open spaces", (*i. e.*, squares, of his city).
[2] Literally, "and they stood upon the place."

place which was suitable for cultivating and watering; thus he was able to provide himself with as much bread as he needed, and he rejoiced greatly because he had found the means which would prevent him from troubling any man, and because he would be a burden to himself only. And having seen that the brethren were thronging to him, and that they would not be prevented from coming to him, he tilled a portion of that ground and made it into a vegetable garden for the benefit of those who came to him. Now when he first began to sow wheat in that place the wild animals used to come there in large numbers for the sake of the water, and they damaged the crop, but one day when they were among the corn according to their custom, he went quietly [Page 51] and seized one of them, and he said unto them all with a laugh, "Why do ye do harm to me seeing that I do no "harm to you? Get ye gone therefore in the Name of the "Lord, and come ye never again nigh unto this place;" and from that hour this was a command from heaven to them, and they never again did harm to that place.

And the blessed Anthony was alone in that desert, for the place wherein he had his habitation was waste and desolate; and his mind therefore dwelt the more upon exalted things, and it was content therewith. Now the brethren who used to go to visit him besought and entreated him to allow them to bring him there month by month a few garden herbs, and olives, and oil; and although he contended with them about it they overcame him with their entreaty, and compelled him [to receive them], and they began to pay him visits, one at a time, according to their entreaty to him. And the blessed man was exceedingly old, and he was far advanced in years.[1] And in that desert also he endured strife, not with flesh and blood, but with devils and with impure spirits, and we have learned this also from

[1] Literally, "and had entered into many days."

those who were going to visit him continually. They used to hear also there the sound of tumult and of outcry, and to see flashing spears, and at night time they would see the whole mountain filled with fiery phantoms, and those men were greatly terrified; but the blessed Anthony was trained in stratagems(?) of war like a man of war, and he was prepared, and he stood up and rebuked the Evil One, who straightway ceased according to [his] wont, and he encouraged the brethren who were with him not to be terrified or to tremble at [the sight of] such visions as these. For, said he to them, "they are only empty phantoms which perish as "if they had never existed at the Name of the Cross;" and wonder and admiration laid hold upon every man at the greatness and at the manner of the righteousness which was found in the blessed man.

He was not [Page 52] terrified at the devils, he was not wearied by the desert, and his soul had no fear of the wild beasts which were therein; but Satan suffered torture from all these things. And one day he came to the blessed man who was singing the Psalms of David, and he gnashed his teeth upon him loudly; but the blessed Anthony ceased not [to sing], and he was comforted and helped by the grace of our Lord. One night whilst he was standing up and was watching in prayer, Satan gathered together all the wild beasts of the desert, and brought them against him, and they were so many in number that he can hardly have left one beast in its den; and as they compassed him about on every side, and with threatening looks were ready [to leap upon him], he looked at them boldly and said unto them, "If ye have received "power over me [from the Lord] draw nigh, and delay "not, for I am ready for you; but if ye have made "ready and come at [the command of] Satan, get ye "back to your places and tarry not, for I am a servant "of Jesus the Conqueror." And when the blessed man had spoken these words, Satan was straightway driven

away by the mention of the Name of Christ like a sparrow before a hawk.

And on another day, when he was weaving palm leaves, for such was his occupation, and he used to toil thereat so that he might not be a burden upon any man, and that he might [make baskets] to give as gifts to the people who were continually coming to visit him, suddenly he threw up his hand above the door, and took hold of a rope of palm leaves to bring it outside, and he leaped and stood up to see; and looking out from the door he saw an animal which had [the following] form: from its head to its sides it was like a man, and its legs and feet were those of an ass. When the blessed Anthony saw it he only made the sign of the Cross over himself, and said, "How can "anyone imagine that the Evil One is crafty? And "how can any one be agitated [by him] more than once "or twice? Is it not within the scope of his cunning "to know that these things are accounted by me merely "empty phantasms? And now, if there be anything "whatsoever in the power of him that sent thee [Page 53], "come hither and perform that which thou wast sent to "do; but if Christ, Who shall make an end of thee, and "in Whom I have my hope, liveth, and if He be true, "let the destruction of thyself and of him that sent thee "take place immediately." Thereupon, at the word Christ, there fell upon the creature quaking and trembling, and he took to flight, and [as] he was going forth in haste and was running along terrified he fell down and burst asunder at no great distance from [Anthony's] abode. Now the devils did all these things in order that they might drive the blessed man from the desert.

And it came to pass after a time that the brethren [who were] monks appeared before him and besought him to come down and visit them in their monastery for a long period, and having multiplied their entreaties he granted their request; and he rose up and travelled with them in the desert to the borders of Egypt. Now

there was with them a camel which was laden with bread, and water, [and] provisions for the way, for no water whatsoever was to be found in the whole of that desert. And having travelled for one or two days, the water finished and came to an end, for the men with him were not a few, and in those days the heat was very fierce, and the people were overcome by thirst; and they were troubled the more because they had wandered about the whole of that district that they might find water, and they threw themselves down on the ground, being in trouble and in great danger, and because they were in despair about themselves they turned the camel adrift to wander about in the desert. Now when the blessed old man saw the people in such great distress, he sighed heavily, and having departed from them a short distance, he bowed his knees upon the ground and spreading out his hands towards heaven, he cried out to God, and said, "Consider, O Lord, at "this time also the prayer of Thy servant;" and before the words of his prayer were ended, water sprang up from that place whereon he had prayed, and he brought all the people and made them to come [there], and they prayed, and gave thanks unto God, and they drank and were relieved from their tribulations, and they also filled the water-skins with the water. [Page 54] Then they went forth in quest of the camel, and they brought him back [to their camp]; now they found him quite near, because it happened that, through the Providence (*or*, Dispensation) of God, whilst the animal was wandering about his cord was caught by a root and he was unable to move, and he stood still until they went and brought him [back]. And they gave the camel water to drink, and they loaded up his load upon him, and they set out on their road.[1]

[1] "Ut camelus errans per eremum, dum funiculum trahit, "in quodam lapide eiusdem alligatione funiculi teneretur." Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 49.

Now when they had come to a district which was inhabited and had entered the villages, many people burst forth from the whole of that neighbourhood and came to the place where the blessed man was, for every man was waiting and longing for him, and the love of him was hot in their minds, and they drew nigh and made obeisance unto him as unto a righteous father. And the blessed man spread abroad the things which he had provided and was carrying [with him] when he came from the desert,[1] and he made them happy with the enjoyments of the Spirit; and at that time there was twofold joy in the monasteries of the monks, and they rejoiced in the triumphs of the blessed old man whom they saw renewing his youth like the eagle. Now the chief of all the commandments which he used to give unto all the monks was that they should freely confess, before everything, the true faith of Christ, and should love it with all their strength; that they should preserve themselves from evil thoughts, and from the lusts of the body; that they should flee from vain boasting; that they should pray continually, and should be prepared and ready [to sing] Psalms and [to recite] the Office before they went to sleep; that after sleep they should read and remember the words of the Scriptures, wherein was their life; that they should meditate upon the acts and lives of the Apostles, and should consider what they were before they approached Christ, and also what they were after they had drawn nigh to Him, and how in their former state they were despised and held in contempt by the world, and how in the latter state they suddenly waxed great, and were held in high honour, both in this world and in the kingdom of God; and that it was not their own strength which had made for them this exalted estate and honour, [Page 55] but their perfect righteous-

[1] The text is faulty here.

ness towards God. With these and such like [admonitions] did he make zealous and strengthen their minds.

And, moreover, he spake the following words:— "Since we, the monks, are not held fast by anger in "anything whatsoever, Satan filcheth us away through "this very thing that we may rage one against the "other; and it is therefore meet that we should at all "times remember the word of our Lord which saith, "'If thou bringest to the altar thine offering, and there "'rememberest that thou art held by anger against thy "'brother, go thou and be reconciled with thy brother, "'and then offer up thine offering.'"[1] We should remember also the word of the Apostle, "Let not the sun go "down upon your wrath."[2] Now this command, "Let "not the sun go down upon your wrath," was not written merely [to tell us] that we were never to be angry, but [to warn us] against offences of every kind, and against keeping wrath one against the other; for it is very right and seemly that the sun should not go down by day and leave us in sin, and that the moon should not overtake us in the same by night, and should not find us in the service of the Wicked One, or thinking of him. Since therefore it is well for us [to be] thus, it is right that we should consider and examine into the word of the Apostle which admonished us, saying, "Try ye one another, examine ye one another."[3] Let us then each and every day meditate in such a way that every man among us may receive from his soul the computation of all his works and thoughts, both by day and by night; and let every man be an honest investigator of his own thoughts for himself, before shall come the righteous Avenger Who shall reward righteously and shall punish even according as

[1] St. Matthew v. 23, 24.
[2] Ephesians iv. 26.
[3] 2 Corinthians xiii. 5.

the Holy Gospel hath admonished us; for the wages of the mind are always the same. Those who have fought against sins He will encourage, and him that standeth in the truth He will admonish and urge to new exertions, lest he be filched away by boasting, and be despoiled by means of over-confidence, and lest he despise one man and love another, and justify his own soul. [Let us then do these things], even as the Apostle Paul said, "until our Lord cometh,"[1] Who shall judge the things which are hidden.

For it may happen that we ourselves do not know our own manner of life and works, but though we have lost this knowledge [Page 56] it is manifest before God, Who knoweth the things which are hidden. Let us therefore appoint Him to be the Judge. Let us, at all times, take each the burden of the other, and let us suffer for each other even as our Lord suffered for us; but let us examine our souls unceasingly, and let us provide and fill our houses in this world with whatsoever things we lack with the greatest care. And let this thing also be an admonition to us against sin, and let each man of us write down both his actions and his thoughts upon the tablets of his heart, as if he were obliged to read and lay them out in due order under the eye of every man. For when he pondereth and considereth [he will find] that it would be a shame and a disgrace that these things should come to light, and when he meditateth further [he will see] that, inasmuch as the mere hearing of the same would cause him great ignominy, it is manifest that the doing of the same [would work] great destruction. And since it is difficult for sin to come to light, it is certain that falsehood clingeth and cleaveth thereto; for as when the natural eye seeth [what is happening] no act of shame is to be expected, so also if we were men who were obliged to tell each other our manner of life (*or*

[1] Compare 1 Timothy VI. 14.

conversation) and thoughts, no sin would ever be committed by us because of the shame which would result therefrom. Let then the writings wherein are inscribed our shortcomings be things of which to be ashamed, for they take the place of the eyes of the spectators, and since we are as much ashamed of the writings as if they had been spectators, let us, like men of understanding, cease from the doing of and from meditating upon the works which bring in their train reproach. Now therefore by such means as these, if our souls are a care unto us, let us bring our bodies into subjection, so that by our works we shall please God, and treat with contempt the Enemy by means of our strenuousness.

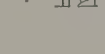
Now it was with such matters as these that the blessed man Anthony used to rejoice the monks who went to visit him, and the others, that is to say, those who were smitten with sickness, and those who were evilly entreated by evil spirits he would comfort by his words, and would aid by his prayers. And our Lord at all times made him to be happy in his prayers, for when they were heard he was not unduly lifted up [Page 57] in his heart, and when they were not hearkened to he murmured not, but in all of them he gave thanks to God. And moreover, he encouraged those who were smitten with sickness not to be disheartened by reason of their tribulations, and he told them that they must know that neither he nor any other man had power to grant relief to them, and that it was God alone Who could do so, and that He would do so for whomsoever He pleased whensoever He pleased. And these and such like words became a relief and an aid for those who were smitten with sicknesses, and he gladly lightened the weight of their trials by more than the words which were offered unto them; but those who were made whole were told before everything else that they must not return their thanks and gratitude to the blessed Anthony, but

that they must ascribe praise wholly unto God [for their healings].

Now there once went to the blessed Anthony in the inner desert a certain nobleman who was an officer in the palace, and whose name was Parnîṭôn,[1] and he had an evil spirit; he was always gnawing his tongue, and the light of his eyes was well nigh destroyed. And this man went to the blessed Anthony and entreated him to pray over him, and having done so he answered and said to that man, "Depart, and thou shalt "be healed," but Parnîṭôn entreated him that he might remain with him for some days. And the blessed man was saying unto him continually, "Thou canst not be "healed here. Go away from this place, and when thou "arrivest in Egypt thou wilt see suddenly the wonderful "sign which God hath wrought upon thee." And having confidence in [these words] the man went forth, and before he saw Egypt there came unto him deliverance straightway, and he became healed, according to the word of the blessed man which was revealed unto him in the Spirit by our Redeemer.

And there was a certain virgin of Bûṣâr[2] who suffered from a severe and terrible disease, for the water (*or*, tears) which flowed from the pupils of her eyes, and the matter which fell from her nostrils, before it fell upon the ground became worms, and her [Page 58] whole body was in a state of putrefaction; and because of the progress of the disease her eyes had lost the power of natural sight and were useless. Now when the kinsfolk of this young woman heard that certain brethren [who were] monks were preparing to go to the blessed Anthony, because they believed wholly in the man who had healed a woman of a flow of blood

[1] Fronto autem quidam, vir ex Palaestinis; Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 50. col. 2 (Cap. XXIX).

[2] *I. e.*, Busiris, ⲃⲩⲥⲓⲣⲓⲥ = Pa-Âsâr  .

[which had lasted] twelve years, they entreated them to allow them to go with them also and to follow in their company; and as the brethren received their petition and permitted them to go in their company they arrived [in due course] at the place [where the blessed man was]. And the kinsfolk of the maiden remained with their daughter a short distance on this side of the mountain, at the place where dwelt the man of God, Paphnutius the confessor and anchorite. And when the brethren had gone in and had greeted the blessed Anthony, and whilst they were meditating about relating to him concerning the maiden and her kinsfolk, he began to speak before they did about her sickness and afflictions, and said how it happened that she came to be in their company. Then making the conversation of the blessed man the pretext for their words they besought and entreated him to allow the maiden to come into his presence, but he would not be persuaded to do so, and he said unto them, "Get "ye back to the place where the maiden is, and if she "be not already dead, ye will find that she hath been "wholly healed, for this hath not happened either "through me or through the gift which my poor and "contemptible person possesseth, but it is a gift from "our Redeemer, Who performeth grace and mercy in "every place for those who cry unto Him in affliction. "Get ye out then quickly, for the merciful God hath "hearkened unto the prayer of the maiden, and hath "regarded the toil and labour of her kinsfolk; and "behold, His lovingkindness hath made known and "revealed unto me in this hour that relief from her "affliction hath come unto the maiden. Thus this "wonderful thing hath taken place." And the brethren went forth and found the kinsfolk of the maiden rejoicing, and their daughter was freed from [Page 59] and was completely healed from her affliction.

And at the same time there went forth from Egypt two brethren to visit the blessed Anthony, and when

they were near to arrive at the place where he was it fell out that the water failed, and they were so completely brought low for want thereof that, by reason of his great tribulation, one of them departed from this world, and his companion was well nigh departing likewise. Then the blessed man called suddenly unto two of those brethren who happened to be with him, and said to them, "Take ye a little water in a "vessel and get ye down quickly on the road to Egypt, "for two brethren set out together to come to us, but "when they had left behind them the greater part of "the mountain road they lacked water; one of them "hath already fainted and died, and the other is nigh "unto death, [and will die], if ye do not speedily over-"take him. For thus hath it appeared to me when "I was praying." And the brethren having made haste arrived at the place and found [a dead man] according to what had been said to them, and they took up the body of him that was dead and carried it away, and they fed him, in whom the spirit was still found to be, with bread and water, and took him and brought him with care to the old man. Now the blessed man was distant from them a journey of two days. And if any man ask why and wherefore the vision did not appear unto the blessed Anthony before the man died he will ask that which is unseemly, for it belonged not to him to know what God was meditating concerning every man; this thing belongeth unto God only Who, whensoever He pleaseth, maketh a revelation unto him that feareth Him.

And the blessed Anthony possessed this wonderful attribute. When he was dwelling in the mountain his mind was alert and watchful to observe and to see, by the operation of the Holy Spirit which dwelt in him, that which was afar off as if it were near. For, on another occasion when he was in the mountain, he lifted up his eyes to heaven and suddenly saw a man being taken up therein; and wonderment having fallen

upon him [Page 60] he magnified [God] and ascribed blessings unto him that had been accounted worthy of this [honour], and he besought the Lord that he might know who the man was who had attained unto such exalted greatness. And suddenly a voice from heaven was heard, saying, "This is the soul of the blessed "man Ammon who used to dwell in the country of Nitria." Now Ammon was a mighty man and a valiant fighter [in the ascetic life], and he had been a monk from his early manhood even unto his old age, and the end of his life was greater than the beginning thereof; and the distance of the country of Nitria from the mountain wherein dwelt the blessed man Anthony was a journey of thirteen days. And when those who were found with the old man Anthony saw him marvelling in this manner concerning the blessed Ammon, they entreated him that they might learn when his departure from the world took place, and he informed them that it had happened when the revelation had appeared unto him.

And there was also another famous man with whom many were acquainted, for he used to come very frequently to the blessed Anthony, and many glorious deeds and signs and wonders were wrought by his hands unto our Lord. Now on a certain occasion one reason or another made it necessary for the blessed Ammon to cross the river, the name of which was Dâbhâ,[1] and he had with him the righteous man, [who was called] Theodore; and this blessed man also was mighty in the ascetic life. And when they had come nigh unto the river, and were standing on the bank they agreed that each should go away a short distance from the other so that they might not see each other's nakedness as they were crossing the river. Now when the righteous man Theodore had removed himself

[1] Flumen nomine Lycum subitis aquis inundatum transvadere; see Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 51, col. 2.

from him, the blessed man Ammon began to have shame even of himself, and whilst he was in this state of mind suddenly Divine Grace seized him, and set him up upon the [other] side of the river; and when the righteous man Theodore had crossed the river, he drew nigh unto the blessed Ammon, and examined him attentively, [and found] that his feet had not been dipped in the water, and that not a drop of water had touched either his body or his garments. Then Theodore began to entreat Ammon to inform him how [Page 61] his passage over the river had been effected, and when he saw that he was making many excuses about it and was debating the matter he became certain in his mind that it was Divine Grace which had taken him across the river. And he persisted strongly in questioning Ammon, and took hold of his feet, and said unto him, "Yes, or no? I will not leave thee until "thou hast shewn me" [this thing]. Now when the old man Ammon saw the persistence of the righteous man Theodore, and [remembered] especially the word which had gone forth to him, he entreated him to make the matter known to no man until his departure from this world had been effected, and then he revealed to him that he had indeed been carried across the river, and that he had never walked upon the water thereof at all. And this thing our Lord Himself did by His own power, and He made the great Apostle Peter to do so, and it was done [by Ammon] also by the command of our Lord; and [it was only] after the old man Ammon was dead that this matter was spoken of by the righteous man Theodore, according to the agreement which he had made with Ammon.

Now the brethren, who had heard from the blessed Anthony the story of the departure of the old man Ammon from the world, bore in mind the day and the hour wherein it took place, and three days later, when certain brethren came from the country of Nitria, they enquired of them concerning the death of the blessed

Ammon, and they learned that the days of the old man had come to an end at the very moment and at the very hour when the blessed Anthony had spoken to them, and when he himself saw Ammon being taken up into heaven. Then the brethren did indeed marvel among themselves concerning the purity of the soul of the blessed Anthony, and how he had seen performed clearly and openly before him that which had taken place at a distance of a journey of thirteen days, that is to say, the ascension of the soul of the blessed Ammon into heaven.

And moreover, there came unto him Archelaus Ḳôsôs,[1] and he found him in the outer mountain praying by himself, and he made entreaty unto him on behalf of the nun Pûlaḳraṭiâ (Polycratia), who was from the city of Laodicea, and was faithful and devoted to the ascetic life; now she was much afflicted by pains in her stomach and in her right side, and, in short, her whole body was in a state of suffering. And when the blessed man had prayed for her, [Page 62] Archelaus wrote down the day and the hour in which the prayer had been made, and after this the blessed man dismissed him, and he returned to his own country; and when he had gone to the province of Laodicea he found Pûlaḳraṭiâ (Polycratia) the nun in perfect health. Then he asked at what time she had found deliverance from her sufferings, and by what means it had been brought about, and they related to him that the mercy of God had been poured out upon her at a certain time suddenly, and that she had felt relief and found herself made whole and free from the violent pains of her disease. And immediately that the words of their narrative concerning her illness had come to an end, Archelaus brought forth the paper whereon were written the day and hour wherein the prayer

[1] ⲕⲟⲙⲉⲥ = ⲕⲟⲙⲓⲥ = Count; Rosweyde (p. 51) has "Archelaus quoque Comes."

had been made on behalf of the believing woman Pûlaḳraṭîâ (Polycratia), and the words of their narrative agreed with those which were written on his paper as if they had been written down [at the same time] with a pen.[1] Then wonder laid hold upon every man, and they all admitted openly that the time at which the prayer was made by the blessed man was precisely that at which relief had come to her.

And multitudes of things similar to those which have already been described were performed by his hands; and also when the brethren used to set out to come from Egypt to him he knew it beforehand and was able to declare it to those who happened to be with him, and it was revealed unto him sometimes even months and days beforehand that they were coming to him, and the reason for their journey. For some used to come to him merely to see him, and others [came] that they might be with him for a few days, and others came to him because of their diseases and afflictions of various kinds; and no man found that long road exhausting or fell into despair thereon, because the relief which each man obtained from the blessed Anthony was greater than the toil which he had endured thereon. And when a man saw these triumphs, and felt anxious to narrate them, the blessed man used to entreat him not to marvel [Page 63] at these deeds, but to wonder at the Divine Grace of God which considered unworthy and feeble men worthy of such great [care].

And on one occasion the brethren entreated him to visit their monasteries, and when they had come to a certain place they besought him to embark in a boat and to cross over the river; and when he had gone up into the boat a foul and fetid smell smote him suddenly. And when the brethren heard of this, they

[1] Percontatus diem sanitatis, reperit tempus medelae cum annotatione congruere. Rosweyde, p. 51, col. 2.

answered and said unto him, "Master, this smell ariseth "from the fish and the salted meat with which the boat "is loaded,"[1] but he would not be persuaded that it was so, and he said, "This smell ariseth not from these "things." Now whilst he was ending his words a young man, in whom was an evil spirit, was found in the boat, and as soon as he saw the blessed man he shrank away from him straightway; but when the devil abused him, he cried out and uttered threats against the blessed man from among the people. Then the blessed Anthony turned himself round, and rebuked him, and silenced him, and immediately the young man felt the deliverance from him; and every man was persuaded that the smell was that of the devil whereat they had wondered.

And again there came to him a certain well-known man who was very sorely tried by an unclean spirit, and he was so distressed through him that his mind was carried away, and he was unable to understand any question which was asked of him; and in his whole body there was not a spot which was not lacerated by his bites, and those who had brought him took him to the blessed man Anthony and besought him to pray for him. Then the old man Anthony looked upon him, and his mercy having revealed itself, he took him by the hand, and made him stand up, and he knelt down on his knees before him, and he watched with him the whole night. And at the time of dawn the young man approached the blessed Anthony from behind his back, and smote him, and those who had brought him began to rebuke him; but the blessed man answered and said unto them, "Let no man be wroth against "him; this act is not of him, [Page 64] but of the "evil one who is in him, for he hath been commanded "to depart from that which God hath created, and to

[1] Asserebant cuncti, piscium salvorum et tarichorum in navi positorum hunc esse putorem. Rosweyde, p. 52.

"return to his place, and he is, in consequence, incensed[1] "with him, and hath done this thing. Glorify ye then "God, because of this thing which hath taken place, "for it hath given unto you a sign whereby ye may be "sure that God hath wrought for him deliverance." And when the blessed Anthony had said these things straightway the young man was made whole, and he knew himself,[2] and remembered where he was, and through whom deliverance had come unto him, and then he began to salute the blessed man, and to confess God with many loud protestations. Now believing men have related very many [wonderful] things like unto this, but in comparison to the other deeds which were wrought by the blessed man these are not very important.

On one occasion he stood up to pray at the ninth hour, and he perceived that his mind was exalted, and, what was still more wonderful, that whilst he was on the earth his mind was transformed, and he did not feel that he was upon the earth. For he saw that his soul was not being lifted up by the power of his mind, but was being governed by the angels; and when he himself was raised up, he saw other beings who came and stood opposite to him, and they prevented him from passing on. And they said, "Let us see of what "kind are his deeds, and if we cannot by any means "make him to be taken (*or*, held) by us." Then those who were guiding him turned round and rebuked them, and said unto them, "Our Lord by His grace blotted "out his shortcomings and his sins before he became "a disciple, but ye are embodied in his triumphs and "in his works and deeds [which took place] after he "had become a disciple;" and thereupon his soul was immediately exalted to the place unto which it attained. And after this his mind took up its abode in him, and

[1] Read ﻳﺤﻨﺒﺲ.

[2] *I. e.*, came to himself.

he felt and perceived that which had happened to him; and he magnified and gave thanks to (*or*, confessed) God by reason of everything which had taken place, and [he remained] in prayer the whole night which followed that day, and he tasted no food of any kind whatsoever therein.

And a man must also marvel at the severity [Page 65] of our contest, and at the great labour by which he passeth to this air; and he must remember and say, "This is the word of the Apostle who spake, "saying, 'Your contending is against the ruler who "'holdeth the power of this world.'"[1] For this reason the Apostle himself commanded, saying, "Put on the "armour of God in order that ye may be able to stand "against him in the evil day,"[2] so that the Enemy may have no occasion in any way to say about us that we have been sorely put to shame. And, my beloved, in connexion with the history of the blessed man let us remember the matter of the Apostle, who said, "Whether in the body or out of the body, I "know not; God knoweth."[3] Now the blessed Paul was snatched up into the third heaven, and heard words which may not be uttered, and came down [again]; but the blessed Anthony was lifted up unto the place to which he was lifted up, and he received a pledge of the confidence of his labour, and he returned and took up his abode with himself. And the [sign of] grace was also found with him. Whensoever he had in his mind any matter the truth of which he could not comprehend with his thoughts, he would make supplication in his prayer, and it would be revealed unto him, and in all these things he was taught by God, even as it is written.[4]

[1] Ephesians VI. 12.
[2] Ephesians VI. 13.
[3] 2 Corinthians XII. 2.
[4] St. John VI. 45; Isaiah LIV. 13.

And after these things he had a disputation with certain men who came to him about the ordering and disposition of the soul, and the place to which it went after its departure [from the body]. Then, on another day, he heard a voice from heaven, which said, "An-"thony, get thee forth, and thou shalt see." And, moreover, this thing had also been wrought for him: he was able to distinguish between heavenly voices and the voices of enemies. And he lifted up his eyes and saw the form of a man which was immeasurably abominable; his head reached up into the heavens, and round about him, on all sides, were numbers of beings, some of which were flying about with their wings, and were soaring up above him; and he put forth his hands that he might lay hold[1] of some [of them], but he was not able to do so. Now those winged beings who were flying about were those who had preserved (*or*, guarded) their faith [Page 66] and their works; but the others he could lay hold of because they were those who had not received the faith, and who were remote from works. Then the blessed Anthony saw that the form of the man was gnashing his teeth with bitterness at those who were being lifted up into life, for [that] son of perdition would have been content that every man should perish with him. And straightway a voice came unto the blessed Anthony, and said, "Know thou "that which hath been made;" and then he understood that this was the passage (*or*, bridge) of souls, and that he who was standing in the midst was Satan, the enemy of righteousness. Such was the vision which came unto him, and it roused him up and incited him exceedingly to triumph in his old age.

Now these things were not related by his will, but the brethren who saw him when he was sighing during his prayer to God perceived that something had been seen by him, and they clung to him and pressed him

[1] Read ܕܢܬܘܡ.

with entreaties to inform them what had happened. And having examined his mind, and seen that it was free from boasting, he decided within himself that the report of such things as these would certainly admonish the youthful monks to stand up like mighty warriors in the war which the Enemy maketh against us, and not to be caught by him in any way, so that he might not be able to lift up his heel against us; and having thus decided he revealed and made known unto them the whole matter even as it appeared unto them. For he was exceedingly longsuffering in respect of the things which were fitting, and he was thoroughly meek in spirit, and in all these things he preserved scrupulously the Canons of the Church, and made answer unto every man according to his grade and rank. Unto Bishops and Elders he paid honour like a man who was in duty bound so to do, and he was not ashamed to bow his head before them at the time of the Blessing; but deacons he received with joy and with affection, and although, like a father, he made them to hear words of righteousness and admonition, during the time of prayer he would set them in front by reason of the authority which had once been given unto them by God. He meditated continually upon righteousness, [Page 67] and he did not seek only to make another hear the Word, but he himself rejoiced to hear it, and he was never ashamed to do so, even though he was an old man and a famous one; but on several occasions he asked questions of those who were with him at all times, and entreated that he might hear that which was suitable to his life and deeds, and he would confess that he had been benefited whensoever a subject of this kind was debated among them.

And the countenance of the blessed man was clothed with the splendour of praise, and wonder thereat laid hold upon every man. Whensoever it happened that he was with many people, and it fell out that a man came there who had never seen the blessed Anthony,

his eyes would glance quickly over all the people, and he would gaze intently upon them all, and would [at once] distinguish the newcomer, who, by reason of the splendour of grace which dwelt in the blessed man, would, as if drawn by cords, leave the other people and boldly make his way direct to him. Now this did not arise because the stature of the blessed Anthony was greater than that of any other man, or because his external appearance was more beautiful than that of any other man, but by reason of those spiritual triumphs which were within [him], even as it is written, "A good heart maketh beautiful the body; "and an evil heart maketh gloomy the countenance."[1] And, moreover, Jacob discerned by the appearance of the countenance of Laban that he was meditating fraud concerning him, for he said[2] unto his wives, "I see that "the face of your father is not towards me as it was "yesterday and formerly;" and in the same manner Samuel recognized David, for his eyes were beautiful[3] and his features were joyous. And thus was it also in the case of the blessed Anthony, and by such indications he was known by those who saw him; when he was troubled [they saw that] his visage was disturbed, and when he was angry that his thoughts were ruffled.

And, moreover, he was immeasurably firm in the faith, and he held fast thereunto with honour and discretion (*or*, discernment); he did not conduct himself in the matter of faith like a man who made himself a stranger unto the children of men, [Page 68] or like one who dwelt in the desert, either in common with other monks, or by himself; and he would not receive the people who used to go to him without question and also enquiry. For he never joined himself to the

[1] Proverbs XVII. 22.
[2] Genesis XXXI. 5.
[3] 1 Samuel XVI. 12.

Meletian heretics[1] who were in Egypt, for from the very beginning he was well acquainted with their dissensions (*or*, schisms), and their restlessness, and he never took count at all of the other heresies, and he even exhorted every man to withdraw himself from them, for he used to say, "Neither in the discussion of them nor "in their result is there any advantage." Similarly the Arian heretics were so detestable and contemptible in his sight that he withdrew himself altogether from having any dealings with them, and he also exhorted other people to keep themselves far from their words and their doctrines. And it happened on one occasion that some of these Arians went to him, but when he had enquired at their hands, and he had asked them questions and learned that they belonged to the dough of the leaven of Arius, the unbeliever, he drove them forth from his presence like the other wild beasts and vipers. And he said unto them, "Ye are more bitter "and more evil than the beasts of prey and deadly "serpents." Now on one occasion the Arians spread a report and made a scandal which they cast upon the world, and they went about, saying, "Anthony hath "agreed to our faith and hath accepted it," and when this report came to his ears, astonishment laid hold upon him, and he marvelled greatly at the falsehood of the Arians, and how easily error came to them through the impudence of their minds.

Now when the bishops and the other brethren saw that the wickedness of the Arians was prevailing, and that they had spread this report through the whole city, they entreated the blessed man to exert himself a little in order that those liars might be put to great shame; and he was persuaded by them to go down to the city of Alexandria, and to proclaim openly there that the Arians were [Page 69] blasphemers, so that

[1] *I. e.*, the followers of Meletius, Bishop of Lycopolis; he was deposed for his irregular behaviour A.D. 306.

their iniquity might come back upon their own heads. And having gone down [to Alexandria] a vast multitude of people thronged there at the report [of the coming of] the blessed man, and when all the people were gathered together [to him] he admonished and exhorted them in a loud voice to beware of the error of the Arians, and he said, "This [*i. e.*, Arianism] "is the essence of all heresies, and it is the work of "the Christs of falsehood; get ye away then from them "afar off that ye become not corrupted by them. God "forbid that the Son of God should be proclaimed to "be a thing[1] which hath been made, or that He should "be named as something which came from nothing. "For He is of the substance of the Father, and He is "His Child, and it is therefore great wickedness for a "man to say that there was ever a time when He was "not; for the Word existed at all times with God. "Therefore flee ye from association with them, lest ye "have a portion in their blasphemy, for light hath "no connexion with darkness, and ye must have no "connexion whatsoever with them, and ye must have no "likeness to or association with them, for ye are in the "righteousness of your faith believing Christians, and "those who say that the Son of the Living God is a "created thing are in no wise different from the heathen. "Believe me, O my beloved, that the very creatures "are far more to be desired than those who worship "the creatures in preference to their Creator, and who "confound and compare the creatures with the Lord "and Creator of the universe."

Thereupon all the people held the Arians to be like other heretics, and they were esteemed in their sight wholly as blasphemers and unbelievers, and all men were confirmed in the correct view concerning the faith. Then [the people of] the city, both the

[1] Literally, "a creation."

Christians and the Armâyê,[1] and also those who were called "priests,"[2] ran into the church to see the "man "of God," for by this name and title was he called; and in that city also our Lord wrought by the hand of the blessed man many signs and wonders, and so many of those whose [Page 70] minds had been injured through error obtained through him the means of healing that more people became Christians on that day than in the whole year [previously]. And large numbers of the heathen entreated to be allowed to see the blessed man, and to draw nigh unto the cloak of the righteous man; to this wonderful pass did the measure of the power of the blessed man come. Now when the brethren saw that a great uproar had arisen, and that the people were troubling him by thronging about him, they made a way through them and surrounded him, for they thought that he would be choked by the throng; but the blessed man answered and said unto them quietly, and with a smile, "Let the "people perform their desire. For what think ye? Is it "not as easy for me to bear with this crowd of believers "as the throng of devils which are in the desert?"

And when he had made an end of all these things in Alexandria he went forth to depart into the wilderness, and the whole city clave unto him; and when he had come to the side of the gate of the city, a certain woman came running with all her strength after the crowd, and cried out, "Wait a little for me, O man of "God. My daughter is grievously vexed by a devil "and tormented, and I beseech thee to wait, and let "healing be to my daughter; and moreover, let not "my soul be carried out of [my body] through running "overmuch." And when the voice was heard by the

[1] The "Armâyê" are usually Syrians, but here the Armâyê appear to be the mixed multitudes of the city of Alexandria and its suburbs who were not Christians.

[2] *I. e.*, heathen priests.

ears of the old man, he paused and stood still until the woman drew nigh unto him and cast her daughter down by his feet. Then the blessed man looked up to heaven and cried out the Name of Christ over the devil, and straightway the damsel stood up, and turned towards her mother, being freed from the subjection of the Evil One; and every man gave thanks unto God, and the mother of the damsel also glorified him that had wrought deliverance for her. And immediately after the blessed man had performed this work he turned [again] to his journey, for he rejoiced exceedingly at his going to the desert, and he was even like unto [Page 71] the man who rejoiceth at going [again], after a long absence, to his own house, and the house of his kinsfolk. Now the blessed Anthony was a wise man, and he was one who was full of understanding, and it was a very great wonder in the sight of men how such knowledge and understanding could dwell in a man who had not learned to read or to write.

On one occasion there came unto him two philosophers to try him (now he was living on the outer mountain), and so soon as he perceived them afar off he knew and discerned what they were by their garb. And having gone forth to meet them, he said unto them by means of his interpreters, "Why have ye given your-"selves all this trouble to come and see a man of low "estate?" and they answered him [in these] word[s], "Thou art not a man of low estate, but a wise man." Then, after he had understood (*or*, tasted) their words, he began to say unto them, "If ye had come to a man "of low estate ye would have given yourselves all this "trouble in vain, but if your words are true, and if ye "indeed believe that I am a wise man, become ye even "as I am, for it is meet that we should at all times be "zealous to obtain the things which are fair. Had it "happened that I had come unto you I should have "been compelled to become like unto you; and now "that ye have come unto me, become ye Christians

"like myself." And when these philosophers heard these words, and saw in what a state of subjection the devils stood before him, they marvelled exceedingly and turned away on their heels in silence.

After these there also came unto him others who were like unto them to the outer mountain; now they came prepared to make a mock of him as if he had been a fool, for they had heard that he possessed no learning. And when they had pressed their talk upon him after this manner, the old man said unto them, "I "will ask you a question, and ye shall return me an "answer. Which is the older, learning or the mind? "And which is the source (*or*, cause) of the other? Is "learning the source of the mind, or the mind of learn-"ing?" Then the philosophers said unto him, "The "mind is the prince of learning, for it hath [Page 72] "discovered learning." And he said unto them, "Doth "not then the man whose mind is enlightened and bright "surpass greatly [him that hath only] learning? For by "the first word [which he uttereth] do men test a man, "and they understand whether he possesseth a wise "and understanding mind [or not];" then they also marvelled at what they had seen and heard, and they likewise went back to their own country.

For he was a man whose intelligence was profound, and he was wise and exceedingly understanding, and he was not in any way like unto a man who had been brought up in the desert from his youth. And when he became old and waxed aged he was simple in his speech, and austere and stern(?) in his mind, but still he was perfect and complete in everything, and every [good] quality was found in him in the state which was most fitting. Now his speech, even as we have already said, was so exceedingly savoury and so well seasoned with heavenly salt, that none of his hearers could be angry at his words, and no man could be envious of the acts of his daily life, for he was ready and prepared to hear and answer every kind of opinion.

Now on another occasion it happened that certain men, who were wise according to the world and who were received gladly among the Greeks, went to him, and began to ask him questions concerning the faith which is in our Lord Jesus Christ, wishing to confound him in a discussion concerning the matter of the Cross and of the preaching of our Lord, and having seen that they were ready to scoff and to mock, he bore with them a little, and then, having observed them, he roared greatly in his heart concerning the error which dwelt in them. Then he spake unto them by means of an interpreter, who was exceedingly skilled in translating words from the Egyptian into the Greek language, and he said unto them first of all, "Which is the easier? "For a man to confess the Cross, or to believe that "adultery, and fornication, and impure acts with men "are committed by those who are called 'gods.' For "the [doctrine] which is spoken and believed by us is "a mark and a likeness of the men by whom [Page 73] "death is held in contempt, and the world is considered "to be of no account, but the religion which ye preach "is a service of impurity, and the desire of foul lusts. "Which thing then is more beneficial for us to believe? "That [Christ] is the Son of God, and that that which "He was in His Godhead was in no way changed, al- "though through His care for the redemption of the "children of men He took upon Himself the body of "our human nature, and with His Godhead was mingled "therewith, so that by means of His union with our "human nature He might mingle it with His Godhead, "or that we should liken God unto beasts and cattle, "and that in consequence thereof man should make "himself like unto the similitudes of beasts and of the "creeping things of the earth and should worship them? "Now, our belief proclaimeth that the coming of Christ "took place for the redemption of the children of men, "and that it should not be unto us a cause for forni- "cation, and falsehood, and injustice (*or*, avarice), and

"gluttony, and drunkenness, and lasciviousness, and the "rest of the luxurious practices which exist in the world. "And we exhort and admonish [men to avoid] all these "things, for a penalty hath been decreed for every man "who shall dare to transgress in respect of one of these "things. Now ye, through the fable of error labour "in the work of abomination, but we, because we have "trust in the power and lovingkindness (*or*, mercy) of "God, believe that the preaching of the Cross is easiest "for us [to follow]. And ye, without any discernment, "ascribe all kinds of hateful practices to your gods, so "that ye without any further thought may do every-"thing [ye please]."

"And moreover, as concerning the soul ye say that "it is an image of the mind (*or*, understanding), and "when ye have meditated well upon this subject ye go "back and say that it will be dissolved; and therefore, "because of this opinion which cometh from [your] study, "ye lay it down that the mind itself will be divided "(*or*, broken up) and changed. For, of necessity, the "image must in its form and similitude be exactly like "that of which it is the copy [Page 74]; and ye should "know that when ye think in this manner about the "mind that ye also blaspheme the Father thereof."

"And in respect of the Cross, which is it better for "us to say? That it endureth patiently the anger of "the attack of the madness of our human nature, and "that it neither departeth by death, nor doth the terrible "death which striketh fear into the mighty man come "unto it, or [shall we ascribe to it] the error, and the "allegories, and the cunning plans, and the vain stories, "and the incitements [to sin], and the flight, and the "mockery, and the shame, which are written down in "your fables, wherein your gods took refuge when strife "and death came upon each one of them? For such "things are the wisdom of your wisdom. And where-"fore do ye make a mockery of the Cross only and "hold not in wonder the Resurrection? For those who

"have written [the account of] Christ's crucifixion have "also proclaimed His Resurrection. And why, when ye "make mention of the Cross, do ye not also recount "the miracles, and the Resurrection from the dead, and "all the other things also, that is to say, [the restoration "of] the sight of the blind, and the cleansing of the "lepers, and the healing of the paralytics, and the walk- "ing upon the waters? For from these ye would be "able to have understanding of Christ, and ye would "learn that He was not only a man but God also. "Indeed, ye appear to me to act wholly unjustly. For "ye do not judge matters rightly, and the Scriptures "are not read in a proper manner by you; and since "certain things are accepted and believed in by you, "whilst others, which are akin to them, are not, where "is your fair dealing in this matter?

"Narrate ye now unto us your scriptures, and explain "ye unto us what is therein. What are the animals "which are worshipped, and what are the reptiles unto "which are given the names of gods, except subjects "for mockery and disgrace? But if a man void of "understanding cometh to you ye liken each one of "them [unto gods] in the speech of rational beings, and "ye expound the unlikely things [which are declared "concerning them] so that the foolish may think [Page 75] "that they are true. Ye give names to the earth, and "to the heavens, and the sun, and the moon, and the "air, and the sea, and the fire, and the waters, and to "other created things, and ye call them gods, that ye "may lead man astray thereby from the One God Who "is the Creator of the universe. The quest of the God "of truth is not among you, and ye are found worship- "ping the things which have been created rather than "Him Who created them. For, if ye gave the names "of gods to such similitudes because created things "were so exceedingly beautiful, it would have been "sufficient for you to be able to admire them, without "holding them in such absolute and singular honour in

"your minds. And because of this opinion of error "which dwelleth in your mind it is not difficult for you "either to divert to the house which He hath fashioned "and adorned the honour which is due to the Master-"handicraftsman, or to hold lightly the king, and to "ascribe the glory which is His due to His household "which ministereth unto him. What then have ye to "urge against these [words], O wise men? [Speak,] so "that we may know if there be in the Cross anything "which meriteth mockery." And when the blessed man had spoken unto them in this fashion the things which they could not endure to hear from him, they began to look to the right hand and to the left.

Now when the blessed man knew that they were silently seeking to make objections to his words, he spake unto them again through an interpreter, saying, "The work (*i. e.*, proof) of these my words is also their "testimony; but because ye yourselves take refuge in "words of guile and falsehood, and because ye employ "them with the greatest skill, ye desire that we, like "yourselves, shall also journey on without the truth of "investigation. Shew ye me now briefly the work [*or*, "proof] of [your] words. First of all, How can the "knowledge of God be truly comprehended? Which "is the older: the faith which is in works, and this is "true knowledge . . . . . [1]" The old man saith unto them, "Ye have well said, for faith is the sign of "the [Page 76] love which is made perfect in the soul. "For discussion cometh from words which are strung "together, and therefore the faith which is in works, "and which is closely united to them, is not sought after, "because the quest of words is superfluous; for the "matters which we comprehend by faith ye try by every "means to represent by comparisons and similitudes, "and howsoever much ye weary yourselves ye will "never be able to narrate the things the truth of

[1] A portion of the text is wanting here.

"which we have comprehended. It is, therefore, well "known and evident that our faith which is in works "is far more excellent than your wisdom [which con-"sisteth of] a discussion of words, and that your "wisdom cannot by any means be [rightly] compared "therewith.

"For we Christians have not acquired the mystery "of life through the wisdom of strange words, but by "the power of faith which hath been given unto us by "God, the Lord of all; and that the[se] word[s] are true "accept the proof from the following. Behold, we are "not learned in books, yet we believe in God, and we "possess understanding concerning His creation, and "concerning the mercy of the Providence of His grace, "and we have confidence through the faith of Jesus "Christ that our faith is sure, [whilst] ye have only "words which are full of contentions; in your case the "phantom of the adornment of your idols gradually "cometh to an end, but in ours our faith increaseth and "becometh more abundant day by day everywhere. In "your case, in spite of the abundance of your discussions "and wisdom, ye have no power to turn even one "Christian to paganism, but in ours by the faith of "Christ which we preach, we despise your doctrine, "and there is in your well-ordered, carefully arranged, "and polished words no power which can do away the "teaching of Christ. And, moreover, we by means of "the Cross which ye hold in contempt chase away and "put to flight those devils which ye worship as gods, "and wheresoever the name of the Cross is mentioned "all the crafts and wiles of error come to an end. If "it be divination, it is destroyed, and if it be sorcery "it is made an end of; and that such hath been done "in very truth ye must admit when ye are asked by "us [Page 77] 'Where is divination? Where are the "'magicians who were in Egypt? Where are the "'phantoms of the error of the sorcerers? When were "'these things which appertain unto you destroyed

"'except when the Cross of Christ was mentioned?' "Is then this Cross worthy to be despised? Judge ye "this matter in your souls, and consider it also and "marvel thereat. It is a matter of wonder that your "doctrine hath never before been a subject for persecution, "and that it hath only become so at this time when "Christian kings [live] in honour and majesty in every "place.

"In proportion as persecution cometh your doctrine "hideth itself, but ours, against which storms in- "numerable have arrayed themselves, becometh stronger "and stronger. Your doctrine, notwithstanding that "it is praised and magnified, becometh despised and "rejected, whilst ours although held in contempt is great "in its acts and glorious in its operation, and being "harassed [spreadeth] from one end of the earth even "unto the other without men taking care about it. For "when did the knowledge of God come down into the "world, and chastity flourish, and virginity shed its "light abroad, and death become held in contempt, if it "be not after the Cross of victory came and triumphed "throughout all the earth? And of this fact no man "can have any doubt, when he considereth the blessed "martyrs by whom death was despised because of the "victory of the Cross. And behold, do we not see that "the Church rejoiceth in innumerable congregations of "virgins, both men and women, who preserve their "bodies in all holiness? These are the true likenesses "which make known and shew forth the faith of Christ, "which is a living confidence and a knowledge in faith "unto those who put their trust therein. Now if ye "have been in doubt [concerning these things] up to "this present, it is because your mind (*or*, opinion) "hath been fettered with words of binding and loosing, "the end of which ye will never be able to find; for "we do not, like you, go astray through the blandish- "ment of the words of alien wisdom, but, according to "what our Teacher spake, [Page 78] we give a proof of

"our faith, and we readily make manifest in the clearest "possible manner the truth of our opinion unto every "one who wisheth [to see it]."

And behold, there were in that place certain men who were suffering from injuries to their bodies, and the blessed man commanded them, and they came forth and stood in the midst; then he answered and said unto those wise men, "Draw nigh now and, by what-"soever means ye wish and will, whether by the wisdom "of your renowned idols, or by your sorceries and "enchantments, give the word, and let these afflicted "souls have relief from their sufferings. But if ye are "not able so to do, stand aside and cease your hostile "attacks upon us, and ye shall straightway see the "power of the Cross of Christ." Then he made the sign of the Cross over them three times, and the people were healed immediately and stood up; and when those philosophers saw [this] they praised him greatly, and they marvelled in very deed at the understanding of the man, and at the visible sign which had been wrought by his hand. And the blessed man said unto them, "Why marvel ye at this thing? It is "not we who have done this, but Christ Who is wont "to do such like things by the hands of those who fear "Him. Therefore do you also believe even as do we, "and become like us, and see that we possess none of "the handicraft of devils, but only the faith which is "made perfect by means of the love of Christ, our "Lord Jesus. If ye possess this also ye have no "need of the quest of much discussion, for the deed "itself will convince you that it is not by words but "by manifest works that our doctrine increaseth and "giveth the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ." Such were the words which the blessed man spake unto those philosophers, who tarried to hear [them], and who put to the test and then received the proof of all the [mental] adornment of the old man; and thus having received his grace, they applauded his words and his

acts, and having saluted him with great honour they returned to their own country.

Now the fame of the blessed man reached [Page 79] even unto the king and the princes, and the Emperor Constantine and his sons Ḳûsnâṭîs (Constantius) and Ḳûsṭôs (Constans) heard concerning his works and triumphs, and they began to write epistles unto him as unto a father and to entreat him to pray for them, and they longed greatly to become the recipients of letters from him. Now he did not write letters quickly, and he did not consider too highly or boast about those which he received, but he continued to preserve the humility and sweetness of disposition which he possessed before he received the imperial epistles, and after he had received them he remained unchanged. Whensoever he received the imperial letters he would call and gather together the monks who happened to be with him, and say unto them, "Ye marvel, perhaps, "that the kings and the princes should write epistles "unto us, but what [need] is there for wonder, seeing "that it is only one man writing letters to another; "but what ye should wonder at is how God wrote the "Law for the children of men, and how He hath spoken "unto us through His only Son." He preferred, however, not to receive epistles which were sent unto him by the king and the princes, for he said, "It is not in "my power to write epistles like theirs;" but inasmuch as the king and the princes were Christians he did not consider it seemly that their epistles should be held lightly, lest they might become offended and be displeased, and he permitted them to be read before every one who happened to be with him.

Now the manner in which he wrote his epistles [in answer] was as follows:—In the first place he magnified [those to whom they were addressed], and returned thanks because they were worshippers of Christ, and he gave them advice and united thereto the counsels which were suitable, and which would

benefit them both in this world and in that which is to come. And he told them that the wearisome labours which were visible should not be accounted overmuch by them, and exhorted them to remember the judgment which is to come, and that it is Christ Who is the true [Page 80] and everlasting king. And he advised them to let lovingkindness be found in them, and to be careful for that which is right, and to have considerate regard for the poor. Kings used to receive him and rejoice in him greatly, and he was greatly esteemed by every man, and regarded as a righteous father.

Whensoever certain matters had to be done, and certain things had to be talked about he was in the habit of going back to the inner mountain, and as something which was gratifying unto him he would work his triumphs there. On many occasions when he was sitting with those who went to him, or was walking about, he would hold his peace for a long time, and would keep wholly to himself according to that which is written in [the book of] Daniel;[1] and after a season he would utter in its order the word which would bind him to the brethren. Now those who saw him [act] in this manner use to know that some vision had appeared unto him, and indeed on several occasions when he was in the mountain he saw things which were being wrought in Egypt; and Serapion[2] the Bishop related that during the whole of the time which he remained with him he had seen the blessed man for several days at a time labouring seriously with visions in this manner.

One day whilst he was sitting down at work on the palm leaves he fell into a state of profound stupefaction, and remained for an exceedingly long time

[1] Daniel VIII. 26(?).

[2] Bishop of Thmuis, the site of which city is marked by the Arab village Tamai al-Amdîd; he was surnamed 'Scholasticus', and died about A.D. 360.

therein seeing a vision of revelation, and he groaned frequently, and after a season he turned round to those who happened to be with him, and groaned again; and he trembled greatly, and began to pray, and he bent his knees and [then] stood up with his eyes full of tears. Now those who saw the old man thus troubled were beginners in the monastic life, and they were greatly moved and were afraid with a great fear; and after a season they began to entreat him to tell him what was the vision which he had seen, and which had troubled him in this fashion. Then when they had pressed him he sighed the more, and said unto them [Page 81], "It would be "much better for me to die than for that which hath "appeared unto me to happen." And being urged by their entreaty, he spake sadly and excitedly, saying, "Great "wrath is coming upon the Church, which is about to "be delivered over to men who are in no wise different "from the wild animals. I have seen an altar sur-"rounded by mules which without mercy kicked all "the people, both great and small, for they were as "excited as a drove of horses which have been turned "loose without bridles. When I sighed concerning these "things, even ye heard the sound of my sighs, and I "heard a voice which said, 'My altar shall be defiled.'" Such were the things which the old man saw. Two years later[1] the trouble with the Arians took place, and the spoliation of the churches by the hands of the pagans in the sight of all the people of the city who were gathered together, and they caused the performance of the holy service to be set aside and abrogated. Now these pagans went forth into the streets of the city, and they thronged them and brought forth people from their shops, and compelled them to assemble with them, and before their eyes they performed the service of the Church and [administered] the Holy Mysteries. It was then that we understood

[1] *I. e.*, about A.D. 343.

[what] the kickings of the mules [meant], that is to say [the vision] which had appeared unto the blessed man, and the whole work which was wrought with such iniquity and wickedness by the hands of the Arians in the Church.

Now when the blessed man saw this vision, and perceived that it was very grievous to the brethren, he consoled them, and said, "My beloved sons, be not "afflicted, for as God is angry now even so will He "become pacified again, and after no [great] interval "between these trials and injuries rest and peace shall "come upon the Church of God. And ye shall see "those who have been persecuted for righteousness' "sake return to their places, and the Evil One, together "with those who work his will, shall turn on his heels, "and the horn of the righteous men who hold the "true faith shall be exalted, and shall openly proclaim "[Page 82] the truth in the ears of a persecuted but "believing nation. Hearken ye then unto these things "from me, and take heed that ye keep yourselves from "fornication in respect of the faith, and from intercourse "with people who are polluted therewith; for the time "of these things shall be short, and there shall be "redemption for the people of God, and the righteous "man shall live by faith."

Such were the things which were spoken by the blessed man, and it is not a great matter that such things were uttered and seen by the man who was crucified unto the world, and to whom the world was crucified. For our Lord made the promise unto believers, saying, "If ye have in you faith like a grain "of mustard seed ye shall say unto this mountain, "'Depart'; and it shall depart, and there is nothing "which shall be too hard for you;"[1] and again He said, "Whatsoever ye shall ask of My Father in My Name "shall be given unto you." And He commanded His

[1] St. Matthew XVII. 20.

disciples, saying, "Go ye forth, and preach, and heal "the sick, and cast out devils; freely ye have received,[1] "freely give." Now the blessed man did not perform healings by his own power after the manner of a master, but only with prayer and with the mention of the Name of Christ, so that it might be manifest unto every man that it was not he who was the doer of these things, but that God wrought them by his hands. Thus the old man was triumphant in all such matters, for his strength was renewed from day to day even as is the youth of the eagle, by the fervour of his mind, and he had pleasure in the constant works which our Lord Jesus wrought for him.

Now he was afflicted and suffered much by reason of the people who were continually coming to him, and he enjoyed no respite from them, and he was therefore compelled to withdraw to the outer mountain; and moreover, the judges and the governors of the country entreated him to come back to a place of habitation because it was difficult for them to come near him on account of the numerous people who clung to him, and because of the fatigue of the journey which [they had to endure] in going to him. And this matter was exceedingly hard to the blessed man, and he excused himself [Page 83] from such like things. Now when the judges and the governors saw that he refused to do what they wanted, they dealt craftily with him in this matter, for they sent to him the Greeks and the other people who had been arrested for evil dealing and wickednesses of various kinds, and they entreated and besought him with much supplication to come back to the habitations of men so that he might work deliverance from prison for them; and by such means and excuses the judges were able to see him continually, and the toil which he suffered on such journeys was not in vain, for his coming was beneficial

[1] St. Matthew x. 8.

to everyone. Now the judges heard from him that which helped them to rule [righteously], and they learned to know they themselves were men, and were even as those who were subject unto them, and that they must not behave towards them angrily, but judge them righteously, for, "With what judgment ye judge "[ye shall be judged"[1]]. But although the blessed man rejoiced in the works of the fear of God which he wrought, he was more pleased with his habitation in the desert than with any other thing. And after he had been led by force by those men who had made supplication unto him, and had entreated him to come to the outer mountain, so soon as he had performed for them his kind offices and had spoken unto the governor words which were suitable to his majesty and dominion, he would hasten back to his place. And when the governor did homage to him, and begged him to remain with him for a day or two, the old man entreated him courteously [to be allowed to depart], saying, "This "thing is impossible, for as fish die if a man lift "them out of the water, so, if we monks prolong our "stay with men, do our minds become perverted and "troubled; therefore it is meet that as fish [pass] their "lives beneath the waters we also should let our lives "and works be buried in the wilderness." Now when the governor heard these and other things like unto them [Page 84], he marvelled and said, "Verily [this "is] a true servant of God. He speaketh not that "which cometh from himself, but that which is given "unto him from heaven. How could this simple man "possess such rich knowledge unless he was beloved "by God?"

Now a certain duke whose name was Bâlaḳ[2] persecuted the Church sorely at the instigation of the

[1] St. Matthew VII. 2.

[2] Praeterea cum Balacius, qui sub Nestorio prefecto Alexandriae dux Aegypti fuit; Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 58, col. 1.

Arians, and his wickedness increased to such an extent that he would beat the nuns, and strip the monks naked and flog them. And when the blessed old man heard of the wickedness of this man, he wrote a letter and sent it to him, and in it was thus written, "Behold, "I see that wrath is coming upon thee; desist therefore, "and accept rebuke, and persecute not the believers, "that peradventure the angel of wrath may be restrained, "for behold, he hath set out to come." When Bâlaḳ received the letter, he looked thereat and laughed, and he spat thereon and took it up and threw it away; and in his hatred he cursed the bringer of the letter, and said unto him, "Get thee back and tell these things "unto him that sent thee." And he said unto him, "Inasmuch as thou hast exceedingly great regard for "the churches and for those who are persecuted, behold "I will speedily execute judgment upon thee also;" but after these words he went no further than five days before wrath overtook him. For he set out to journey to the first stopping place [on the road from] Alexandria which is called Khrôaôs,[1] and as the duke Bâlaḳ and Nestor, the prefect of Alexandria, were riding together—now they were riding two of Bâlaḳ's horses which were the gentlest of all his horses—before they arrived at the place [of destination], the horses began to play together according to their wont, and suddenly the gentler of the two horses, that is to say the animal whereon Nestor the prefect rode, seized the thigh of Bâlaḳ with his mouth and dragged him from his horse and fell upon him and rent him like a dog. And they took Bâlaḳ and brought him in to Alexandria, [Page 85] and after three days he died; and thus the word of the blessed man actually came to pass, and wonder laid hold upon every man.

And these were the things which he was wont to

[1] Ad primam mansionem Alexandriae, quae appelatur Chaereum. Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 58, col. 1.

say to the judges of [this] world, and he would give them counsel in a loving manner, that they should not be puffed up in their minds, and that they should not magnify themselves over the people, for there was no governor at that time who would not gladly hearken unto him, and they repented of their [evil] deeds, and ascribed blessing unto those who despised the world and became aliens thereto. And moreover, he had such great care for those who were treated unjustly, and were plundered of their possessions, that he himself would bear all their [troubles]; and his words were so grateful and pleasant unto all those who drew nigh unto him that many of the dwellers in villages and in towns, and pagans (*or*, rustics) and men who served in the army would forsake their riches and their occupations and would go and enrol themselves in the order of the monks. Now he was unto Egypt like a good physician who had been given unto the people thereof from God. For who ever came unto him being afflicted that did not go away rejoicing? Or who ever came unto him in sorrow because of the sufferings which had come upon him that did not come back wholly encouraged? And who ever came unto him full of rage and wrath that was not enriched with graciousness and longsuffering? And what poor man ever came unto him broken by poverty who did not [afterwards] by reason of his words and the sight of him despise all riches? And what monk ever came to him sorrowful in mind who did not depart full of strength like a mighty man of war? And what young man ever came unto him with lusts burning in him, and saw that the old man had conquered in the strife, who did not go away with his lusts quenched and dead within him? And what youth who was afraid of the war which had come upon him ever came unto him, and seeing his triumphant old age did not [henceforward] contend [Page 86] in the forefront of the battle? And what man ever came unto him troubled

in mind who did not go away with it composed and in a state of reason?

And there was found in him the gracious gift of being able to distinguish and understand the wiliness of the devils, and the various ways whereby each one of them caused injury [to man]; and he comprehended not only those things which were wrought by the Evil One, but also the various causes whereby men were troubled and perturbed, and he could inform them concerning the craft and cunning of the deceitful one. And every man hearkened unto these things and learned them, and he went away bearing armour and a shield against the profound wiles of the Evil One. And moreover, how many were the virgins who saw the blessed man afar off and left the men to whom they were betrothed, and betrothed themselves to Christ! And many people used to come to him from outside Egypt, and unto all the questions he would return suitable answers; and he was so great, and was so much beloved by every man, that after he had departed from this world, and had left all men orphans, the memory of him never died among the people, and every man gave himself courage by the repetition of his triumphs and of his words.

CONCERNING HIS DEATH. It is meet that we should call to remembrance his death, and should relate how it took place, and in what manner he finished his life, for I know that ye will be exceedingly pleased therewith; now he was accustomed to go out and visit the memorial stones of the brethren in the outer mountain. Now the matter of his death also was not hidden from him, and he went forth [to visit them] even when he knew that his departure was nigh. And after he had spoken to the brethren according to his wont, he said unto them, "This act which ye have just performed is the end "of all acts; and I marvel at this world. Let each look "[for himself] alone; for it is the time for me to die." Now he was then about one hundred and five years old.

And when the brethren heard [these things] they wept bitter tears, and each of them began to embrace and to kiss him [Page 87], and the old man, like unto a man from a strange country who is about to depart thereto, with great gladness besought them to be quiet, and exhorted them, saying, "Be not ye in despair by "reason of your tribulations, and be not lax in your "lives and works, but even as men who are dying "daily prepare ye for life, and as I have already said, "be watchful ever. Keep ye your souls from thoughts "of iniquity, and strive ye for good gifts, and guard "ye yourselves against associating yourselves with the "Meletinians, who are heretics, for ye know the cause "of their schisms, and how cunning and bitter they "are. And flee ye with all your might also from the "doctrine of the Arians, for their wickedness is clearly "manifest, and take good heed to avoid them, and be "not like unto them for ever, neither if they be mighty "in their help, nor if they be many in bearing burdens, "for however often error raiseth up her nest(?) it shall "never be able to contend against the truth. Be ye "therefore free from all intercourse with them, and thus "shall ye be able to take good heed to the true doc-"trine of our fathers, and to the preaching of the truth "of our Lord Jesus Christ, which ye have received "from the Scriptures."

Now when the brethren heard concerning the matter of his departure, they entreated him that he would remain with them in order that his course might be ended there, but he would not accede to their request for many reasons which he had made known in his silence, but for the following reason especially. The Egyptians were in the habit of taking the dead bodies of righteous men, and especially those of the blessed martyrs, and of embalming them and placing them not in graves, but on biers in their houses, for they thought that by so doing they were doing them honour. And the blessed old man had on very many occasions be-

sought the Bishops to preach to the people and to command [Page 88] them to cease from this habit. And he himself used to entreat and exhort the multitudes who came to him, saying, "This work is neither "seemly nor right. Moreover, the burial places of the "early Fathers, and of the Prophets, and of the Apostles "are known unto this day, and even the grave of our "Lord Who rose on the third day." And by these words he shewed forth that it was a transgression of a command for a man not to hide [in the ground] the bodies of those who were dead, even though they were righteous men. Therefore many hearkened and were persuaded not to do so, and they laid their dead in the ground, and buried them therein, and they thanked God because they had accepted [his] entreaty, which was seemly. And it was through fear of this thing that he would not grant the entreaty of the brethren and remain with them, but departed to his own place.

And after a few months he became sick, and he cried out to the brethren who were with him (now these were only two in number, and they had been with him from the time when his old age [began], which was nearly fifteen years before, and they had ministered unto him with the greatest care), and said unto them, even as it is written, "Behold, I go the "way of my fathers, for I have felt within myself for "some days [past] that I have been called by my Lord. "Observe ye now how carefully ye can maintain this "contest, and take good heed that ye lose not the "longsuffering which ye have acquired, and that, like "men who are just beginning [the strife], ye increase "it more and more and add to it day by day. Ye are "well acquainted with the baneful devils and their "craftiness, and ye know well this fact that if ye please "they shall be accounted as nothing by you. Be ye "therefore not terrified by them, but always take refuge "in Christ. And remember ye everything which ye

"have heard from me during all this time [which ye "have been with me], that ye have no intercourse "whatsoever with the Arians, the heretics, for ye know "how filthy they are in my sight because of their "blasphemy [Page 89] of our Lord Jesus Christ. Take "ye also heed then diligently at all times that ye cleave "to the Spirit of Christ and agree therewith, and be "ye, moreover, friends and associates of just men that "they may receive you into their everlasting habitations "as friends and men of whom they have good know-"ledge. Therefore meditate ye upon these things and "keep them in your minds. And if your minds are "[set] upon me, and ye remember me as a father, per-"mit no man to take my body and carry it into Egypt, "lest, according to the custom which they have, they "embalm me and lay me up in their houses, for it was "[to avoid] this that I came into this desert. And ye "know that I have continually made exhortation con-"cerning this thing and begged that it should not be "done, and ye well know how much I have blamed "those who observed this custom. Dig a grave then, "and bury me therein, and hide my body under the "earth, and let these my words be observed carefully "by you, and tell ye no man where ye lay me; [and "there I shall be] until the Resurrection of the dead, "when I shall receive [again] this body without cor-"ruption.

"And divide ye my garments [into lots], and give "one leather tunic to Bishop Athanasius, and the cover-"ing of this my bed which he gave unto me when it "was new; but now it hath become old. And to Bishop "Serapion do ye give the other leather coat, and this "covering of my bed which is made of hair ye your-"selves shall keep; now therefore, my children, abide in "peace, for, behold, Anthony bringeth his journey to an "end, and he goeth whither Divine Grace shall bring "him."

And when he had spoken these words, he straight-

way stretched out his legs, whereupon the brethren began to cry out [to him], and to kiss him; now his face was full of joy unspeakable at the meeting of those who had come for him, and it resembled that of a man when he seeth a friend whom it rejoiceth him to meet. So the blessed man held his peace and died, and was gathered to his fathers. [Page 90] Then the brethren, according to the command which they had received from him, wrapped him round in the garment which he wore, and they carried him out, and dug a hole in the ground and buried his body in the earth, and no man knoweth where they buried him except those two brethren who laid him in the earth. Now whosoever received any one of the clothes of the blessed Anthony regarded it as a most valuable possession, for whensoever a man looked thereat he imagined that he was looking at the blessed man[1] in it, and whensoever any man put on one of his garments he felt as if he were arrayed in the commandments and promises of the blessed Anthony.

Here end the history of the life of the blessed old man in the body, and the previous narrative thereto which [dealt with] the beginning of his deeds and labours; and if these appear to be too small in comparison to [the number of] the triumphs of the blessed man, still from these ye will be able to imagine how great was this man of God, who, from his earliest youth to his old age, never desisted from his career in the fear of God. Old age did not reduce his vigour and compel him to gratify the body, and he was not urged by the sickness of his body even to touch water with his feet; and whilst he was thus keeping his body in restraint God preserved him unharmed. For, in spite of his great old age his eye waxed not dim, and not one of his teeth dropped out, and both his feet and his hands were in a sound and healthy state; and not-

[1] Read ܒܗܘܝܬܗ.

withstanding that he kept his body low [in respect of food], his appearance was more glorious than that of all those who fed themselves luxuriously on dainty meats, and who wore fine clothes, and who made use of baths. And moreover he possessed strength which was out of all proportion to his aged body.

Now inasmuch as the fame of the blessed Anthony hath gone into every place, and every man holdeth him in wonder, [Page 91] and worshippeth him, it is a sure and certain sign of the truth of his acts and deeds and of his perfect love towards God. For he did not become known unto all the world by means of [his] discourse, or by the wisdom of words, or by means of crafty plans and schemes, but by radiant righteousness towards God, for it was God Who performed this work, and he who hath a doubtful mind about this shall be held in contempt. Otherwise how is it possible that a man who lived in seclusion and who dwelt alone in the desert should become known and proclaimed abroad in Spain,[1] and in Âlânîâ, and in Rome, and in Africa and other countries unless God, Whom Anthony confessed from the earliest times, had revealed him [to them]? For although these men of God live in secret places and do not desire to be seen and known, yet our Lord [maketh them] to shine like lamps upon all men. Thus also let those who hear [me], and who are mighty men before God, and who love His commandments, be persuaded to keep [their] steps, not that they may be praised but that they may be justified. Let all the brethren then who are monks read these things so that they may know how it is meet for them to live their lives, and let this little book be unto every man like the testament of a righteous father who had divided his

[1] Africae, Hispaniae, Galliae, Italiae, Illyrico, ipsi etiam, quae urbium caput est, Romae, ut in exordio promiserat, demonstravit. Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 60, col. 2.

riches and possessions among his beloved sons in our Lord; for when we gather together and reveal unto the believers those means whereby he gained possession of and collected all this wealth, we deliver up riches and give them unto prosperous and beloved sons, even as doth the man who gathereth up wealth [for his family].

Let every man know then and have confidence that our Lord Jesus Christ our Redeemer honoureth those who honour Him, and who serve Him unto the end, and that He doth not only invite them to the kingdom of heaven [Page 92] and lead them into it, but in this world also, even though they live in seclusion and hide themselves, He revealeth them, and proclaimeth abroad [their names] for their own glory, and for the benefit of our humanity. And if it be seemly, do not excuse yourselves from reading these things even in the sight of (*or*, before) the heathen, for peradventure even by hearing the same they may become convinced that our Lord Jesus Christ is not only God and the Son of God, but also that for those who serve Him in purity of heart, and who believe in Him in truth, those devils who are imagined to be gods take to flight at the name of Christ. Now that they are not gods the matter itself maketh known, for behold, they are held in contempt, and they are trodden down like the furrows of a field, and they are expelled as thieves and destroyers by the believers everywhere.

HERE ENDETH, BY THE HELP OF OUR LORD, THE HISTORY OF THE TRIUMPHS OF THE BLESSED ANTHONY, THE ATHLETE, AND PERFECT MAN, WHO TRIUMPHED IN THE CONTEST AND RECEIVED THE CROWN OF VICTORY. BY HIS PROSPEROUS TRAFFICKING HE MADE DOUBLE HIS MERCHANDIZE THROUGH OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, WHO HELPED HIM AND MADE HIM TO TRIUMPH, THE LORD [OF RIGHTEOUS MEN], AND THE CONQUEROR.

THE "PARADISE"

OR

THE BOOK OF THE TRIUMPHS OF THE HOLY FATHERS

BY

PALLADIUS, BISHOP OF HELENOPOLIS.

THE FIRST HISTORY.

THE "PARADISE" OF PALLADIUS.

[Page 93] AND AGAIN WE BEGIN TO WRITE THE BOOK OF THE TRIUMPHS OF THE HOLY FATHERS WHO WERE MONKS, WHICH IS CALLED "PARADISE".

THE FIRST HISTORY.

THE EPISTLE OF PALLADIUS,[1] THE BISHOP OF THE CITY OF HELENOPOLIS,[2] WHICH HE MADE (*or*, WROTE) TO LAUSUS[3] THE PREFECT[4] WHO ASKED HIM TO WRITE FOR HIM AN ACCOUNT OF THE LIVES AND DEEDS OF THE FATHERS WHO WERE MONKS; AND HE WROTE THUS:—

PALLADIUS the Bishop to LAUSUS the prefect: greeting (*or*, peace).

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[1] The account of Palladius as given by Dom Cuthbert Butler in his excellent work "The Lausiac History of Palladius", Cambridge, 1898, is as follows:—Palladius was born in Galatia in the year 367. In 387 he became a monk, and seems to have spent some time in Cappadocia and Palestine before going to Egypt. In 388 he went to Alexandria, and in 390 he withdrew to the desert of Nitria. In 390–1 he entered "the Cells", and lived there for about nine years, first with Macarius of Alexandria, and next with Evagrius. In the year 400, on account of sickness, he left the desert and went to Alexandria; in the same year he became Bishop of Helenopolis in Bithynia. In 404 or 405 he went to Rome on behalf of Chrysostom; later he was banished to Syene (Aswân), and again to the Thebaïd, where he lived for three or four years among the monks of Antinoopolis. He also lived for a time with some monks who dwelt on the Mount of Olives. In 420 he wrote his *Historia Lausiaca*, and dedicated it to Lausus, a chamberlain at the court of Theodosius II. Palladius composed

I ascribe blessing to thy beautiful desire, for we may begin [this] epistle with blessing, because whilst many men are devoted unto vain things,[1] and build buildings of stone wherein there is no profit, thou hast shewn thyself strenuous to learn concerning the building of the words of the narratives of holy men. For there is One alone Who hath no deed of doctrine (*or*, learning) that is to say, God Who is over everything, for He existeth of Himself, and there is no other being who existed before Him. Now all rational beings are learners, because they are beings who have been made and created.[2] The ranks of the celestial hosts who existed first of all, and the orders of beings who are the most exalted of all possess teachers in the Trinity, Who is exalted above everything. The orders of beings of the second group learn from the beings of the first group, and those which belong to the third group learn from those of the second group, which is above them, and in this manner each of the later groups learneth from that which is above it, even down to the lowest group of all; for those [Page 94] among them who are superior in respect of knowledge and excellence teach knowledge unto those who are inferior to them. Therefore those who imagine that they have no need of teachers, and who will not be convinced by those who teach them things of good, are sick with the want of the knowledge which is the

his work in the twentieth year of his episcopate, and in the fifty-third year of his age.

[2] Helenopolis in Bithynia.

[3] Probably the "Lausus praepositus" who received the lady Melania when she visited Constantinople; see Tillemont, *Mémoires,* tom. XI. pp. 508, 526, 527, and tom. XII. pp. 250, 540. Lausus was an imperial chamberlain at Constantinople under Theodosius II.

[4] ܦܪܦܘܣܝܛ = πραιπόσιτος, praepositus.

[1] The better reading is ܥܒܕ̈ܐ.

[2] The better reading is ܦܚܕ̈ܐ.

mother and the producer of pride. Now those who are princes and the foremost ones[1] among these in respect of destruction are those who intentionally (*or*, wilfully) fell from sojourning in heaven, and from the service thereof, and these are the devils who fly in the air because they forsook the heavenly Teacher and rebelled.

For polished words and sentences, or words strung together in admirable order, are not doctrine, [for these things are for the most part found with evil-doers and sinners; but this is doctrine],[2] the correction of the natural habits and disposition, and the leading of a life of spiritual excellence according to rule, by which I mean the possession of the faculty which shall make a man superior to affliction and to emotion, and to timidity, and to wrath; and which shall make him to possess freedom of speech before every man; and which shall, through the fervour of Divine Love, produce works that shall be like unto coals of fire. For if doctrine be not this, the Great Teacher would not have said unto His disciples, "Learn of Me, for I am meek "and lowly in heart,"[3] for He did not instruct (*or*, order) His Apostles merely in the beauty of speech, without at the same time making manifest a proof (*or*, work) in His own Person. And He caused grief unto no man except those who spurned[4] doctrine, and those who hated their teachers. It is meet that the soul which leadeth its life in God should either learn in faith that which it knoweth not, or should learn wisely that of which it hath knowledge; but if it will do neither of these things, it is, if it be possible, sick through madness.

[1] A better reading is صةوُهُم.

[2] Adding to the text حمة لحة وحتم عكس ٥كم نبع دحهكن: نك كهقسن ٥كحتة. ٥حن دس نسحة ٥كوندة.

[3] St. Matthew XI. 29.

[4] Read كُحتهِب.

The beginning of instruction (*or*, discipline) is the fulness which is of doctrine, and density of speech is a helper of the fear of God, and for these things the soul of him that loveth God hungereth continually. Be strong then, and play the man. [Page 95] Farewell. And may God grant thee the gift of pursuing at all times the knowledge of Christ.

CONCERNING THE PLAN OF THE BOOK [OF PARADISE].

In this Book are written the excellent deeds and the marvellous lives of the holy and blessed Fathers, who took upon themselves the yoke of the solitary life, and who made themselves to be remote from the world, and who lived in the desert, and who wished to live wholly the heavenly life, and to travel on the road which leadeth unto the kingdom of heaven. Let us emulate their example and endeavour to do with all our might what they did! And together with these we commemorate also the marvellous women who led their lives in the Divine Spirit, and who waxed exceedingly old, and who with a brave mind brought to an end[1] the strife of the labours of spiritual excellence, according to the Divine manifestation and love, for they wished[2] to lay hold upon their souls, and to bind [upon their heads] the crown of holiness and impassibility.

And as for myself, (because of the sweet manners of the man by whom I have been commanded [to write], whose mind is full of doctrine (*or*, learning), whose habits are those of a lover of peace, who feareth God in his heart, who loveth Christ in his mind, who in the things which are needful is an associate, and who, because of all these qualities, hath been chosen from among many, and hath been honoured with the

[1] The better reading is ܒܛܟܒ.

[2] Read ܕܒܥܬܝ.

highest rank of all), being protected by the might of the Holy Spirit—especially if it be right to speak the truth—I would rouse up our heavy minds to the contemplation of the things which are spiritually excellent, so that we may strive to imitate the most excellent lives and deeds of the pious men, and of the immortal and spiritual fathers, whose lives in the flesh were passed in laborious and stern service and in pleasing God. Of the virtues of such athletes of the fear of God it is my desire to set down some account in writing and to send it to thee, and I would make clear in my discourse the manifest spiritual excellencies of each one of [Page 96] these great men. And he who loveth a divine and spiritual desire like unto this is thyself, Lûsîôs (Lausus), who art triumphant among men, and who, in accordance with the Divine nod, hast been established as the guardian of this kingdom which loveth Christ.

But inasmuch as I have not been trained in language (*or*, speech), and as I possess spiritual knowledge only in the very smallest degree,[1] and am unequal to the task [of describing] the company of the holy Fathers and [their] spiritual lives and works, I am afraid of the greatness of [thy] command which surpasseth my capacity. I have, therefore, up to this present, been urging myself to escape(?)[2] from this work, because I am in great need both of the wisdom which is [essential] externally and of spiritual understanding. But being put to shame first of all by the strenuousness of the excellence of him that hath stirred me up to [do] this work, and considering also the benefit which shall accrue to those who shall come across these histories, and being, moreover, afraid of the danger of the penalty of disobedience, which is right, I will first of all commit the weight of the matter unto

[1] The readings are ܕܢܥܕܫ and ܕܢܥܒܫ, but neither is very good.

[2] ܫܝܩܠ or ܫܝܩܘ.

the Providence of God, and I will, with all diligence, make use of the prayers of the holy Fathers, so that I may be able to mount up as upon wings to the place where their contests were waged, and may tell the story briefly of those athletes, who though young became great and divine men who did valiantly and who triumphed in the works and deeds of spiritual excellence. And I will also relate the histories of those blessed women who were adorned with the fair garb [of the monastic life], and who attained to pre-eminence in divine labours. Now some of these divine persons of whom I am about to tell the story I was held to be worthy to see face to face; and concerning the heavenly lives of the others who died in the contest of the fear of God I have learned from the athletes of Christ, who were arrayed in God.

Therefore, through very many cities, and villages, and in caves and holes in the earth, [Page 97] and in the tabernacles which the monks had in the desert for a distance as far as a man could walk have I gone round about for the sake of the labour of the fear of God, and I have set down in writing with exactness the things which I have seen.[1] And I have also made known unto thee in this book the things which I have heard from the holy Fathers concerning the triumphs of great men, and concerning the women who for the sake of the hope which is in Christ performed mighty works which were above nature, and I have sent it to thy hearing which loveth divine words. O thou Lausus who art triumphant among men, and who art fair among the friends of God, and who art the ornament of this believing and God-fearing kingdom, and art the true friend and servant of God, I have written down for thee as far as my feebleness is able, the [history of] the strife of each of the athletes of Christ, both male and female, a name which is honourable

[1] We must read, جِنَّةُ حَصِيهِ سَنَعْنَ.

and which meriteth praise. And I have narrated unto thee only very few of the very many exceedingly great triumphs which belong to each one of these athletes, and of many of them I have added [the names of] their families, and cities, and also the places where they lived.

And we have also commemorated the men and women who, indeed, attained to the highest excellence in the labours of the spiritual life, and who, because of the pride (*or*, arrogance), which is the mother of that [quality] which is called vain glory, were brought down to the lowest depths of Sheol, and so wasted the great work in the spiritual qualities which they had only acquired after a very long time, and the triumphs in the ascetic virtues which they had won, through [their] pride and boasting in one brief moment, in the twinkling of an eye. Nevertheless, by the Divine Grace of our Redeemer, and by the carefulness of the holy Fathers, and by the cherishing influence of the mercy of the Spirit, they were plucked [finally] out of the net of the Calumniator.

Counsels to Lausus.

Let the following be before thy mind in all [thine] acts, and thou shalt sin in no particular [Page 98]:—

I. To do good to the fool and to bury the dead; both are alike.

II. It is meet that a man should put on armour over the breast, and the word of our Redeemer Christ [over] grief; armour and shield will hide the breast, but [only] faith and action [can hide] the soul.

III. As it is possible to see the skill of the painter on a small tablet, so a small gift [sheweth] the greatness of the disposition of the soul.

IV. Have no confidence in the belief that that which is placed outside thy soul is thy possession.

V. Clothes and raiment drape[1] statues, but habits and manners drape[1] men.

VI. An evil word is the beginning of evil deeds.

VII. Speak thou according to what is right, and where it is right, and concerning the things which are right, and hearken not unto that which is not right.

VIII. It is better to shake a stone vainly than [to utter a vain] word, and it is better to be under subjection to the Barbarians than to evil passions.

IX. The excellence of a horse is made apparent in battle, and the disposition of a friend is put to the test in tribulation.

X. It is impossible to divide the sea, and it is also impossible to still the waves thereof, although for them it is always easy.

XI. The wise and God-fearing man is he who hateth that which is not right.

XII. The gentle and gracious man is he who treadeth pride under foot; but he who is set upon that which is the contrary of this is one who is governed by arrogance [Page 99].

XIII. Constant prayer is the strength, and the armour, and the wall of the soul.

XIV. Wine maketh warm the body, and the word of God [warmeth] the soul.

XV. Know thou that not even much time will bring oblivion upon one act which thou wouldst hide.

XVI. The believing mind is a temple[2] of God which it is meet for a man to adorn daily and to burn incense therein, inasmuch as it is God Who dwelleth therein.

And numbers upon numbers of books at divers

[1] *Or*, "adorn."

[2] The MS has صفكر, but read صخكر.

times and in various ways have they left unto the habitations of men, and some of them are according to the Mind which is above and Divine Grace, and were [written] for the edification and protection of those who wished to [follow] carefully after the faith and the doctrine of our Redeemer, and some of them are according to the adulation of the children of men, and the corrupt mind which is mad after the lusts[1] of the body, [and some of them] are for the consolation of those who destroy vain glory; but others are from some vain madness and the agency (*or*, operation) of that evil Devil who hateth the things which are good, and [their writers] made use of arrogance and hatred, and in order to corrupt the children of men whose minds have been laid waste and who have no understanding they introduced [them] that they might defile the purity of the holy Catholic Church, and hinder its pure life and deeds of ascetic excellence.

And moreover, it hath seemed to me—I who fall short of the hope which is in Christ, and who am shamefaced before the command of thy greatmindedness—O thou man who lovest doctrine, that I ought first of all to narrate to thee the story of how I was reared,[2] and concerning the gradual growth of my mind of such excellence[3] as I possess towards God. I lived a life of rule and was in a monastery of solitary brethren for the first part of my life, that is to say until the thirty-third year of my age, and I served the office of Bishop for twenty years; [Page 100], thus the whole period of my life hath included fifty-six[4] years.

It is, therefore, absolutely necessary, inasmuch as it hath seemed to me that thou art very anxious to

[1] Add ܒܪܝܟ.

[2] Read ܐܬܪܒܝ.

[3] Read ܕܝܬܝܪ.

[4] There is some mistake in the numbers here given, for 33 + 20 = 53; we should read ܚܡܫܝܢ ܘܬܠܬ.

hear the triumphs of the holy Fathers, because of the divine and spiritual profit [which is therein], that I should tell you in writing [concerning] the men and the women, of whom some I have myself seen, and concerning others of whom I have heard from believing men, and concerning others whom I have met with when I was travelling about in the land of Egypt, and in Libya, and in the Thebaïd, and also in the region of Syene, and among those who are called men of Tabenna, and afterwards in Mesopotamia, and in Palestine, and in Syria, and among these in the countries of the West, and among the Romans, and among the people of the Campagna. And I must also set down in writing with careful exactitude the history of everything which appertaineth closely to these men from the very beginning and set before thee as an example that which will be a most excellent memorial and a benefit of the soul, that is to say, a sure and certain binding up, so that by means of it thou mayest be able to dispel from thy soul all the slumber[1] of error, which cometh into being through irrational desire, and all the doubts of the soul in respect of faith, and sluggishness in respect of the things which are useful, and all loathing and littleness of soul concerning habits of virtue, that is to say, keenness of wrath, and perturbation, and animal ferocity, and empty fear.

Then shalt thou flee from the vain and corrupt delight of this world, and through [thy] constant eager desire thou shalt draw nigh to the hope which is in God; and thou shalt govern thyself in the desire of the fear of God, and those who are with thee, and those who are under thine authority, and moreover, unto him that feareth God thou wilt become king. For through these triumphs all those who have become friends of Christ shall hasten to be united unto Him, and they shall also look for the loosing of the

[1] The text has ܫܒܬܐ, but Bedjan's reading ܫܢܬܐ is better.

soul from the body, for it is well known that daily [they will do this], even as it is written, "I am con-"strained by the good desire which I possess [to wish] "to become free and to be with Christ."[1] [Page 101] And exceedingly excellent is all that which is said, "Make ready thy works for [thy] going forth, and "prepare thy field."[2] For he who remembereth death continually, [and keepeth in his mind the knowledge] that he must most certainly die, will neither be negligent of nor commit sin in respect of great matters, even according to what is said, "In all thy words "remember thine end, and thou wilt never commit "sin."[3] And besides all these things I will add this also so that thou mayest not belittle the tradition of this our faulty history, and mayest not hold in contempt the simplicity and want of polish of the language [thereof]; for this matter appertaineth not to the Divine doctrine (*or*, teaching), that we should compose speech with wise skill, but we should strengthen the mind with sure and certain words of understanding, according to that which is said, "Open thy mouth with the "word of truth, and judge every man in a sound "manner;[4] and moreover, thou shalt not forget the "narratives of the old men, because they also have "received them from their fathers."[5]

I therefore, O thou lover of doctrine, thou godly man, have lighted upon many things with the holy men, not through making use of ordinary thought, but by making journeys [among them] which have lasted thirty days, yea, even thirty days twice told. And [I say it], as before God, that in travels and journeyings I would have trodden the whole of the territory of the

[1] Philippians I. 23.
[2] Proverbs XXIV. 27.
[3] Ecclesiasticus VII. 31.
[4] Proverbs XXXI. 9.
[5] Ecclesiasticus VIII. 9.

Greeks so that I might have the opportunity of conversing with each of the lovers of God, and I would have undertaken the labour of a journey such as this gratefully so that I might be able to traffic for a profit (*or*, benefit) which I did not possess. For if that man who was far more excellent than I am, and perhaps far more excellent than the whole world, and who in his life and works, and in his knowledge, and in his wise opinions of the Spirit, and in his faith which was in Christ, surpassed many, I mean the blessed man Paul, who in order that he might see James, and Kîpâ (Peter), and John made a journey from Tarsus [Page 102] to Judaea, and it is well known that he related the fact of this journey somewhat as a boast when he was declaring abroad and revealing his labours in order that he might stimulate those who were living lives sluggish and indolent in respect of spiritual excellence, and when he said, "I went up to Jerusalem[1] that I might "see Kîpâ (Peter)", not that he was denying the spiritual excellence of Peter of which he had received [information] by report, but because he was longing for converse with him also. [Now, if this Paul had need of converse with Peter], how much more did I, who am a debtor of ten thousand talents, need to do this (*i. e.*, to visit the holy men) for the sake of the benefit, not for the sake of any good which I could do to them but for the sake of the advantage which I, the sinful man, should myself gain? And moreover, the things which writers have written down about the holy Fathers, I mean Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and Moses, and Elijah, and the other saints, were not composed and narrated to glorify them, but that those who should peruse them might profit thereby.

Therefore, O chaste and believing man, Lausus, thou servant of God, knowing these things, and having also instructed thyself in many others, be convinced

[1] Galatians I. 18.

by our discourse also, and let the matters thereof be laid up in thy God-fearing mind as in a secure storehouse which is not wont to be disturbed by evil things of divers kinds, either visible or invisible, and which only constant prayer and the converse which concerneth the service of the soul can make to be moved.

For many of these brethren who in the fear of God won spiritual excellence, and who waxed great in ascetic labours and lovingkindness, and who were famed (*or*, boasted) because of their perfect chastity and virginity, and who protracted to great length their meditations upon the Holy Scriptures, and placed their trust upon [their] strenuousness in spiritual doctrine, were never held to be worthy of the state of impassibility, because they served with a mind which possessed not discretion and employed only the form of the fear of God, and because they were diseased with the love of external converse, wherefrom are produced [Page 103] all vices which enter [into a man] from without, and which eradicate that which is the mother of the service which taketh place in the soul.

Be strong, therefore, in all wisdom, and rear not thy soul in the riches which thou hast made (*or*, gotten), having made them sufficiently little by means of the gifts to those who are needy, so that the ministration which ariseth therefrom may perfect the service of excellence, for [this] cometh into being neither through any urging whatsoever, nor through the foolish thoughts of any form whatsoever for the sake of vain glory. And do not bind thyself to [do] anything under a penalty [secured] by oaths as many men do, as for example those who for the sake of vain glory strive eagerly neither to eat nor to drink, for though by the force of [such] oaths they may bring their feeble will into subjection, through this same thing they fall miserably, either by means of pleasures and the loathing [which followeth thereafter], or through the sickness of the body, or else through the delightful gratification of some

lust they bring forth falsehood. And as thou[1] receivest [what is good] according to reason, so according to reason shalt thou make thyself to be remote [from what is evil], and thou shalt never sin at all; for by the word of God shall all motions of fear be extinguished, and thou shalt draw nigh unto the things which bring [thee] profit, and shalt trample down those which would cause [thee] loss. For for the righteous the Law was not laid down.

It is better to drink wine in moderation than to drink water immoderately, and it appeareth to me that those who drink wine in moderation are holy men, and that those who pridefully use water in an immoderate fashion are depraved and pleasure-loving. Do not therefore ascribe blame or praise to the eating [or not eating] of food, or to the drinking [or not drinking] of wine, but ascribe praise, or woe, unto those who make use properly or improperly of meat and drink. Joseph in olden time drank wine with the Egyptians and was in no way injured in his mind thereby, for he took good heed unto [the admonitions of] his understanding; but Pythagoras, [Page 104] and Diogenes,[2] and Plato, and with them also the Manichaeans, and other sects of philosophers [did not], and they came thereby to such a pitch of licentiousness and vain glory that they even forgot the God of the universe and worshipped soulless images. On the other hand, the blessed Apostle Peter and those who were with him drew nigh to wine and made use thereof, and because of this the Jews reproached our Lord, the Redeemer of all [men] and their Teacher, and made complaints against Him, saying, "Why do not Thy disciples fast "like John?"[3] And again they lifted themselves up(?) against the disciples and blamed them, saying, "Why "doth your master eat and drink with tax-gatherers

[1] Read ܐܢ.

[2] The text has ܕܝܘܓܢܝܣ, but read ܕܝܘܓܢܝܣ.

[3] St. Matthew IX. 14; Mark II. 18.

"and sinners?"[1] Now they did not make their complaints about bread and water only, but also about wine and delicate viands, for it is evident that they only wanted to lay blame upon the disciples in everything. Thereupon our Redeemer made answer, and said, "John came in the path of righteousness, neither eating "nor drinking",—now it is well known that flesh and wine [are here referred to], for it was impossible for him to live without food of other kinds—"and ye say "that he hath a devil in him; and the Son of Man "hath come, eating and drinking, and [ye] say, 'Behold "'a glutton and a winebibber, a friend of tax-gatherers "'and sinners!'" What then is it right for us to do, so that we may neither go after those who make complaints [of our acts], nor after those who praise them? For we must either fast with John according to discretion, even though the Jews said that there was a devil in him, and that he was certainly mad, or we must drink wine with Christ with knowledge, if the body shall have need thereof, even though the children of men shall say concerning us, "Behold a glutton and "a winebibber." For in very truth neither the eating of food nor the abstaining therefrom is anything, but the faith and love which are made perfect in works; for when a man followeth after faith wholly [Page 105] by actions, he who eateth and drinketh is blameless for faith's sake, for everything which is not of faith is sin. But perhaps one of those who love the carnal lusts, or perhaps one of those who sin not, will say that if they eat in faith, or if they do[2] anything else by the irrational thought of the carnal appetite, or through a corrupt intent, those who support themselves on faith commit sin. Now our Redeemer made a distinction, saying, "By their fruit ye shall know them;"[3]

[1] St. Matthew IX. 11; X. 18, 19.
[2] Bedjan's reading ܥܒܕܢ is the better.
[3] St. Matthew VII. 20.

and the fruits may be recognized by the word of God, and by spiritual wisdom, according to the word of the blessed Apostle, who said, "Love, peace, gladness, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, patient endurance;"[1]—these are the fruits of the Spirit according to the word of the Apostle.

Whosoever then is eager to possess these fruits will never, without reason and without thought on any occasion, eat flesh, or drink wine, or dwell with a man with evil intent. Moreover, the blessed Paul saith, "Whosoever is about to strive in a contest preserveth "his mind free from every other thought, and thus "keepeth his body healthy, and maketh himself to be "remote from the things which would make him fat."[2] But if he fall into sickness, or into severe sufferings, or he become a companion unto afflictions which fight against him externally, he must then make use of meat and drink by way of a binding up, and a healing medicine for the things which work tribulation for him. Let us then keep ourselves remote from the evil things which are wrought in the soul, I mean anger, and envy, and vain glory, and dejection, and evil discourse, and the suspicion which is not seemly, for whilst a man is giving thanks unto God he cannot commit sin.

Now therefore, having spoken sufficiently concerning these things, I have yet another entreaty to bring nigh unto the love of doctrine which is in thee, that is to say, I would that thou didst flee with [Page 106] all thy strength from the converse of men from whom thou canst gain no benefit, although their outside skin be ornamented with various patterns; even if they be orthodox they will cause thee to suffer loss, and if they be heretics that loss will be very much greater. And although they appear to be exceedingly aged, and their bodies be shrivelled and withered, and it may seem

[1] Galatians, v. 22. 23.

[2] Read ڤصڪتڤ. Compare 1 Corinthians ix. 25, 27.

to thee that thou canst not in any way be injured by them because of the beautiful dispositions which are in them, that which is in them, and which appeareth to thee to be a small matter, will do thee an injury; for thou shalt become lax in thy mind in respect of them, and whilst laughing at them thou wilt become unduly exalted, and that thou shouldst be driven to arrogance would be a loss for thee. Follow then after the mind of pious men and women[1] who shine with the light which entereth in through the windows, so that by means of these, like a book the lines of which are extremely close together, thou mayest be able clearly to see what is in thy heart by comparison with them, either of sluggishness or strenuousness. For there are very many things which testify concerning spiritual excellence, [such as] the colour of the face which blossometh with ascetic labours, and the manner in which the apparel is put on, and a peaceable manner, and a mode of speech which is not inflated, and modesty of the countenance, and a discourse which is not crooked, and cheerfulness of the mind, and an understanding which is full of knowledge; by these things both thine own fair beauty will be made strong, and also all those who follow after the goal of the fear of God, even though they be [living] in a state of negligence or in some other similar [vice]. For, according to the word of the wise man, the behaviour of a man, and the gait of his legs, and the laughter of his mouth testify concerning him.[2]

[1] Read ܦܘܕܝܩܐ.

[2] Ecclesiasticus XIX. 30.

HERE BEGIN THE HISTORIES [OF THE HOLY MEN].

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF ABBÂ ISIDORE.

BY the help of our Lord I will, therefore, begin [to write] for thee, [O Lausus], the histories of the holy fathers, [Page 107] and I will omit nothing concerning them which I will not make known in [my] discourse, neither the histories of those who lived in cities, nor of those who lived in villages or in caves, nor of those who became famous in the desert. Nay, I will even add to my discourse the histories of those who lived among the general assembly of a community, for no special country or place wherein they lived and wherein they perfected the life of ascetic excellence needs to be sought out, for [everywhere] they led the pure life and conversation of chastity and integrity, and performed the deeds of the simple mind wherein, through the help of Christ, they wrought and fulfilled the lives and deeds of angels.

Now at first when I went to Alexandria in the second consulship of the Emperor Theodosius the Great, he who now because of the orthodoxy of his faith in Christ sojourneth with the angels, I met in the city a wonderful man who was adorned in every respect with the most beautiful qualities of speech, and knowledge, and life and conversation, whose name was ISIDORE. He was a priest and was the overseer of

the hospital,[1] of the church of Alexandria, and it was said of him that in his early youth he had lived in a monastery in the desert, and that he triumphed in the contest of the ascetic life: I saw, moreover, his cell in the mountain of Nitria. I met him when he was an old man seventy years of age, and when he had lived fifteen years longer he departed from this world. Now to the end of his life this holy man never put on either a linen tunic or even a head-covering; he never washed, and he never ate flesh, and he never ate a full meal seated comfortably at a table;[2] and yet, through Divine grace, his body shone. He possessed a sound and healthy body, and he was, by the grace of Christ, so fully endowed with strength that those who beheld him and who did not know him would not be persuaded [Page 108] that he lived a life of self-denial, and they thought and said that he must lead a life of great luxury and that he must eat abundantly of rich meats. Now, if I were to undertake to declare the marvellous character of his life and deeds, and wished to recount the excellence of his soul, and to make manifest every fact concerning them, all time would not suffice [for me to declare them], nor would paper [suffice for me to write them]. For this man was so lovingly merciful and so full of peace that, by reason of the orthodoxy of his faith in Christ, even his enemies who did not believe were put to shame by him, from his early youth up, and at his good deeds and the abundance of his graciousness were put to the blush; for he was gracious unto every man.

Now, he possessed the gift of the spirit and the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and the comprehension of divine learning, and he kept the commandments [so

[1] Read ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܕܟܢܝܫܬܐ. *I. e.*, he was the man to whose hands the faithful committed the money which they subscribed to support the sick poor of the congregation.

[2] *Or*, he never enjoyed a full meal.

strictly] that at noon, the time when the brethren were wont to take their food, the mind of this holy man was carried away as it were in a slumber, and the greater number of the brethren were marvelling at his example and knowledge, and many, many times they tried to persuade him to relate unto them the things which he saw, and entreated him to tell them concerning the marvellous state which had come upon him, but he could not be persuaded [to do so]. Finally he was constrained by the power of their love, and he answered and said unto them, "My mind departed and "was carried away by contemplation, and I was snatched "away by the similitude of a thought, and I was fed "with the food of glory, which, however, it is impossible "for me to describe."

Now I knew this man, and on several occasions he burst into tears at the table, and when I asked him, "What is the cause of these tears?" he said unto me, "I am ashamed of myself because, being a rational "being, I eat the food of an irrational creature; I desire "to live in Paradise [Page 109], where I should enjoy "the food which is imperishable. For [although] we "have received that power which is from Christ, yet "am I drawn to partake of the food which perisheth. "I would partake of the food which is spiritual, and I "would that I were in the Paradise of delights in the "dominion which God hath given unto me; and behold "I am eating the food of the beasts."

And unto this man were known all the members of the Roman Senate and the free-born women of the nobles [of Rome], because in former times he had gone with Bishop Athanasius to that city, and he had also been there with the holy man Bishop DEMETRIUS.[1] And Isidore having great riches, and wanting nothing, was

[1] Bishop of Pessinus in Galatia Secunda, and friend of St. Chrysostom, whose letter to Innocent I. he took to Rome; he was in Rome again in 405.

wont to give abundantly and without sparing to the poor and needy. And when he had ended his days and came to die, he made no will whatsoever; and he left no money to any man, and he left nothing to his brethren. To his sisters who were virgins, he also left nothing, and he made no provision at all for them, but committed them to the care of Christ, saying, "He "Who created you will provide for your living and "also whatsoever things of which ye have need, even "as He hath [provided] for me." Now with his sisters was a company of about seventy sisters.

Now when I had come unto him to be his disciple, and I was persuading him to hold me worthy of the rank of those who lived in a monastery, being in the vigour of my early manhood and needing not the word only but also the labour of the body, and severe physical exercises, even like the young unbroken animal, I besought him to teach me his beautiful way of life and to let me dwell by myself, for I was heedful of nothing, being in the vigour of my early manhood, and I had no great need of doctrine, but only [to learn] to subdue the passions of the flesh. Then, [Page 110] like a good teacher, he took me outside the city unto a place which was six miles distant, and wherein there was restful solitude, and he handed me over unto an anchorite whose name was Dorotheos,

CHAPTER II.

The History of Dorotheos of Thebes.

and whose life was one of spiritual excellence, and who had lived in a cave for sixty years. And he commanded me to live with him, and to lead a life of self-denial with him for a period of three years, so that the passions of the flesh might leave me. For

the blessed Isidore knew that blessed old man, and he knew that his life was stern and severe, and he admonished me, saying, "When thou hast completed this "period of three years, return unto me for the remainder "of the doctrine of spiritual knowledge." But I was unable to fulfil these three years with him, on account of a severe illness into which I fell, and so I departed from Dorotheos before the end of the period, and I returned to him that had brought me out, and entered his abode [that I might learn] the doctrine of the spirit.

Now the life of Dorotheos was one of exceedingly hard toil, and the manner thereof was severe, and his food was meagre and wretched, for he lived on dry bread. And he used to go round about in the desert by the side of the sea the whole day long in the heat of the noonday sun and collect stones with which he built cells, which he used to give unto the brethren who were unable to build [cells for themselves]; and he used to finish one cell each year. One day I said unto the holy man, "Father, why workest thou thus "in thine old age? for thou wilt kill thy body in all "this heat." And he said unto me, "I kill it lest it "should kill me." He used to eat one small bread-cake, which weighed about six ounces, each day, and a little bundle of green herbs; and he drank water by measure. What then? I know not. As God is my witness I never [Page 111] saw this man stretch out [his legs] and lie down as [men are] wont [to do]; and he never slept upon a bed of palm leaves, or upon anything else, but he used to work the whole night long weaving baskets made of palm leaves to provide himself with the daily bread which he required and food. Now I imagined at first that he used to work in this manner because I was present, and then I thought, "Peradventure "it is only for my sake, and to shew me how to per-"form such severe labours, that [he doeth this]." So I made enquiries of many of those who had been his

disciples and who were then living by themselves and were emulating his spiritual excellences, and I also asked others of his disciples who were living by his side if in very truth he always laboured in this wise, and they said unto me, "He hath held to this practice "from his youth up, and he hath never been in the "habit of sleeping according to what is right. In the "day time he never sleepeth willingly, but [sometimes] "when he is working with his hands, or when he is "eating, he closeth his eyes and is snatched away by "slumber. As he sitteth working he eateth, and unless "slumber overcame him [suddenly] he would never sleep "at all. Many and many a time he is overcome by "slumber while he is eating, and the morsel of bread "falleth out of his mouth because he is overcome by "drowsiness." And when from time to time I used to urge him to sit down, or to throw himself upon a mat of palm leaves and to rest a little,[1] he would answer and say unto me in a grieved manner, "If thou art "able to persuade the angels to sleep then thou wilt "be able to persuade me."

One day, towards the ninth hour, DOROTHEOS sent me to the fountain from which he drank water to fetch him some water so that he might eat his meal, for he used to eat about this time, and when I had gone there I chanced to see a viper going down the well; and because of [my] fear I was unable to fill [the pitcher] with water, and I went back to him, and said unto him, "O father, we shall die, for I have seen a "viper [going] down into the water." [Page 112] Now when he heard [these words] he laughed reverently, and constrained himself, and he lifted up his face and looked at me not a little time, and he shook his head, and said unto me, "If it were to happen that Satan "had the power to shew thee in every fountain an "asp, or again to cast into them vipers, or serpents,

[1] Read ميخكب بكبك.

"or tortoises,[1] or any other kinds of venomous reptiles, "wouldst thou be able to do without drinking water "entirely?" And when he had said these words unto me he went forth and departed [to the fountain] and drew water, and brought [it back], and having made the sign of the Cross over it he straightway drank therefrom before he ate anything. And he constrained me to drink, and said unto me, "Where the seal (*or*, "sign) of the Cross is the wickedness of Satan hath "no power to do harm."

And this blessed man ISIDORE, the overseer of the hospital,[2] related unto me the following story, which is worthy of record, and he heard it from the blessed ANTHONY when he lived with him in the desert in the days of Emperor MAXIMINUS, the persecutor.

CHAPTER III.

THE HISTORY OF THE VIRGIN POTAMIOENIA.

There was a certain young virgin who was exceedingly beautiful and she was a Christian; she was the handmaiden of a certain worldly man who was given over to a life of pleasure, and she lived in very great luxury, and her master flattered her greatly, wishing to destroy her. And being unable to bring her into subjection to his will, he at length was seized with madness, and he became furiously angry with her and delivered her over to a certain prefect who lived at that time in Alexandria, saying, "She is a Christian, and "she revileth the government, and uttereth blasphemies "against the Emperor." And he promised to give him much money, saying, "If she can be persuaded to do

[1] The better reading is ܟܟܘܦ.

[2] Read ܐܣܛܪܛܝܓܘܣ.

"my will, keep her for me without disgrace and punish-
"ment; but if she persisteth in her obstinacy of heart
"punish her with every kind of torture thou pleasest,
"and let her not remain alive to laugh at me and at
"my luxurious way of life." And when they brought the valiant woman before the throne of [Page 113] the judges she was greatly moved, but she was not persuaded; and the prefect tortured the body of the virgin of Christ with many different kinds of tortures. Then again after these things he thought out a crafty plan, and invented a method of punishment by torture which was as follows. He commanded them to bring a huge cauldron which was full of pitch, and to light a fierce fire under it, and when the pitch was melted and was boiling, the judge cried to her, saying, "Go thou and submit thyself
"to the will of thy lord, and know that if thou doest
"not this thing thou shalt straightway fall into this
"cauldron." Now when she heard this, she sealed her soul, and answered and said, "Thou judgest with
"iniquity, O judge, for thou commandest me to be-
"come subject unto fornication. I am the handmaiden
"of Christ, and it is meet that I should stand before
"His throne without blemish." And when the judge heard this he was straightway greatly troubled, and filled with wrath, and he commanded them to bring her and to cast her into the cauldron. Then the virgin said unto him, "I adjure thee, by the head of the
"Emperor, if thou condemnest me to this thing of thine
"own self, to command them to put me into the cauldron
"little by little, without stripping my apparel from me,
"so that thou mayest know the patient endurance which
"I have through Christ for the sake of my purity."
And as they were dipping her little by little into the cauldron, for a very short space of time, immediately the pitch reached her neck it became cold; thus she delivered her soul unto God, and she was crowned with a good martyrdom. And a great congregation of holy men and women were made

perfect[1] at that time in the church of Alexandria, and they became worthy of that land which the meek inherit.

HERE END THE TRIUMPHS OF ISIDORE, AND DOROTHEOS, AND THE VIRGIN [Page 114].

CHAPTER IV.

THE HISTORY OF DIDYMUS.

Together with these I also saw a certain blessed man who was in Alexandria, and whose name was DIDYMUS, and who also, with us, wrote these things; now he was blind, and he could not see at all; he was a marvellous man, and I went several times to see him. He was eighty years of age, and he told me that he became blind when he was four years old and could not see at all, but according to what he himself related to me, "After forty years I perceived "the faces (*or*, external aspects) of things." And although this man had never learned the Testaments, and had never entered a school, the gift of an excellent and healthy mind had been given unto him by God, and he became learned in the knowledge of books through an enlightened understanding. And he was adorned with goodness and with the knowledge of the truth to such a degree, and was so ready and was so wholly wise that there was fulfilled in him that which was written, "The Lord openeth the eyes of the blind."[2] He could interpret the Old and New Testaments word by word in its proper place, and had investigated carefully the commandments and could repeat all the

[1] *I. e.*, they suffered martyrdom.
[2] Psalm CXLVI. 8.

words which were in them. And he was so thoroughly well acquainted with the belief of the truth (*or*, the true faith), and he comprehended so deeply all heresies that his knowledge was more excellent than that of many who were before him in the Church. Now [once] when he was urging me to make a prayer in his cell and I was unwilling to do so, he spake unto me and related unto me concerning ABBÂ ANTHONY who, he said, "Came three times and visited me in "this cell. And when I begged and entreated him to "pray, straightway he knelt down upon his knees, and "prayed, and waited not for me to speak one word "about it, but at the first word he corrected me by "his obedience. He did not let me finish my speech, "but by work he made manifest obedience." And DIDYMUS said unto me, "Thou also, if thou wishest to "walk in his footsteps and [to imitate him] in [his] life "and deeds, and in [Page 115] hospitality, and if thou "wouldst walk in the life of excellence and in the love "of God, remove thyself from contention."

And this blessed man DIDYMUS himself told me the following story. "Once on a time I was suffering by "reason of the wretched Emperor Yôlînôs (JULIAN). "Now one day, when it was eventide, and I had eaten "no food through my anxiety about this matter, whilst "I was sitting on my seat I dropped into a light slumber, "and there fell upon me a marvellous thing. I saw "and behold there were white horses galloping about, "and they had on them riders who were dressed in "white, and they were crying out, and saying, 'Tell "'DIDYMUS that Yôlînôs (JULIAN) died this day at the "'seventh hour. Rise up, then, and eat, and send and "'make [this news] known unto Bishop ATHANASIUS, so "'that he also may know and rejoice.' And I wrote "down the day, and the hour, and the month, [wherein "this vision took place], and it was found that it "had happened even as it had been told me in the "vision."

And the blessed man himself also told me the following story:—

CHAPTER V.

The History of the Maiden Alexandra.

There was a certain maiden of Alexandria whose name was Alexandra, and she left the city and shut herself up in a tomb until the end of her life; she used to receive her food and whatsoever she needed through a window and no man and no woman saw her face, neither did she see the face of any man, for twelve years. And a few days afterwards she yielded up her soul, and she lay down and went to her rest in peace. Now when her serving woman went to visit her according to her wont, she knocked at the window, but Alexandra gave her no answer, and straightway she knew that she was dead, and she came and made known unto us concerning her mistress. And we took off the door[1] of her cell and we found her body dried up.

Now the blessed woman Meli'a[2] also related unto us the story of Alexandra, saying, "I have [never] "seen her face to face. And I stood[3] outside the "cell, close to the window, and entreated[4] her to tell "me for what reason she had shut herself up in [Page "116] the grave. And Alexandra answered and said "unto me, 'Inasmuch as the thought of the love of "'God was present in my mind, I prayed before the "'Lord, and I entreated Him to permit me to offer

[1] *Or*, "we uprooted the door of her cell."

[2] Read ميلكنيا *i.e.*, Melania.

[3] Read صمد ܩܘܡ.

[4] Read ܐܬܚܙ ܩܘܡ.

"'unto Him my virginity in the state in which it had "'been born with me. Now a certain young man "'regarded me in his thoughts, and looked upon me, "'and desired me, and sought to destroy me. But "'because I did not want to grieve him, or to say "'what was evil unto him, or to be to him an occasion "'of sin, I chose rather to shut myself up alive in this "'grave than to cause a man who was made in the form "'of the image of God to stumble.' And I said unto her, "How canst thou bear [to] live here not seeing the "face of any man without being driven to despair? "Then she answered and said unto me, 'I occupy "'myself with my prayers and with the work of my "'hands, and I have no idle moments. From morn "'until the ninth hour I weave linen, and recite the "'Psalms and pray; and during the rest of the day I "'commemorate in my heart the holy fathers, and I "'revolve in my thoughts the histories of all the Prophets "'and Apostles, and Martyrs; and during the remaining "'hours I work with my hands and eat my bread, and "'by means of these things I am comforted whilst I "'await the end of my life in good hope.'" These things we have heard from the blessed woman Melḥâ (Melania) who told the story of the maiden Alexandra. But in this history I must not underrate those who have toiled in the faith of Christ, to the glory of the perfect and to the admonition of those who hear.

CHAPTER VI.

The History of Abbâ Macarius and a certain virgin.

There was in Alexandria a certain virgin who though meek in appearance was of a haughty disposition. Now she was exceedingly rich and had possessions

without number, but she never relieved the poor, and the strangers, and those who were in misery [Page 117] and she never gave a drachma to the Church, and notwithstanding the frequent rebuke with which the Fathers rebuked her, she never allowed any portion of riches to leave her. And this woman had kinsfolk, and she adopted her sister's daughter, to whom she used to promise by day and by night [to give her] all that she had, for she had fallen from heavenly love. Now, it is a customary thing which belongeth to the deception of Satan that he produceth avarice under guise of love of family, for that he hath no genuine care for kinsmanship is well known from the fact that he taught murder in order that he might make war [between] brethren, and is admitted by the Holy Book. And, if he imagined that he implanteth solicitude for kinsfolk in [the hearts of] men [it must be remembered] that he is not moved to do this on their behalf because of [his] love for them, but only that he may minister unto his own will, for manifestly he knoweth the sentence of judgment which hath been passed, that the wicked shall not inherit the kingdom of God.[1] For if a man be moved by spiritual understanding, and by divine desire, he will be able to care for his kinsfolk if they be in want without bringing himself into contempt; but if he devoteth the whole of himself to the care for his kinsfolk, and he bringeth himself into contempt by making himself to labour under poverty, he will fall from the divine law. And the divine man David singeth in the Psalms concerning those who possess themselves of the solicitude of the fear of God, and he saith, "Who shall go up into the "mountain of the Lord".[2] Now, inasmuch as he saith "Who" he maketh known concerning the smallness of the number [who shall go up]. And [again he saith],

[1] 1 Corinthians VI. 9.
[2] Psalm XXIV. 3.

"Who shall stand in His holy place? He whose hands "are clean, and whose heart is chosen, and who giveth "not himself unto poverty."[1] For those who devote themselves to poverty are those who think that the soul is dissolved with this body.

Now this virgin, who possessed the name [of virgin] only, became [Page 118] a stranger unto the various kinds of [spiritual] excellence. And there was a certain priest whose name was MACARIUS,[2] who wished to cut away as with iron and to lighten the weight of the possessions of those who loved money, and he had the care of, and was the governor of a house for the poor who were sick and infirm in their bodies. And this man thought out the following plan whereby he might entrap the virgin. From his youth up he had been a skilful workman in the cutting of gems, and he went to her, and said, "Certain very precious "emeralds and gems have fallen into my hands, and "whether they have been stolen or not I do not know; "their value cannot be ascertained because they are "above price, but the man who hath them will sell "them for five hundred *dînârs*. If thou wishest to take "them thou wilt be able to recover the price of five "hundred *dînârs* from [the sale of] one of the gems, "and the rest thou wilt be able to employ in the "adornment of thy sister's daughter." Now when the virgin heard this she was perturbed, and she fell down at his feet making entreaty unto him, and saying, "I beseech you to let no other person take them." MACARIUS saith unto her, "Come to my house and see them," but she would not consent to this; and she poured out for him five hundred *dînârs*, and said unto him, "According to what thou dost require even so "take, but I do not wish to see the man who is selling "them."

[1] Psalm XXIV. 3, 4.

[2] According to some versions he was called ISIDORE.

And having taken the five hundred *dînârs* he spent[1] them on food and on things for the use of those who were hungry, and on the poor. And when much time had passed, inasmuch as he was a famous man in Alexandria—now this blessed man was well known for his love of God, and for the merciful disposition which was in him, and he was almost one hundred years old, and we also knew him and had tarried in his house with him—the virgin was ashamed to call the matter [of the five hundred *dînârs*] to his mind. But finally she found him in the church and said unto him, "I beseech thee [to tell me] how thou hast "disposed of the gems for which we gave thee the "five hundred *dînârs*." And he answered and said unto her, [Page 119] "When thou gavest me the "money I gave it for the price of the gems; if thou "wishest come and see them in my house, for there "are they deposited. Come and see them, if it pleaseth "thee [so to do], and if thou wilt not then take thy "money." So she went with him joyfully. Now the place to which [she went] was a house of the poor; in the upper parts thereof were lying women whose bodies were destroyed, and in the lower parts were men. And when they had come there Macarius brought her in through the door, and said unto her, "Which wouldst thou see first, the emeralds or the "gems?" She saith unto him, "Whichever thou pleasest." Then he took her up to the upper parts of the house and showed her the women whose faces and bodies were diseased and deformed, and said unto her, "These "are the gems"; and he brought her down to the lower parts, and showed her the men, and said unto her, "These are the emeralds. If these please thee, [good "and well]; but if not take thy money." Then was the virgin ashamed, and she went forth and departed, and by reason of her grief she fell into a sickness, because

[1] After جِبْتَهُم, add some words like جَبَتْ بِهِنَّ.

it was through God and of her own will that she had in this wise performed the matter. Finally, however, she came to herself and was exceedingly grateful to the priest; and as for the maiden for whose wedding feast she was laying up her riches, she died.

CHAPTER VII.

Concerning the monks who lived in Nitria.

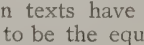
Now having held converse with many of the saints, and having gone round about among the monasteries which were nigh unto Alexandria for three years, and having met about two thousand of the great and strenuous men who lived there and who were adorned with the excellence of spiritual lives, I departed from there and came to Mount Nitria. Now between this mountain and Alexandria there lieth a certain lake which is called Mareotis, which embraceth a space of seventy miles. And having seated myself in a ship I crossed this lake [Page 120] in a day and a half, and I came unto the mountain to the south whereunto is joined the desert which reacheth unto Cush (Ethiopia). In this mountain of the Geomastiḳê[1] and of the Môrîtînê[2] there live excellent men who are adorned with divers kinds of ascetic virtues; and every monk leadeth the ascetic life as he wisheth and as he is able, either by himself or in a community. Now in this mountain there are seven bakers who make bread and who minister unto them, and unto the chosen men of the inner desert, of whom there are six hundred, and also unto the people of that mountain. And when I had

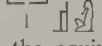
[1] Bedjan's reading is ܓܐܡܣܛܝܩܐ; Migne's text has καὶ τῶν Μαζίκων.

[2] *I. e.*, the Mauritanians; Migne's text has καὶ τῆς Μαυριτανίας.

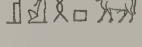
dwelt in this mountain for a year, and had profited by the fathers, the pious and blessed men, I mean RABBA BARSÎS,[1] and BÛSÎRÎS[2] PÔṬBASTÔS,[3] and AGÎÔS, and KHRÔNÎS, and SERAPION,[4] and had learned from them also concerning the ancient and first spiritual fathers [who had lived there], I entered into the inner desert wherein is Mount Nitria.

In this mountain is a great church, and in the courtyard thereof are three palm trees, in each of which hangeth a whip. One of these is for the correcting of the monks who transgress through folly; the second is for the punishing of the thieves if they be found falling on the place; and the third is for the chastising of the strangers who flock there and who transgress in any matter whatsoever. And it is the same with anyone who shall commit any offence; they bring him to the palm tree and punish him, and he receiveth upon his back the number of stripes which they have appointed unto him. Adjoining the church is a house in which the strangers who arrive there may lodge, and if any man wisheth to work [there] one year, or two, or until he departeth of his own accord [he may do so]; and every week of days they permit him [Page 121] to rest, so that he may do nothing, but they give him work during the remaining days of the week, either among the bakers, or in the

[1] ܪܒܐ ܒܪܣܝ. The Greek and Latin texts have Ἀρσισίου τοῦ μεγάλου, and "Arsisio majore;" Arsisius is derived from the Egyptian Ḥeru-sa Ast 

[2] The Greek and Latin texts have no equivalent for the name Busiris, which seems to be the equivalent of some Egyptian name like Pa-Ȧsȧr 

[3] Pôtbasṭôs is clearly the equivalent of the Egyptian name Pe-ṭā Bast, *i. e.*, the "gift of Bast."

[4] *I. e.*, the Egyptian Ȧsar-Ḥāpi 

refectory.[1] And if there was among these anyone who was sufficiently educated they used to give him a book to read, but they did not allow him to hold converse with any man until the sixth hour. There were also in this mountain physicians for the use of the sick, and those who sold cakes;[2] and they also used wine which was sold there. All these people worked at the weaving of linen with their hands, and there was no needy man there. Now when the evening cometh thou must rise up to hear the praises, and the Psalms, and the prayers which are sent up to Christ by the people from the monasteries which are there, and a man might imagine, his mind being exalted, that he was in the Paradise of Eden.

Now the monks only came to church on the Sabbath and on the First Day of the week. Belonging to this church there were eight priests and governors, but as long as the first one lived none of the others ministered in the church; he neither judged nor spake with any man, and they lived with him a life of silent contemplation. Now this great man ARSÎÔS (ARSISIUS) and many of the ancient holy men whom we saw, were followers of the rule of the blessed man ANTHONY, and ARSÎÔS (ARSISIUS) himself told me that the holy man AMMÔN who was from Nitria, and whom he knew, and whose soul was taken up and carried by the angels into heaven, even saw ANTHONY. And ARSÎÔS (ARSISIUS) also spake to me concerning the blessed man PACHOMIUS, who came from Tabenna of HEKHÂM,[3] and who possessed the gift of prophecy, and who became the governor and head of three thousand men; of this man I will relate the virtues at the end [of this book].

[1] Read ܒܝܬ ܟܢܫܐ.

[2] Gr. πλακουντάριοι.

[3] The Greek has τὸν Ταβεννησιώτην; ܣܛ I cannot explain.

CHAPTER VIII.

[Page 122] THE HISTORY OF ABBÂ AMMÔN.

Concerning the blessed man AMMÔN, he used to say:—He became a monk in this wise. When he was a young man, and was about twenty-two years old, he was left an orphan[1] by his parents. His father's brother wanted to give him a wife, and because he was unable to resist the counsel of his uncle he was compelled by force to marry one, and to fasten the crown of bridegrooms upon his head, and to take his seat in the marriage chamber, and to fulfil everything according to the law of the marriage feast. Now, AMMÔN submitted to everything outwardly, but, after every one had gone forth having put AMMÔN and his wife to bed in the marriage chamber, the blessed man rose up and shut the door and seated himself. And he called to the true and blessed woman his spouse, and said unto her, "Henceforth thou shalt be my lady and my sister; "come therefore, and I will relate unto thee concerning "a matter which is more excellent [than marriage]. "The marriage which men contract is a perishable "thing, but let us choose for ourselves the marriage "which perisheth not, and the marriage feast which "never endeth. Let us each sleep alone, for in this "wise we shall please Christ; and let us guard the "glory of our virginity unspotted, so that we may take "our rest at the marriage feast which is incorruptible." Then he took out a book from his bosom and read to the maiden [passages] which were uttered by the Apostles and by our Redeemer, and since she had no knowledge of the Scriptures he added unto their words from his own divine mind. And he read many passages unto her and talked much to her concerning

[1] Read ܝܬܝܡܐ.

virginity and purity, and at length, by the grace of Christ, she was persuaded. Then she answered and said unto him, "Master, I know well that a rule of life "of purity is very much more excellent [than marriage]; "therefore whatsoever pleaseth thee that do. And I "also from this time forth will be persuaded [to do] "whatsoever thou wishest to do."

Then AMMÔN [Page 123] said unto her, "I beg and "entreat thee to let each of us from this time forth "dwell alone"; but she would not agree to this, and said, "Let us live in the same house, and let each of "us have a separate bed." So they dwelt together holily in the same house for eighteen years. In the morning AMMÔN used to go forth and pass the whole day in cultivating the balsam trees which he had in his garden—now the balsam tree is like unto the vine and must be planted, and pruned, and cultivated, and it demandeth great attention—and in the evening he entered into his house, and recited his prayers, and then ate with her. And he also rose up to [to say] the praises (*or*, hymns) of the night, and as soon as the dawn had come he would depart to the garden. Now as they were doing these things they both removed themselves from passions, and attained unto impassibility, and the prayers of ABBÂ AMMÔN helped [his wife]. And at length the blessed woman said unto him, "Master, I have something to say unto "thee, if thou wilt hearken unto me, and I am con- "vinced that for God's sake thou lovest me." The blessed man said unto her, "Tell [me] what thou "wishest [to say]"; and she said unto him, "It is not "right (seeing that thou art a God-fearing man, and "one who liveth a life of righteousness, and that thou "hast also made me, outwardly, to yearn for this path "[of life], and by the help of divine grace I have gotten "purity), to live with me. It is not good that, for my "sake, thou who dwellest with me in purity for our "Lord's sake, shouldst hide the spiritual excellence

"of thy philosophy; for it is not seemly that thy fair "deeds should be hidden, and should not be known. "Let thy dwelling be apart from me and [thus] thou "shalt benefit many." Then AMMÔN praised God, and said unto her, "O lady, this mind is beautiful, and if "it be acceptable unto thee do thou remain and abide "[Page 124] in this house in peace, and I will go "and make another for myself." And having gone forth from her AMMÔN departed and entered into Mount Nitria, where as yet the monasteries were not numerous, indeed up to that time there were no monasteries at all there; and he built himself a habitation there, and dwelt therein for two and twenty years. And having attained unto the highest practice of the labours of the ascetic life he ended his days, that is to say, the holy man AMMÔN went to his rest and slept when he was sixty-two years of age. Twice in the year he used to go and see his spouse; and he died in his virginity, and his wife likewise brought the years of her life to an end in purity.

Now the following wonderful thing is told[1] concerning him by the blessed ATHANASIUS, Bishop of Alexandria, in the book which he composed about the life and deeds of the blessed Anthony. Once when he was about to cross the river which is called DÎBHÂ[2] with THEODORE his disciple, he was ashamed to take off his clothes [lest] he might see the nakedness of his person. And being doubtful in his mind (*literally* thoughts) how he should cross over wonder fell upon him, and through an angel he crossed the river without any [boat] whatsoever [on his part]. It was the same AMMÔN who saw the blessed man ANTHONY, who lived and died in such wise that his soul was taken to heaven by angels, and it was he who passed over the waters by the might of the Holy Spirit. Now as

[1] We have already had this story in Saint Anthony's life.
[2] An exact translation of τὸν Λύκον ποταμόν.

concerning this river which is called DÎBHÂ, I myself was once in great fear when I was crossing it in a boat, because it is filled with the overflow of the waters of the Nile.

CHAPTER IX.

THE HISTORY OF THE BLESSED MAN ÔR.

Now in Mount Nitria there was a certain man whose name was ÔR, concerning whom men, especially all the brotherhood, testify to many of his triumphs, and also that [Page 125] marvellous and excellent woman MELḤÂ (*i.e.*, MELANIA), the handmaiden of Christ, who went into this mountain before I did. As for me, I never became acquainted with this man. And in his history they say this one thing. "He never told a lie "in his life, and he never used oaths; he never uttered "a curse, and beyond what was absolutely necessary he "never spoke at[1] all."

CHAPTER X.

THE HISTORY OF THE BLESSED MAN PANBÔ.

In this mountain there also lived the blessed man PANBÔ (*or*, PAMBÔ), who was the teacher and master of the Bishops[2] [DIOSCORUS], AMÔNÎS (AMMONIUS), EUSEBIUS, [EUTHEMÎS] (EUTYMIUS), and EUÔRGHÂNIS (ORIGEN) the nephew of DRACONTIUS, a marvellous man. Now this man PANBÎS possessed [the power to utter] words

[1] The Greek text printed by Migne (XXXIV. col. 1026) gives ÔR's life at greater length.

[2] Bedjan's text has ܕܒܝܬ ܡܘܫܒܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܘܫܒܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܘܫܒܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܘܫܒܐ.

of prophecy, and splendid triumphs, yet with all these he despised gold and silver, even as the Word demandeth. Now the following things [concerning him] were related unto me by the blessed woman MELIÂ (*i. e.*, MELANIA):—When I first came from Rome to Alexandria I heard concerning the life and deeds of PANBÔ, inasmuch as the blessed man ISIDORE, who also brought me unto him in the desert, told me about him. And I brought unto him a basket which was filled with stamped silver (*i. e.*, coined money) three hundred pounds [in weight], and I begged him to accept some of my possessions for his needs. He was sitting and plaiting the leaves of palm trees, and as he was doing this he merely blessed me, and said, "God give thee "thy reward!" Then he said unto his steward whose name was ÎWÂRGHÂNIS (ORIGEN), "Take and distribute "[this] among all the brethren who are in the Island "and in Lĕbhônâ (Libya);" for these monasteries are exceedingly poor, and he commanded the steward not to give unto any man who dwelt in Egypt, for those who dwell therein have [abundant] means of subsistence. Now I stood there and I expected to be treated with honour or to be praised for the greatness of the gift, but when I heard nothing from him, I said unto him, "Master, knowest thou how much money it is, and that "there are three hundred pounds [in the basket]?" Then PANBÔ, without [Page 126] lifting up his gaze said unto me, "My daughter, He unto Whom thou "hast offered thy money hath no need [to know] the "weight. For He Who weighed the mountains in a "balance knoweth how much is the weight of thy silver. "If thou hadst given the money unto me thou wouldst "have done well to have informed me concerning the "weight thereof; but since thou hast given it to God, "Who did not despise the two mites of the widow, "[what need hast thou to tell Him?] Hold thy peace."

Now our Lord so directed that in the day on which I entered the mountain this blessed man died without

having been ill, for he died whilst he was sewing together palm leaves for mats, without fever and without sickness. And he was seventy years old. Now he was sewing together palm leaves for a mat, and coming to the end of it he sent and called me. And when he had finished sewing it, he said unto me, "Take this mat from my hands, so that thou "mayest keep me in remembrance, for I have nothing "else whatsoever to leave thee;" and having given it unto me he straightway died. And I wrapped his body in linen swathings, and buried him, and then I departed from the desert; and I shall treasure the mat as a sacred relic until the day of my death. Now at the time of the death of this holy man PANBÔ there were standing before him certain famous men, ORIGEN the priest and steward, and AMÔNÎS (AMMONIUS), together with the remainder of the brethren, and they told [me] that, at the time of his death, he said, "From the day "wherein I came into this desert and built this cell in "which I have lived [until this day] I know not that I "have [ever] eaten the bread of idleness [or bread] "which did not come from the labour of mine own "hands; and my soul repenteth not that I have ever "spoken an empty word in my life; thus I go to God "like one who hath, as yet, not made a beginning in "the fear of God." And ÊWÂRGÂNÎS (ORIGEN) and AMÔNÎS (AMMONIUS), the servants[1] of Christ, in telling us the story of his life bore witness concerning him that he was never asked a question by any man about a saying from the Book, or about the rules and labours of the ascetic life [Page 127] which he did not either answer immediately, or say, "I have not as yet under- "stood the matter." Now there were times when he spake these words [only] after three months' consideration of a matter; and he used to make answer with such understanding that every man received the

[1] Read ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ.

things which were said by him with as great reverence as if they had [been said] by God. Now this excellence was also attributed to ANTHONY the Great and to the rest of the holy men. Among other things which are said concerning the holy man PANBÔ is the following. The blessed man PÎÔR once went to PANBÔ's cell and took with him some bread, and PANBÔ made a complaint, saying unto him, "Why hast thou done this?" Then Abbâ PÎÔR made answer, saying, "Let [this thing] be not grievous unto thee;" but PANBÔ was silent and sent him away. And after some time Rabbâ PANBÔ went to the cell of Abbâ PÎÔR, and he took with him bread which had been dipped in water; and being asked "Why hast thou done this?" the blessed man PANBÔ said unto him, "Let it not be grievous unto thee that I have also dipped the bread in water."

CHAPTER XI.

THE HISTORY OF THE BLESSED AMMONIUS.

Now this man AMMONIUS and his three brothers and his two sisters were disciples of Rabbâ PANBÔ; and when they had attained unto the perfection of divine life and conversation they departed from the desert, and founded two monasteries, I mean, one for men and one for women, but they placed the monastery of the women at a sufficient distance from that of the men, for Ammonius did not greatly love the intercourse of speech. It was for this reason that a certain city desired that he should be its bishop, and the people thereof drew nigh unto the blessed man TIMOTHY, Bishop of Alexandria,[1] and entreated [Page 128] him

[1] Probably Timothy, Archbishop of Alexandria, who sat from 381 to 385.

to make the blessed Ammonius their Bishop; and TIMOTHY told them to bring AMMONIUS unto him and that he would make him their Bishop. Then they took with them much people and they went unto AMMONIUS to bring him, and when he saw them, he tried to find means to take to flight. But when he saw that he was unable to escape from them, he tried to persuade them, with many oaths, that he would not accept it, but he was not sufficient for the matter.[1] And when they would not be persuaded[2] by him, he seized a razor and cut out his left ear at the root, and said unto them, "Now I am indeed persuaded that "I cannot be that which ye are urging me to be, for "the Law also commandeth, 'The man whose ear hath "'been cut off shall not draw nigh unto the altar;'"[3] so they left him and went and informed the Bishop, who said unto them, "This law is observed among the "Jews, but even if his nose was split and he had fine "qualities I would make him Bishop." Then the people went to AMMONIUS again and entreated him [to come], and when the pious man would not be persuaded by them, they wanted to take him and to make him come by force; but he said unto them, "If ye do [not] leave "me I will also slit my tongue;" and when they heard this they left him and departed.

Concerning this man AMMONIUS so wonderful a thing as the following is said. Whenever a carnal thought entered his mind he never spared his body, but he would make a piece of iron hot on the fire and lay it upon his members, so that they might always be in a state of wounds. From his youth up his rule was as follows:—whatsoever is cooked by fire he would never eat. He could repeat the Books of the Old and New Testaments by heart, [Page 129] and he used to read

[1] *I. e.*, he could not make them give up their intention.

[2] Read ܢܬܩܒܠܘܗ.

[3] Leviticus XXVI. 17.

also the books [which were composed by] excellent men, by ÎWÂRGHÂNÎS (ORIGEN), and by DÛDÎMÂ (DIDYMUS), and by PÂRÎS (PIERIUS), and by ESTAPÂNÂ (STEPHEN) [containing] about ten thousand six hundred sayings; concerning this the great fathers who lived in the desert bear witness. It is also said that this man possessed the power of foretelling events, and living in his cell he was so great a comforter to the brethren who lived in the desert that no other man could be compared with him. Now the blessed man EVAGRIUS, who was clothed with the spirit, and was skilled in examining thoughts, used to say, "I never saw any man who "had attained more closely unto impassibility than AM-"MONIUS."

Once a certain need of those who were dwelling in the desert called the blessed man AMMONIUS, and RUFINUS who was at that time the prefect [also] greatly persuaded him, and he went up to Constantinople. And with him there were also the holy Bishops, and other monks who had come from various provinces [to be present] at the service of restoration of a certain martyrium which RUFINUS had built. And RUFINUS wished him to receive him after holy baptism at the service of restoration of the temple which he had built, and so the blessed man received him from the bishops who had baptized him. Thus, as was right, RUFINUS paid to the blessed man AMMONIUS the honour which is due to a life of asceticism, and he used to listen to him in everything; and after a short time he died and was buried in the martyrium which is called the "martyrium of RUFINUS," and many helpful acts took place at his grave on behalf of those who [were worthy] of help.

CHAPTER XII.

The History of the Blessed Benjamin.

And there was also in the mountain of Nitria a marvellous man whose name was Benjamin, who attained to a high state of perfection in the ascetic life, for he had [Page 130] fasted and toiled for eighty years. Now he was held to be worthy of the gift of the craft of the physician, and from every wound (*or*, stripe) upon which he laid his hand, and which Christ blessed or gave [him the power to heal], straightway every pain departed. And this man, who was worthy of such a gift, collected water in his body for eight months before his death, and he was so much swollen that he might well have been called a second Job. And Dioscurus took us, that is to say, the blessed Îwârghânis (Origen) and myself, and said unto us, "Come ye and see a new Job, who whilst [suffering "from] such a severe disease of the body as this healeth "others." And Benjamin gave thanks concerning his affliction beyond measure, and glorified God continually, and his soul rejoiced and was glad in the hope which is laid up for the saints. Now when we had gone and seen the swelling of his body we found that it had become so large that a man could not with all his hand encircle one of his fingers; and being unable to look upon such a terrible affliction through disease we turned away our eyes. Then the blessed man Benjamin said unto us, "My sons, pray ye that the "inner man may not collect water. Even when this "my body was in health it in no wise helped me, and "now that it is sick it in no wise hindereth me." Now during the [last] eight months of his illness they made a broad chair for him, and he used to sit therein always, because he was not able to lie down upon a bed by reason of the necessity of his belly and of the other

[members of his] body. And whilst he himself lived in such suffering through all his affliction he was healing others, and it is for this reason that I am compelled to narrate to you concerning the affliction of this righteous man, so that when such an affliction as this happeneth unto the righteous we may not hold the matter to be hard. Now when this blessed man died the whole of the framework of the doorway had to be removed to enable them [Page 131] to bring out his body from his cell, for his body was very large indeed.

CHAPTER XIII.

The History of Apollonius.[1]

And again another man, whose name was Apollonius, used to dwell in this Mount Nitria, and he was a merchant who had come there to learn to lead the life and conversation of the anchorite. Now this man found no handicraft at the exercise of which he could employ himself, and he could neither fast nor keep vigil like the other ascetics to any great extent. During the twenty years which he lived in this mountain it was his rule of life and triumph that by his own labour and toil he used to buy from Alexandria every thing which was required by the brethren, and the things which were needed for the healing of the sick, and carry them to the sick. And it was a marvellous thing to see him going about among the monasteries and cells of the brethren each day, from the earliest dawn, when he set out, until the ninth hour, and he used to stand by the door and say, "Is "there, peradventure, any one sick here?" And he carried about pomegranates, and dried cakes, and

[1] Bedjan's text adds ܬܓܪܐ "the merchant."

raisins, and eggs,[1] and the things which are necessary for the sick, Now, he found this rule of life easy to acquire, and to continue until his old age, and he was able to attend to the affairs of the five thousand brethren who were dwelling in the mountain. And when he died he left whatsoever he had unto another man like unto himself, and he begged him to carry out this ministration, because the [place where the monks lived] was a desert and was destitute of the things of the world.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Histories of the natural brethren Paesius and Isaiah.

And there were also there two brethren, whose names were Paesius and Isaiah, who were the sons of [Page 132] a certain merchant who traded in Spain; and when their father died they divided his inheritance between them, and there came to each of them money which amounted to five thousand *dînârs*, and furniture, and raiment, and slaves, and property of all kinds.[2] And these blessed men took counsel together and meditated together and said unto each other, "By what "manner of trafficking shall we live in this world? If "we continue to exercise the trade of our father, we "shall only double our labour and toil for [the benefit "of] others; and perhaps [our wealth] will fall into the "hands of thieves by land or of pirates by sea." And whilst they were being troubled by such thoughts as these they answered and said unto each other, "Let "us come to the way of truth, and let us acquire the "life and conversation of the Christians, whereby we

[1] Gr. σταφίδας, ῥοὰς, ὠὰ, σιλίγνια.
[2] Literally, "whatsoever was found."

"shall both keep the benefit of what our father hath "left us, and get possession of our soul." And this proposition concerning the labour of the dwellers in monasteries was pleasing unto them, and each of them found in his discipleship the power to judge as to what work he should embrace. And, having divided their father's inheritance they both possessed the eager care to please God by the various kinds of labours of life of the mourner. One of them divided everything which had come to him and gave it to the churches and monastic habitations, and distributed it among the poor and needy; and he learned a handicraft at which he could work and earn [his] daily bread, and he was constant in prayer and fasting. The other brother did not distribute [his possessions], but he built himself a monastery and gathered together unto him a few brethren, and providing therefor became a care unto him. All strangers and poor folk, and all the aged men and sick folk who thronged unto him he used to receive and relieve their wants. And every first day of the week, and every Sabbath, he used to prepare three tables and relieve the wants of everyone who happened to be present there; and thus he spent all his possessions.

Now, when the two brothers died abundant blessing was ascribed unto them by the whole brotherhood, but the one [Page 133] brother pleased some of them [most], and the other the others; and although the brethren praised both brothers, a dispute arose among them concerning the superior merit of one or the other of the two brothers. Then the brethren went to the blessed PANBÔ and related the matter unto him, and wished to learn which rule of life and labour was the greater and more excellent. And PANBÔ said unto them, "They are both perfect. One man made manifest the "work of ABRAHAM by his hospitality, and the other "the self-denial of ELIJAH." And again the brethren said unto him, "How is it possible for the two to be

"equal in merit? We praise and magnify him who "embraced poverty, for we find that he did the work "of the Gospel in selling everything that he had and "giving it to the poor, and that every day, and at "every season, both by day and by night, he took up "his cross and followed after his Lord by his fasting "and his prayers." And again the other brethren contended with them, saying, "The other brother "showed such supreme compassion on those who were "strangers and on those who were afflicted that he "would even sit in the highways and gather together "the passers by who were in trouble; and not only "did he relieve his own soul, but he also brought a "lightening unto many souls that were heavy laden, "and he would make ready the dead for the grave "and bury [them]." And the blessed PANBÔ said unto them, "Again I say unto you that both are equal [in "merit], and I will tell you how each of them became so. "Unless the one had fasted he would not have been "worthy of the goodness and compassion of the other, "and again, the other in relieving the wants of strangers "also lightened his own load, for although a man may "think that he hath trouble in receiving [them] yet he "also gaineth rest of body. But tarry ye here a few "days so that I may learn [the answer] from God, and "come ye [back] to me and I will declare [it] unto "you." And after a few days they came unto him, and they asked him to tell them what had been revealed unto [Page 134] him; and he answered and said unto them, "I have seen them both standing in "the Paradise of Eden, as it were in the presence of "God."

CHAPTER XV.

The History of Macarius, the child of his cross.[1]

There was also a certain youth whose name was Macarius, and when he became a young man about eighteen years old, he used to pasture sheep and herds, along with [other] young men of his own age and position, by the side of the lake which is called Mârîâ (Mareotis), and without wishing to do so he unwittingly committed a murder; and without saying a word to any man he straightway rose up and departed, and he went out and journeyed into the desert. Thus he attained to the fear of God, and to the love of men, in such wise that he esteemed himself lightly; and he passed three years in the desert, in the open air, and without a roof [over his head]. Now in that country no rain falleth, and this everyone, so to say, knoweth, either from hearsay or from actual experience. And after three years he built himself a cell, and he dwelt therein for five and twenty years [and performed] great labours; and he was held worthy of the divine gift of being able to treat with contempt the devils, and he was completely happy in the ascetic life and in the noble labours thereof. Now I dwelt hard by this man for no short time, and once I asked him, "What is "thy thought about the sinfulness of that murder [which "thou didst commit]?" And he said unto me, "I am "entirely untroubled by it, for I am bound to confess "that the sin of [this] involuntary murder was the good "cause of the redemption of my life, and the testi- "mony of the Book confirmeth this view, saying, not "even Moses, the servant of the Lord, would have "been held worthy of the divine vision unless, through "fear for the murder which he had committed, he had

[1] Gr. Περὶ Μακαρίου τοῦ ἀκούσιον Φόνον πολήσαντος.

"forsaken Egypt, [Page 135] and come unto Mount "Sinai, where he was held to be worthy of converse "with God, and to compose the commandments of the "spirit."

Now we speak these things, not because we wish to help murder, but only in order that we may particularly shew that spiritual excellences spring from tribulations, when a man is not of his own will persuaded to draw nigh unto goodness. Some spiritual excellences arise from the will, and some from tribulation; and in the works which I have found appended to this history I have discovered that the murder which MACARIUS committed belonged to this latter class.[1] And MACARIUS prayed always, and he prayed with his hands stretched out in the form of a cross. And when he had drawn nigh to the end of his course, which was not caused by illness, at that time [I say] he stood up in the corner of his cell, and stretched out his hands in prayer, and thus praying he yielded up his spirit. And when he who used to bring him food came and saw him standing by the side of the wall with his hands stretched out, he remained standing outside thinking that MACARIUS was standing up in prayer, as was his wont. Then, having waited for about three hours, he opened the door and went in, and he said unto him, "Bless, master!" And when he did not answer him he drew nigh and shook him; and when he saw that he was dead[2] he came to us and told us, and having come we saw him standing in the form of a cross, and we marvelled. Now when we had laid him out upon the ground we were unable to bring his hands nigh unto his body, and so we dug his grave in the form of a cross and laid him in it. And I was sorely grieved because of his departure,

[1] For the rest of this Chapter there is no Latin equivalent printed by Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 943, col. 1.

[2] Read ܕܡܝܬ.

and I fell into a slumber and slept, and a voice came unto me, which said, "Inasmuch as during his lifetime "he loved the cross, which he bore through his good "works, in it also he shall have his rest; in the form "of that which he desired longingly hath he been "buried, and in the same form shall he stand up at "the right hand on the day of Christ." [Page 136] And having heard these things I awoke, and I glorified God and the power of the Cross.

CHAPTER XVI.

The History of the blessed Nathaniel.

And there was also another man among the aged ones whose name was Nathaniel, and him I never met in his life, for he died fifteen years before I entered into this mountain; but I have met those who dwelt with him for a long time. And having made enquiries of these I learned concerning the triumphs of the man, and they also shewed me his cell wherein at that time no man was living, because it was nigh unto the world; but Abbâ Nathaniel built it long ago when the monks were few in number.

Now they used to relate concerning this man that his patient endurance in his cell was such that he never moved from his place to go outside the door of his habitation for the disposition of his will. At the beginning he was laughed at by the Evil One, who mocketh at and leadeth astray every man, and he made Nathaniel to feel weariness in his first cell, and he went and built himself another cell in the neighbourhood of the city. Now after he had built the other cell and had dwelt therein, some three or four months later the devil, who had waged war against him from the beginning, came by night holding in his

hand a sling like a hunter, and he was dressed in the garb of the Romans, and he was slinging [stones] with the sling which he was holding. Then the blessed man NATHANIEL answered and said unto him, "Who "art thou who doest these things in the place wherein "I dwell?" The devil said unto him, "I am he who "made thee to flee from thy first cell, and I have "come that I may make thee to flee [Page 137] from "this place." Now when he knew that the devil was laughing at him because he had departed from his first [cell], straightway he turned and went back thereto, and he lived in his first cell for the space of thirty and seven years in such strict abnegation that he never passed outside the door, and meanwhile he was warring with the devil. And the wicked devil made him to experience so many afflictions and troubles in order to drive him out of his cell that it would be impossible for [any] man to recount them. But the Evil One watched [and obtained his opportunity] in the arrival of the bishops who came to NATHANIEL (now they were all holy men), and whether the ordering of the matter was due to the will of God, or to the temptation of the Evil One, we know not, but he made NATHANIEL to fall away somewhat from his intention. For when the Bishops had prayed and had gone forth, NATHANIEL did not escort them the distance of one step, and the servants who were with them said [to him], "Dost thou possess the faculty of pride that thou "wilt not accompany the Bishops?" Then NATHANIEL said unto them, "I died once and for all to my lords "the Bishops, and to the whole world, and I have a "secret matter concerning which it is God only Who "knoweth my heart, and why I did not go forth and "escort them."

Then that devil, who was still making a mock of this self-abnegation, nine months before NATHANIEL'S death took upon himself the form of a young man who was about twenty years old, and he was following

after an ass which was carrying bread in the bed of the river. Now when it was far into the evening the young man passed close to the cell, and pretended that the ass had fallen down under its burden, and he began to cry out, and said, "Abbâ Nathaniel, help me, "and come and render me assistance." And NATHANIEL heard the voice of the young man who he thought was crying out, and he opened the door, and as he was standing inside, he spake with him, and said unto him, "Who art thou? And what dost thou want me "to do for thee?" And the young man said [Page 138] unto him, "I am such and such a young man, and I "am carrying bread to such and such a brother because "he wisheth to make a love feast, and the day which "dawneth to-morrow will be the Sabbath, and [bread "for] the Offering will be necessary. I beg of thee "therefore not to tarry in assisting me, lest the hyenas "come and devour both me and the ass." Now there were many hyenas in that place.

Then the blessed NATHANIEL stood still in great astonishment, and he was much troubled in his mind by the mercy which had revealed itself to him, and he meditated within himself, saying, "It is either through "the command of God that I must fall, or through my "will [having reached] its limit."[1] Finally he meditated within himself and said, "It is better for him who hath "guarded for all these years the limit of his will, and "hath not passed over his door, to remain in the same "condition which will put the Evil One to shame than "to go out;" and he prayed to God. Then he made answer unto him whom he believed to be a young man crying out, and said unto him, "Young man, hear me! "I believe that the God Whom I serve will send thee "help if it be needed by thee, and that neither the "hyenas nor anything else will harm thee; but if thou "art a temptation may God discover thy craftiness!"

[1] Literally, "or through the limit of my will."

And he shut the door and held his peace. And that devil was put to shame, and by reason of his wickedness he took the form of a whirlwind and the forms of wild asses which dance about and skip and emit wind. This is the [story of the] triumph of the blessed NATHANIEL, and this is the [story of] his labour and of his ending.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE HISTORY OF THE TWO EXALTED AND EXCELLENT MEN, MACARIUS THE EGYPTIAN, THE DISCIPLE OF MÂR ABBÂ ANTHONY, AND MACARIUS THE ALEXANDRIAN.

Concerning the holy and immortal fathers, that is to say MACARIUS THE EGYPTIAN, and MACARIUS THE ALEXANDRIAN, who were men to be feared and who were invincible athletes, and concerning the strife of their life, and deeds, and conversation, it is exceedingly right and good that we should tell the story; but perhaps it will not be accepted by the unbelievers, and [Page 139] therefore I find it difficult to relate their history and to set it down completely in writing, lest by so doing I should be accounted a liar. And that the Lord destroyeth those who speak falsehood the Holy Spirit maketh clearly manifest. Now as I myself do not put to the lie the help of Christ, do not thou, O LAUSUS, thou believer in men, become an unbeliever in the triumphs of the holy fathers which are spoken of, but adorn thyself more and more with the deeds and conversation of these glorious men who were in very truth, even as they are called, blessed men. Now the athlete of Christ, the first MACARIUS, was by race an Egyptian, and the second MACARIUS, although he was second to him in the matter of age, was, nevertheless, first in the opinion[1] of the monks (*or*, solitaries):

[1] Literally, fore knowledge.

and this man, whose name also was MACARIUS, which is interpreted "blessed," was from the city of Alexandria, and he was [one] of those who sold dried fruit and wine.

Now[1] in another manuscript I have found a different version [of the history of the two MACARII which I have used] in the preparation of [this] history, and I set this down here also; now it reads as follows:—

Now as concerning the two blessed men whose names were the same, inasmuch as their rule of life and conversation were of an exceedingly exalted character perhaps many will not believe [what I write]. I, however, am afraid lest I may understate and belittle their triumphs in any way whatsoever, and lie concerning them, for it is written, "Thou wilt destroy those who "speak falsehood."[2] The Holy Spirit hath passed this sentence upon me, therefore, O beloved and faithful men, believe ye me. Now one of these two blessed men was an Egyptian by race, and the other was an Alexandrian who sold dried fruits. But first of all I will tell the story of the ascetic excellences of MACARIUS the Egyptian, the whole of whose years were ninety; he was thirty years old when he went up [Page 140] to the desert, and he lived therein for sixty years. And he was given the gift of [performing] mighty deeds in such a remarkable manner that he was called by the fathers "the aged youth", because straightway and quickly he ascended to the highest grade of ascetic excellence and gifts, and to the power of interpreting the Scriptures, and to spiritual foresight. And the gift of possessing power over devils was also given to him, and he was also esteemed worthy of the priesthood. With this blessed man there lived in the further (*or*, inner) desert which is called "SCETE" two disciples; one of these was his servant, for many folk were wont to come unto him to be healed, and the other remained

[1] This is a note of a careful scribe or editor.
[2] Psalm XII. 3.

always in a cell which was nigh unto MACARIUS. Now when much time had passed by MACARIUS looked and said unto him that ministered unto him, now his name was JOHN, and he afterwards became the elder in the place of the blessed man, he answered, I say, and said unto him, "Hear me, O JOHN, and receive the rebuke "with which I rebuke thee. For thou art suffering "temptation, and behold, the spirit of the love of money "(*i. e.*, avarice) tempteth thee, for even so have I seen. "And I know that if thou wilt listen unto me thy end "in this place shall be praised, and no harm shall draw "nigh unto thy habitation. But if thou wilt not hearken "unto me, because of the love of money which moveth "thee, the leprosy of GEHAZI shall come upon thee at "the end." And it came to pass some fifteen or twenty years after the death of the blessed man JOHN forgot his commandment, and because he used to steal from the poor his body became so covered with leprosy that there was not in the whole of it one sound spot large enough for a man to lay his finger upon. Thus the prophecy of the blessed MACARIUS concerning JOHN actually came to pass.

Now if we were to attempt to describe the food and drink of the holy man we should do what is superfluous, because among the careless monks[1] who lived in that place [Page 141] there was not to be found any one thing which could lead to excess either in eating or drinking, first because of the poverty of the spot, and secondly because of the divine zeal which they displayed towards each other; but I may mention his sad and stern habits of self-denial in various other ways. And they relate concerning him that he was at all times in a state of wonder at some divine vision, and that he used to become like a drunken man by reason of some hidden vision, and that his mind was

[1] *I. e.*, the monks troubled themselves in no way as to what they ate or drank.

more often exalted unto God than it was concerned with the things which are in this world and those which are under the heavens. And, as concerning the wonderful things which God wrought by his hands it is not seemly that we should keep silence, and of him the following marvellous things are told.

A certain Egyptian loved another man's wife, but since he was not able to incite her to love him and to make her yield to his will, he spake unto a certain magician, saying, "Make this woman to love me, or "employ thy sorcery in some way so that her husband "may hate her, and cast her out." Now when the magician had received money not a little, he made use of his sorceries, and he made the woman to appear in the form of a mare; and when her husband went into his house from outside, and saw her, astonishment seized him at [the sight of] a mare lying upon his bed. Then he lifted up his voice in a sorrowful cry, and he wept tears and heaved sighs; and he spake with her, but she made no reply unto him, and she answered him not a word. And having seen what had taken place, he went to the elder of the village,[1] and told him concerning this matter, and brought him and took him in and shewed him what had happened. And for a space of three days he knew not what the matter was, for the mare neither ate dried grass like an animal, nor did she partake of bread like a daughter of man; and she did without food of either kind. Finally, however, in order that God might be glorified, and a miracle might also be made manifest at the hands of the blessed MACARIUS, and his spiritual perfection be made known, it entered into the mind of the man who was the woman's husband to take her [Page 142] to the desert to the blessed MACARIUS. And having saddled her like a mare, and thrown over

[1] *I. e.*, the village *shêkh*, or *shêkh al-balad*.

her a halter, like an animal, he led her away and departed to the desert.

And when the man arrived at the cell of the blessed MACARIUS, the brethren who were standing by the side of the cell of the blessed MACARIUS saw him, and they wanted to keep back the husband of the woman, and strove with him, saying, "Why hast thou "brought this mare into the desert?" And the man said unto them, "That she may receive mercy, and be "healed." They said unto him, "What aileth her?" And he answered and said unto them, "She is a woman "who hath been suddenly transformed into a mare, "and behold, she hath eaten no food for three days." Then the brethren went and told the blessed MACARIUS what the matter was, and when they came to inform him, they found him standing inside [his cell] and praying for her, for God had already revealed this matter unto him, and he was praying for the woman. And the holy man MACARIUS answered and said unto his disciples, "Ye are mares which have the eyes[1] of "horses; but that mare is a woman. She hath not "been changed from her nature of a woman except in "the sight to those who have made a mistake; and "that she appeareth as a mare is only an error of the "sight[2] of those who see her." Then the blessed man took water and blessed it, and he threw it over her head and it ran down over all her body; and the blessed man prayed, and straightway he made her to appear in the form of a woman to every man. Then he gave her some sacramental bread, and made her to eat it before every man, and then he sent her away healed with her husband; and they departed from him rejoicing and praising God. And the blessed man exhorted the woman, and said unto her, "Be not "at any time remote from the church, and deprive not

[1] Read ܥܝܢ Gr. οἱ τῶν ἵππων ἔχοντες τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς.

[2] Read ܚܙܘܬ ܥܝܢ.

"thyself of the Holy Mysteries, for all these things "have happened unto thee because for five [Page 143] "weeks thou didst not partake of the Offering."

Let us now speak about his other excellences, and also of his sad and stern habits of self-denial in other particulars. Now because the large numbers of people who came to be blessed by him gave him much trouble, he thought out the following plan in his mind. He dug out a passage (*or*, trench) in his cell which was about twenty measures [in width], but he made the tunnel of considerable length, [and it extended] from his cell to the distance of half a mile;[1] at the place where the passage came to an end he made above the end of it a small cave.[2] And when large numbers of people came to him and troubled him, he used to leave his cell secretly and pass along hidden by the tunnel and hide himself in the cave, where no one could find him. Now he used to do this whenever he wished to escape from the vain praise (*or*, glory) of the children of men. And one of his most strenuous disciples told us, saying, "As he was going from his cell to the cave "he used to recite four and twenty antiphons, and as "he was coming back four and twenty also; and when- "ever he went from his cell to the church he used to "pray four and twenty prayers during his passage "[thither], and four and twenty as he was coming back." And moreover, they say that he gave life to a dead man in order that he might convert a certain heathen who did not believe in the resurrection of the dead, and this was spoken of throughout the desert.

Once a certain unmarried man who was vexed by an evil devil was brought unto MACARIUS, being carefully fettered by two other men, and his mother had caused him to be brought unto him. Now the devil used to act upon him in the following manner. After

[1] The Greek and Latin texts speak of "half a stade."

[2] Read ܒܝܬܐ.

he had eaten three baskets of bread and drunk three bottles of water he used to vomit, and scatter the bread and water in the air in the form of smoky vapour, and in this wise his food and his drink were consumed in waste, even as anything [Page 144] which is cast into the fire is consumed. Now there are certain kinds of devils which are called "fiery," for there are varieties among devils even as there are among men, in will if not by nature. And inasmuch as his mother had not that wherewith to satisfy him, he used to eat his own offal and drink his own water; and his mother besought the blessed man with tears on behalf of her son, and MACARIUS took him and prayed over him, and entreated God on his behalf. And a day or two after he had healed him of his trial, the blessed man cried unto the mother of the young man, and said unto her, "How much hast thou need of for the food of one "day for him?" And she said unto him, "Ten pounds "of bread." Then he rebuked her and said, "Thou "hast said too much." And after seven days MACARIUS made the young man so that he needed to eat three pounds [only, which was sufficient for him] to work upon and live. Now this miracle God wrought by the hand of the blessed MACARIUS, whose soul now sojourneth with the angels. I never saw this man, for he died one year before I entered the desert.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE HISTORY OF MACARIUS THE ALEXANDRIAN, THE GLORIOUS.

As for the other MACARIUS, the Alexandrian, I did see him, for he was an elder in the place which is called the "Cells," wherein I myself lived for nine years, and he lived for three years after I entered

therein; some of [his] wonderful acts I myself have seen, and some of them I have learned from others, and [of others] I have also heard rumours. Now his sad, stern life of self-denial was as follows:—Whensoever he heard of any beautiful deed done by any man whatsoever, he must straightway carry it into practice in a fuller form. He once heard from a certain man that all the brethren of TABENNA never tasted any food whatsoever which had been cooked by fire during the whole of the Forty Days' Fast, and he straightway determined within himself [Page 145] that for seven years he would not eat any food which had been cooked by fire, and that he would not partake of anything except young wild herbs, and vegetables which had been made soft by soaking in water, or similar things. And when he had completed this rule of life he heard of a monk in a certain monastery who only ate one pound of bread each day, and he straightway broke his bread into pieces and cast it into a vessel with a narrow mouth, and he determined within himself that he would eat nothing which his hand could not draw up out of the vessel the first time [he put it in]. And time after time, now, he used to tell the story with a smile, and say, "When I put my hand down "I could fill it readily, but I could not draw it up "full because the mouth of the vessel was [too] narrow, "and it would not let me take it out full." Now he lived this hard life for three years, and ate [daily only] four or five ounces of bread; and of water also he only drank sufficient to enable him to eat his bread. Of oil [he took] only one flask each year, making use of it only on the great First Day of the Resurrection, and on the great day of Pentecost, and at the Nativity, and at the Epiphany, and when he received[2] [the Mysteries] during the Forty Days' Fast. I will tell also

[1] Read ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϫⲁⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲉⲕⲁⲥⲧⲟⲛ.

[2] Read ⲉⲣⲉϥⲙⲉⲧⲗⲁⲩⲉ.

of the various other practices of his sad, hard life. He determined [once] to vanquish sleep, and it is related that he never entered under a roof for twenty days, and that he was burnt up by the exceedingly great heat of the sun at noonday during all this time, and that during the nights he was without rest. And, as he himself told us, "Had I not quickly gone in under "a roof, and slept, and rested myself, the brains in my "head would have dried up, and I should have become "like a drunk man. But," he would say, "I have been "conquered against my will, for although the nature of "the body hath been overcome I have given it what "it needeth."

And again, once when he was sitting in his cell a gnat bit him in the leg and he suffered pain, and he crushed the gnat in his hand and killed it. Then straightway he despised himself [Page 146] because he had avenged himself upon the gnat, and he passed upon himself the sentence[1] that he should go to the place which is called "SCETE," that is to say, the inner desert, and sit there naked for six months. For there were many great gnats[2] there, and they were so savage that they could pierce the skins of pigs, and they resembled wasps; and his whole body was so eaten and swollen that a man would have thought that he had the hide of an elephant,[3] and when he came [back] to his cell six months later they could only recognize from his voice that he was MACARIUS.

And again he desired greatly to go and see the garden of JANNES and JAMBRES, the magicians of Egypt, because, as he himself told us, they had obtained power, and riches, and dominion, and had built there a tomb,

[1] ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲧⲁⲕⲣⲓⲙⲁ, or ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲧⲁⲕⲣⲓⲛⲉ.

[2] We may, perhaps, more correctly translate ⲥⲧⲉ by the word "mosquitoes," or "sand-flies."

[3] *I. e.*, he appeared to be suffering from elephantiasis.

and had established there great works in marble; now their tomb was ornamented with many things, and they had also placed there gold, and things of a marvellous character, and trees and plants, for the place had been made into a garden, and they had also dug a well there. Now, because MACARIUS did not know the way he observed the course of the stars, and travelled thereby; and thus he journeyed through the open desert as upon the sea. And he took with him also a bundle of thin reeds, and at the end of each mile he used to drive a reed into the ground like a rock, so that he might be able to find the way when he had to come back. And when he had journeyed for nine days, and had drawn nigh the place wherein was the tomb, the Evil One, who always wageth war against the athletes of the Lord, gathered together all the reeds which the blessed man MACARIUS had driven into the ground, and put them under his head for a pillow whilst he was asleep and when he was about one mile from the garden, and when the blessed man woke up he found the reeds. Now it is probable that God permitted this thing to happen [Page 147] for His own glory and for the triumph of His servant, so that MACARIUS might not put his confidence in reeds, but upon God, Who by means of a pillar of cloud led the children of Israel in the desert for forty years. And MACARIUS told us, saying, "Seventy devils came forth against me "from that garden, and they flew about before our face "like ravens, and they were crying out, and groaning, "and saying, 'What seekest thou here, O MACARIUS? "'what seekest thou, O monk? Why hast thou come "'hither? Thou canst not stay here.' And I said unto "them, 'I only want to go in and see [the garden], and "'then I will depart.' And I entered therein, and I "saw everything, and [I found] hanging over the well "an iron chain with a brass bucket, but they were "rusted through age; and the pomegranates which were "therein were dried up and burnt by the sun." And

having seen [the garden] he turned and came back in twenty days.

Now when he was coming back he lacked water, and the bread also which he had carried was finished, and he was nigh to perish, and was in great tribulation through thirst, when suddenly he saw a damsel who was arrayed in a spotless linen garment and who carried a pitcher of water wherefrom water dripped, and she was distant about half a mile from him. Then he followed her for three days, thinking that he would overtake her and drink, but he did not do so, although she seemed to him to be standing still in one place and bearing a pitcher. Then he despaired of obtaining water to drink, and he was brought very low, when suddenly there appeared unto him there a herd of buffaloes. And among them there was one which had with her a little sucking calf, and she stood still before him; and he drew nigh and sucked milk from her. And she came with him through all the desert even unto his cell and gave [Page 148] him milk to drink, and she would not let her calf suck from her in those days.

And on another occasion the brethren were digging a well in a certain place which was called THRÔNÔN,[1] when a serpent which belonged to the class of deadly serpents bit him. Then MACARIUS took hold of the serpent with his two hands by his upper and lower lip and, grasping him tightly, tore him in twain, from his head even unto his tail, and said unto him, "Since "Christ did not send thee, why didst thou dare to "come [here]?" Now the blessed man had four cells in the desert: one in SCETE, in the inner desert, one in Âlîbônî,[2] one in the "Cells", and one in Mount Nitria. [Two] of these were without windows, and in them he used to dwell in darkness during the Forty

[1] Variant ⲑⲣⲱⲛⲱⲛ.
[2] Libya (?).

Days' Fast, another was so narrow that he could not stretch out his legs, but another, wherein he used to receive the brethren who came unto him, was wide and spacious. And he healed so many people who were possessed by devils that no man could count them. Once when I and the blessed EVAGRIUS were there in his cell they brought unto him from Thessalonica a certain virgin who had been a paralytic for many years, but by means of prayers and by anointing her with oil with his hands he cured her in twenty days and sent her away whole to her city and home; and when she had departed she sent to him gold and goods of various kinds.

And again he heard from a certain man that the monks of the Monastery of Tabenna lived stern lives of self-denial, and he took counsel with himself, and put on the garb of a young man and a husbandman, and in fifteen days he went up to the Monastery of the Broken[1] Ones by the way of the desert, and came to the Monastery of Tabenna, seeking to see the head of that monastery whose name was PACHOMIUS. Now PACHOMIUS was a man elect and perfect, and he had the gift of prophecy, but the [business] of the blessed MACARIUS [Page 149] was hidden from him. And when MACARIUS saw him, he said unto him, "Abbâ, I beseech "thee to receive me into thy monastery that I may be "a monk therein." PACHOMIUS said unto him, "Thou "art an old man, and art not able to fast. The brethren "are men who fast, and thou canst not endure their "labours,[2] and because thou art not able to do this [thou "wilt] be offended, and thou wilt go forth and wilt "abuse them;" and he would receive him neither the first day, nor the second day, nor any day until seven days [were passed]. But since he remained fasting

[1] The text has "Monastery of the broken ones," but for ܕܒܝܬ ܬܒܝܪܐ we many read ܕܒܝܬ ܬܒܝܪܐ.

[2] Read ܡܨܥܡ.

throughout all these days he said unto the head of the monastery, "Abbâ, receive me. And if I do not fast "like unto you, and toil as ye do, command them to "cast me out;" so the head of the monastery persuaded the brethren to receive him. Now the number of the members of the brotherhood of that monastery were four hundred men, [and they are thus, even] unto this day; and they brought in MACARIUS.

And when a few days had passed, the Forty Days' Fast drew nigh, and MACARIUS saw that large numbers of the brethren kept the fast and observed the rule of the house in various ways. There were some who ate daily at eventide, and some [who fasted for some] nights, and there were also some who ate once in five days; and some stood up the whole night through, and sat down in the day time. And the blessed man MACARIUS took a large quantity of leaves of date palms, and brought them [to his cell], and he stood up in one corner thereof, and he neither touched bread or water, nor bent the knee, nor lay down, until the forty days had passed, and the days of unleavened bread had come; but each Sunday he used to eat a few moist cabbage leaves so that he might pretend to be taking food. Whensoever he went outside his cell for a needful purpose he returned straightway and stood up in his place without speaking a word unto any man; and he stood in his place and held his peace, and he used to do nothing else except pray within himself, and as he stood up he wove rope of the palm leaves. And when all the brethren saw him [Page 150] they made a tumult against the head of their monastery, and said unto him, "Whence hast thou brought upon "us this man, who hath no body and who is incapable "of being tired out, to judge us and to take vengeance "upon us? [Either send him away and let him depart,] "or know that we all will go away." Now when the head of the monastery had heard from the brethren concerning the fasting of MACARIUS and his rule of life,

he prayed to God and entreated Him to reveal to him who this man was, and it was revealed unto him by God. Then he went and took him by his hand, and he brought him to the house of prayer to the place where the altar was stablished, and he answered and said unto him, "Come, O blessed old man, thou "art MACARIUS, and thou hast hidden thyself from me. "For many years past I have earnestly desired to see "thee, and now I thank thee that thou hast broken the "heart of the brethren somewhat so that they may not "imagine any longer that they observe their fast with "excessive rigour. Go then in peace to thy place, for "in no slight measure hast thou built us up, and do "thou continue to pray for us;" then PACHOMIUS having persuaded him, MACARIUS departed from thence.

And MACARIUS used to say, "Every kind and variety "of rule of the life of self-denial and fasting which I "have desired to observe with all my heart have I "kept, but there came upon me the desire that my "mind should be with God in heaven [if] only for five "days, and that I should be exalted above the anxious "cares and thoughts of material things. And having "meditated upon this thing, I shut the door of the "courtyard and of the cell, and I constrained myself so "that I might not give a word to [any] man. And I "continued thus, and I began [to fulfil this thought] on "the second day of the week, and I commanded my "mind, and said unto it, 'Thou shalt not descend from "'heaven, for behold, there thou hast angels, and the "'princes of angels, and all the hosts which are in "'heaven, and especially the Good and Gracious God, the "'Lord of all. Thou shalt not come down from heaven.' "And continuing thus I was sufficient for this thing for "two days and two nights, and I constrained the Evil "One to such a degree that he became a flame of fire "and burnt up everything which I had in my cell, and "at length the very mat upon which I stood [Page 151] "blazed with fire, and I thought that I should be wholly

"consumed. Now when, finally, fear of the fire took "hold upon me my mind came down from heaven on "the third day, because I was unable to keep my mind "collected in the state in which it had been, and I "came down to the contemplation of the world and "the things thereof. And this happened so that I "might not boast."

And on another occasion I went to his cell, and I found a priest lying there by the side of the door; his whole head was consumed, and was eaten into holes by the disease which is called cancer, and the bone of his skull was shewing through. Now this man had come unto him to be healed, but MACARIUS did not wish to see him. And I myself besought the blessed man and said unto him, "I beseech thee to have mercy "upon him, and to give unto him a word." Then he answered and said unto me, "He is not worthy to be "healed, for [this] punishment was sent upon him from "God. But if thou desirest that he shall be healed "persuade him to forsake the ministration at the altar, "for he used both to be minister at the altar and to "commit fornication, and for this reason he was punished. "Persuade him then to forsake [his ministrations], and "God will heal him." And having said these things to the sick man he pledged himself and swore an oath, saying, "I will never minister at the altar again;" and afterwards MACARIUS received him, and said unto him, "Dost thou believe that God existeth?" and the priest said unto him, "Yea, master." And again MACARIUS said unto him, "Peradventure thou art able to scoff [at "God]," and the priest said unto him, "Nay." Then the blessed man said unto him, "If now thou dost "acknowledge[1] thy folly, and also that thy punishment "was from God and that it was a fitting punishment "for thy deeds, first of all confess thy transgressions." And the priest gave a promise that he would not sin

[1] *Or*, "know."

again, and that he would not minister at the altar, but that he would lead a life which was suited to the capacity and grade of those who were in the world; and MACARIUS laid his hand upon him, and in a few days he was made whole, and the hair grew upon his head [again], and he went to his house healed whilst I was looking at him.

And again a certain young man who had an evil devil was brought unto him, [Page 152] and he laid one hand on the head of the young man and another on his heart, and he prayed until he made the devil to rise up in the air, whereupon the young man breathed out his breath and became like a great, [empty] skin bottle; and he suddenly uttered a cry, and water flowed out from all parts of his members, and he was made whole and became as he was before the devil entered into him. Then MACARIUS anointed him with the oil of the martyrs, and commanded his father that he was not to taste flesh or wine for forty days, until he was thoroughly healed.

And again on a certain occasion certain thoughts of vain glory vexed him and urged him to go forth from his cell and to depart and heal the multitudes in Rome, and to give assistance unto those who were lying [there] sick, for the grace and might of God were inciting him greatly to heal those who were possessed of devils and to make whole those who were diseased; but although he was much disturbed in his mind [on this matter], yet he was not persuaded[1] to go, for the Evil One greatly pressed upon him in his thoughts. Finally, however, he lay down inside the door of his cell, and having set his legs (*or*, feet) on the threshold, he cried out and said, "Pull,[2] unclean "devils, pull hard, for I will never go [thither] on my "legs, and if you are able to carry me you must do so

[1] Read ܡܫܬܥܝ.

[2] Read ܟܫܘ ܟܫܘ.

"thus." And he took an oath to them, [*i. e.*, the brethren,] saying, "I continued to lie thus until the "evening, and if ye had not lifted me up, I should "never have moved[1] from my place." And when the night had come he stood up.

And again, on another occasion, when these thoughts were mounting up [in his mind] he filled with sand a basket which held two or three bushels, and lifting it on his shoulders he began to wander about [with it] in the desert. And his kinsman Theosebius the Antiochean met him, and he said unto him, "What art "thou carrying[2] on thy shoulders, father? Tell me, so "that I may carry thy load, and that thou mayest not "toil thyself." And he said unto him, "I am making to "work that which hath made me to work, for it wisheth "to go forth from its state of rest, and it fatigueth "me;" and having walked about for a long time he went into his cell, [Page 153] having exhausted his body.

And one day there laid hold upon me the chills of fever, and I went and sat down, and watched him from the window (*or*, opening in the wall), in the feebleness of his old age. And I was thinking about him that he was like unto one of the brethren of old, and I began to listen unto him that I might see what he was saying, or what he was doing; now he was alone inside [his cell], and he was one hundred years old, and moreover, his teeth had fallen out by reason of his old age. And I listened unto him and to what he was saying, and he was striving with his soul and with Satan, and he was saying unto himself, "What "dost thou wish for, O thou wicked old man? Behold, "thou hast eaten[3] oil, and thou hast drunk[4] wine, what

[1] The Syriac form ܐܬܩܛܥ is manifestly incorrect.
[2] Read ܒܥܝܢܐ.
[3] Read ܐܟܠܬ.
[4] Read ܐܫܬܝܬ.

"more dost thou wish for? Wouldst [thou] eat his "white food?" And he was reviling himself. And moreover he said unto Satan, "I cannot conquer thee "in any wise, and thou art not able to do anything "unto me; get thee gone from me." And again he said unto himself, "How long shall I be with thee?"

And moreover, PAPHNUTIUS, the disciple of this man, related unto myself and unto the blessed EVAGRIUS, saying, "One day a female hyæna took her whelp, "which was blind, and came and knocked with her "head at the door of the court when he was sitting "therein, and she dropped the whelp at his feet. "And he took up the whelp, and prayed, and spat "in its eyes, and straightway its eyes were opened, "and it saw; and its mother gave it suck, and then "took it up and went forth. And on another day she "brought unto the blessed man a sheep-skin cloak, that "is to say, a skin which hath been stripped off a sheep; "and the blessed woman MELANIA[1] spake unto me "concerning this sheep-skin cloak, saying, 'I myself "'received this sheep-skin cloak from the hands of "'MACARIUS as a blessing'."

And PAPHNUTIUS also spake thus, "From the first "day whereon he received baptism he never spat "upon the ground, and he lived for sixty years after "his baptism."

Now in his latter days he was beardless,[2] and he only had a small quantity of hair upon his [upper] lip and upon his chin; [Page 154] because by reason of his excessive fasting and abstinence of his solitary life not even the hair of [his] beard would grow. I once went unto him when weariness of the ascetic life had laid hold upon me, and I said unto him, "Father, what "shall I do? For my thoughts vex me, and say unto "me, 'Thou art doing no [good], get thee gone from

[1] Read ميلانية

[2] Read مضمنة.

"'here'." And he said unto me, "Say unto thy "thoughts, For Christ's sake I will guard these walls."

I have written for thee these few things out of a very large number concerning the life and deeds of the holy man MACARIUS, and concerning the solitary monks who were his companions; and everything is indeed true. I entreat all those brethren who read in this book, or who desire to take a copy therefrom, not to forget [to write] after [this section] the narrative which is found in certain of the codices at the end of the above history which relateth unto the matters of MACARIUS, as if these histories had been composed by IRÔNAMÎS (HIERONYMUS), but they must know that of a certainty that they were composed by PALLADIUS. For I have found the absolute ending of this book which belonged to the histories of the matters of MACARIUS, with an apology and a preface[1] which were composed by PALLADIUS [and addressed] to LAUSUS the Prefect, wherein he maketh known concerning all the various kinds of the diverse histories of men and of women which were composed by him; and I will prepare this apology and preface, and by the help of God I will write them down in the proper place.

CHAPTER XIX.

OF THE BLESSED MAN PAUL THE SIMPLE, THE DISCIPLE OF ABBÂ ANTHONY.

Now there was a certain field labourer whose name was PAUL, who was more simple and innocent in nature than are [usually] the children of men; and he had a wife who was beautiful in her appearance and

[1] Read ܕܡܐܡܪ.

wicked in her deeds and actions, and she had wandered from him and had been committing adultery[1] for a long time. And one day, suddenly PAUL went into [his house] from the field, and he found her and another working [Page 155] impurity together; now this took place so that Divine Grace might incite[2] PAUL [to follow] that which was more excellent. And having [gone in and][3] seen them, he laughed chastely, and answered and said, "It is good, it is good, truly she "is not accounted mine by me. By Jesus, henceforth "I will not take her again. Get thee gone, and behold "she is thine, she and her children: and as for me, I "will go and become a monk." And saying nothing unto any man he went away a journey of eight stages, and he arrived at the cell of MÂR ANTHONY the GREAT. And having knocked at the door the blessed man MÂR ANTHONY went out, and he said unto PAUL, "What dost thou seek?" PAUL said unto him, "I seek "to become a monk." MÂR ANTHONY answered and said unto him, "[Thou art] an old man eighty years "old and it is impossible for thee to become a monk "here; but depart to the village, and work in the fields "for thy living, and give thanks unto God at the same "time that thou art not able to endure the afflictions "of the desert." And again PAUL answered and said unto him, "Whatsoever thou wilt teach me that will I "do." ANTHONY said unto him, "I have told thee that "thou art an old man, and thou canst not [do it]; but "if thou wishest to become a monk, get thee gone to "some monastic house and abide where the brethren "are many, and where they will be able to bear with "thy sickness (*or*, infirmity). As for me, I live by "myself alone here, and I only eat once in five days,

[1] Read ܙܡܝܟܬܐ.
[2] Var. ܡܥܟܪ.
[3] Var. ܟܕ ܗܘܐ.

"and even then I do not satisfy [my cravings];"[1] with these and such like words did ANTHONY frighten PAUL, but as he would not be persuaded to depart ANTHONY went into [his cell] and shut the door upon himself for three days, and because of him he did not go outside his cell for three whole days, not even for his need's sake. Nevertheless PAUL did not go away; and on the fourth day when his need compelled him, Anthony opened the door and went forth. And again he said unto PAUL, "Get thee gone, O old man, why dost thou "trouble me? It is impossible for thee to stay here;" PAUL said unto him, "It is impossible for me to die in any other place except this.

And the blessed ANTHONY, [Page 156] having looked carefully and seen that he was carrying no food with him, and no bread and no water, and that he had fasted during the four days which he had remained, said within himself, "Peradventure he will escape and "die, and will plunge my soul[2] in tribulation"; so he accepted him and brought him into [his cell]. And because of PAUL during those days ANTHONY performed exceedingly severe ascetic labours the like of which, even in his early manhood, he had never performed. And he soaked [palm] leaves in water, and gave them unto PAUL, and said unto him, "Take these palm leaves, "and weave a mat therefrom even as do I myself." And the old man PAUL took [them] and wove them [into a mat] fifteen cubits [long] until at the ninth hour he was exhausted. And ANTHONY seeing what he had woven was angry with him, and said unto him, "Thou "hast woven [the leaves] loosely, unweave [them], and weave [them] over again properly;" and PAUL unwove what he had woven, and wove the leaves over again, but still he wove too loosely, because the leaves had

[1] *I. e.*, "and even then I never eat a full meal."

[2] The better reading is كنفسى.

become twisted[1] through [the former] weaving and unweaving. Meanwhile PAUL was fasting all these days, and ANTHONY laid these hard labours upon him whilst his soul was vexed with hunger, so that he might become disgusted and depart from him.

Now when ANTHONY saw that PAUL was neither angry nor wrathful, and that he made no complaint, his mercy made itself manifest; and behold when PAUL had lived[2] [there another] day, he said unto him, "Dost thou "wish to eat a piece of bread?" The old man PAUL said unto him, "As it pleaseth thee, father;" and this also especially shamed MÂR ANTHONY that he did not hasten in his desire to the promise of food, but that he cast all his desire upon him. Thereupon ANTHONY said unto him, "Set the table and bring bread;" and ANTHONY placed on the table four loaves, each of which was of the weight of about six ounces, and he dipped them in water because they were dry, and he placed one before himself and three before PAUL. And having placed them [there] he sang a psalm which he knew twelve [Page 157] times, and he recited twelve prayers that he might try PAUL, but PAUL prayed with him in gladness; and after the twelve prayers they sat down to eat in the late evening. Having eaten one loaf ANTHONY did not draw nigh unto the other, but the old man PAUL ate slowly and [when ANTHONY had finished] he had still some of his loaf [to eat], and ANTHONY was waiting for him to finish it. And having finished it he answered and said unto him, "Little father, wilt thou eat another loaf?" And PAUL said unto him, "If thou wilt eat another I "will also; but if thou wilt not, I will not." ANTHONY saith unto him, "I have had enough, for I am a monk;" and PAUL said unto him, "I also have had enough, for "I also seek to become a monk." And after these

[1] *I. e.*, stretched.

[2] Bedjan has ܒܨܥ ܝܘܡܐ "the day had sunk" (*or*, declined).

things ANTHONY again stood up, and made twelve prayers, and when they had said together the psalms twelve times they slept for a little during the night, and then they sang and prayed until the morning.

And when ANTHONY saw that the old man was carrying out with gladness a rule of life similar unto his own in every respect, he said unto him, "If thou "art able to bear every day passed in this wise, then "stay with me." PAUL said unto him, "Although I "know nothing else, yet the things which I do know "I can perform easily;" and on another day ANTHONY said unto him, "Behold, thou hast become a monk." And a few months afterward when ANTHONY saw that his soul was perfect before God, and that he was simple beyond measure, and that Divine Grace was helping him, he built him a cell at a distance of about three or four miles away, and said unto him, "Behold, "thou art a monk, and henceforth thou must live by "thyself so that thou mayest receive the temptation of "devils." Now when PAUL had lived by himself for about a year, the gift of healing and of casting out devils was given unto him. And in those times they brought unto ANTHONY a certain man who was vexed[1] by a fierce devil, and that devil [Page 158] was one of the princes of the devils, and he was so fierce that he would even revile and blaspheme the heavens. And when ANTHONY saw the man he said, "I cannot "heal this man, for [over this race of princes][2] neither "the gift nor the power [of healing] hath been given unto "me; unto PAUL it belongeth to heal this man." And ANTHONY therefore took them with him and went unto him, and said unto him, " O ABBÂ PAUL, cast out this "devil from this man, so that, being made whole, he "may depart to his house." Then PAUL said unto him, "And what wilt thou do?" And ANTHONY said unto

[1] Read ܕܡܝܥܢܝܢ.

[2] Adding, ܥܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܪܓܫܐ ܕܫܘܠܛܢܐ.

him, "I am not able to do it, for I have other work "[to do];" and he left the man with PAUL and went [back] to his cell. Then the old man PAUL rose up and prayed a prayer with great feeling, and he began to speak unto that devil, saying, "Father ANTHONY "saith, 'Go forth from this man'." And the devil answered with blasphemies, saying, "I will not go forth, "O thou who eatest white bread;"[1] then the old man took his shoulder-garment (*or*, skull cap), and began to smite the devil on his back and sides, saying, "I "tell thee that ABBÂ ANTHONY saith, 'Get thee forth "'from him'," whereupon the devil began to curse and revile ABBÂ ANTHONY and the old man PAUL. Finally PAUL said [unto him], "Wilt thou go forth, or must I "go and tell Christ, yea[2] Jesus? For if thou wilt not "go forth I will go and tell Christ, and great woe "shall come upon thee;" and again he blasphemed and said, "I will not go forth." Then was the blessed man PAUL wroth with him, and he went out from his cell; now it was the season of noon, and the heat with the Egyptians [at this time] is so fierce that it is akin to the heat of the fiery furnace of the Babylonians. And he stood upon a stone and prayed, and spake thus, "Behold, O Jesus Christ, Who wast crucified in the "days of PONTIUS PILATE, I will not come down from "this stone, and I will neither eat nor drink until I die "unless Thou dost cast out [Page 159] that devil from "this man, and dost set him free from him." And whilst these words were yet in his mouth the devil cried out by reason of his tribulation, and said, "By "Hercules, by whom I am ruled, by Hercules, I am "being persecuted with violence, for the simplicity of "PAUL pursueth me; whither shall I go?" PAUL saith unto him, "To the uttermost depths of the abyss;" and

[1] Gr. Οὐκ ἐξέρχομαι, φαγόγηρε, λῆρε, Latin, Non exeo, detestabilis senex.

[2] Read يسوع.

straightway the devil went forth from the man, and he transformed himself and became like unto a mighty dragon seventy cubits long, and he wriggled along the ground and in this wise went down to the Red Sea, that might be fulfilled that which is written, "Perfect faith removeth mountains."[1] This is the triumph of PAUL who was called the "Simple" by the whole brotherhood.

CHAPTER XX.

OF THE BLESSED MAN PACHOMIUS.

And there was also another man whose name was PACHOMIUS, who was seventy years old and who dwelt in the mountain which is called SCETE; unto him I once went when lustful thoughts concerning women were afflicting me, and when my mind was dark and obscured by the thoughts of lust, and by the visions and heaviness of the nights, and when I was well nigh departing from the desert, for lust laid upon me many things [hard to bear]. Now I did not reveal unto my neighbours and unto the brethren who were living with me my tribulations, and not even unto my master EVAGRIUS; but I went forth and I began to wander about in the desert, and I saw one of the old men[2] who had grown old in the place—now they were all perfect fathers—and after this I saw this blessed old man PACHOMIUS, and I found that he was superior to them all in his life, and deeds, and in his understanding. And I took courage to reveal unto him the strife of my mind, and he spake unto me thus: "Do not "imagine that this is a strange matter in any way. "This thing hath not happened unto thee through thine

[1] St. Matthew XVII. 20.

[2] Var. ⲡⲥⲱⲙ.

"own negligence, and the place itself in which thou "livest is a witness for thee [Page 160], for it is "restricted in the matter of things of every kind, and "there is no woman therein; this lust hath fallen upon "thee through [thy] strenuousness. For this warfare "of lust and also of fornication is of a threefold "[character]: sometimes it setteth our body against us "when it is healthy and well-fed,[1] and at others lust "itself, with the natural passion which is implanted in "us, [attacketh us], and at others the Evil One himself "because of his envy. And I have watched many "times, and I have found that it is even as I have "said unto thee." And he said unto me, "I, the old "man whom thou seest, have lived in this cell for forty "years, and I have taken the utmost care for my life "and for the redemption of my soul, and even in this "period of great old age wherein thou seest that I am, "I am greatly tormented by lust."

And he assured me with an oath, saying, "When "I was fifty years old lust placed [itself] upon me "for [twelve years[2]], never going away from me "either by day or by night, and I thought in my mind "that God had forsaken me, and therefore (for to such "an extent had lust gained dominion over me), I deter- "mined in my heart that I would either suffer death "through dumb beasts, or that I should become a "laughing-stock, or a man condemned through the lust "of the body. And I went forth and wandered round "about in the desert, and I found a den of hyaenas and "I laid myself down naked at the entrance thereof that "they might come out and devour me. And when it was evening—as it is written, 'He hath made the "'darkness and it becometh night, wherein all the "'beasts of the forest do move,[3] and the lions roar to

[1] Adding ⲉⲙⲉⲩⲇⲟⲃⲉ.

[2] Adding ⲛⲧⲥⲙ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲇⲟⲥⲁ.

[3] Psalm CIV. 20.

"'break [their prey]'—the hyaenas, both male and "female, came out, and they all sniffed at (*or*, smelt) "me, and licked my body from my head to my feet, "and while I was thinking that they would eat me they "went away from me; and there I remained the whole "of that night and they ate me not. And again I "thought that God had had compassion upon me, and "straightway I returned and came to my cell. And that "devil of lust, having forborne with me a little, returned "once again, and moreover he attacked me more fiercely "than before, and he did so with such vigour that by "reason of my affliction I well nigh cursed myself. "[Page 161] Now this devil of lust used to take the "form of an Ethiopian damsel whom I saw in my early "manhood gathering canes in the summer, and he came "in her form and sat upon my knees, and he used to "set me on fire with lust to such an extent that I "imagined I was having intercourse with her, and, when "through the burning of my heart and the madness "thereof I gave her the cheek, straightway she would "lift herself up from me, and take to flight. And "from the time when I touched her my hand was so "much[1] polluted that for the space of two hours[2] [after-"wards], whensoever I brought my hand near me I "was unable [to free it] from her foulness.[3] But again "I went forth because of my affliction, and I began to "wander about in the desert, and I found a small asp, "and I took it and placed its head upon the members "of my body, and I squeezed the head of the asp so "that it might bite me and I might die, and so find "relief, but it bit me not. And after this I heard a "voice which came to my ears and said unto me, "'Depart, PACHOMIUS, and be strong; I have allowed "'thee to be overcome in order that thou mightest

[1] Adding صحة.

[2] Reading قحم.

[3] *Or*, "I could not endure its foul smell."

"'not imagine that thou wast a mighty man and a "'man of perfection, and that thou hadst triumphed "'through thine own life and deeds, but that thou "'mightest know thine infirmity, and the feebleness of "'thy nature, and that thou mightest not rely upon "'thine asceticism but mightest confess the help of "'God and cry out to Him always.' And having heard "these words I returned to my cell, and I dwelt therein "with great boldness of heart, and I never again had "anxious care concerning this warfare of lust, but I "continued in peace for the rest of my days after this "warfare. Now the devil of lust, seeing that I no "longer meditated about the matter, never again ap-"proached me." With these words about the striving against[1] Satan the holy man PACHOMIUS confirmed me, and he made me strong to play the man more and more, and to be mighty in the warfare against the devil of fornication, and he dismissed me and said unto me, "Be strong and mighty in our Lord."

CHAPTER XXI.

[Page 162] OF THE BLESSED MAN ESṬAFÂNÂ (STEPHEN).

ESṬAFÂNÂ (STEPHEN) was a man who was by race of the Libyans who [dwell by] the side of MARMARICA and MAREOTIS, and he lived there for sixty years. Now in another codex [the text readeth] differently,[2] thus:—There was also in the desert a certain blessed man whose name was ESṬAFÂNÂ, and he was by race a Libyan from the border (*or*, side) of Marmarica, and he dwelt there in the desert for sixty years. And having attained unto the heights of a perfect rule of

[1] Reading ⲁⲛⲧⲓⲙⲁⲭⲓ.

[2] This is a remark of a careful scribe.

life, he was esteemed [by Divine Grace] worthy of the gift of discerning prudence and of the faculty of giving consolation to such an extent that whosoever drew nigh unto him, being afflicted in any way whatsoever, departed from him with joy. Now the blessed ANTHONY was acquainted with this man. And this STEPHEN continued in this life even until our own days, but I never lived with him, and I never met him, because the mountain [wherein he dwelt] was a long way off from me. The holy men AMMONIUS and EVAGRIUS, however, who went to visit him related unto me stories concerning him, and they said, "Having "gone to him we found him grievously sick of a certain "sore sickness which had come upon him, for a can-"cerous sore had broken out in the lower parts of his "body; now this sore is called 'gangrene,' and we found "him being cut by a certain physician. Nevertheless "the holy man was working with his hands and was "plaiting [palm] leaves, and he held converse with us "whilst portions of his body were being cut off.[1] And "he possessed the faculty of patient endurance to such "a degree that it seemed as if the body of some one "else was being cut instead of his own; now when his "members had been shorn off like hair he continued, "according to the Grace of God, to be without per-"ception thereof. And whilst the physician was binding "him up he sat still and plaited baskets with his hands, "and he conversed with us rejoicing and giving thanks "unto God. [Page 163] And moreover, he displayed "such patient endurance whilst his member was being "cut off that one might have thought that it had not "been cut off at all, and he resembled altogether a "man from whose body threads of hair are being "plucked. Now we stood there and marvelled at this "affliction, for we could not bear to see the man who had "led a life of such ascetic and spiritual excellences fall

[1] Read ܒܨܝܪ̈ܐ.

"into such a state of suffering that at length amputation "of his members was necessary. And the blessed man, "having perceived our thoughts and seen that it grieved "us, answered and said unto us, 'O my sons, be not "'ye afflicted concerning this matter, and do not lessen "'your faith because of this thing, for God never per-"'formeth anything whatsoever that is evil, on the "'contrary He looked for a happy conclusion [to His "'work]. O how many were the times when these "'members were condemned to punishment! For they "'merited being cut off, and it is better that they "'should receive their reward here than after their "'departure out of this world.' These were the things "which he spake unto us, and he comforted us and "sent us away, saying, 'Be not ye scandalized when ye "'see trials of this kind coming upon holy men, for "'by such God hath built us up and comforted us, "'and hath made us to be confirmed in the laws which "'are against tribulations.'" I have related these things in order that we may not wonder when we see the saints falling into tribulations.

A PREFACE[1] CONCERNING THOSE WHO HAVE FALLEN INTO THE ERRORS OF SINS.

It is very necessary, O my brethren, that we should also keep in memory the histories which concern the life and deeds of those who have tripped up and fallen as an excellent admonition of those who come across this book, (just as among the trees that were in Paradise the Tree of Good and Evil was also found), so that if it happen that certain men lead good lives through the Grace and help of God, Who is wont to help those whose motive of soul is [directed] straight

[1] A Latin version of this paragraph will be found at the end of the life of Valens which is published by Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 954, col. 2.

to the mark, they may not be exalted overmuch and have pride in their works of ascetic excellence. [Page 164] For on many occasions this very excellence itself hath been the cause of a fall when it hath not been made perfect by means of a correct motive, for it is written, "I have seen the righteous man who hath "perished in his righteousness, which also is vanity."[1]

CHAPTER XXII.

Of Wâlis (Valens) the Palestinian.

And there was a certain man whose name was Wâlis (Valens), who was by race a Palestinian, and in opinions (*or*, education) a Corinthian; now the blessed Paul ascribed to the Corinthians[2] as a special attribute the passion of pride and inflatedness. And having come to the desert and dwelt with us for many years, at length he arrived at such a degree of vaunting that he was laughed at by the devils; and from this state he went astray, little by little, until he was derided by them, and they became able to make him think that angels were appearing unto him. Now therefore one day, according to what they relate concerning him, as he was working in the dark at the labour of his hands, the needle wherewith he was sewing together the palm leaves fell down [on the ground], and although he searched for it he could not find it; and a devil lit a fire for him until he found it, and because of this thing he became the more proud. And at length he became so proud, and allowed such arrogant thoughts to rise up in his mind, that he despised and thought scorn of the Holy Mysteries of the Body and Blood

[1] Ecclesiastes VII. 15.
[2] 1 Corinthians IV.

of Christ. And moreover, it came to pass that certain men of discernment came and brought unto the church some dried fruits as a blessing,[1] and the blessed MACARIUS, our elder, received [them] and sent [them] to the brethren, that is, some to every man in his cell, and among the brethren he also sent [some] to WÂLÎS (VALENS). And WÂLÎS (VALENS) took the man who had been sent to bring the fruit to him, and heaped insults upon him, and smote him, saying, "Go and say "unto MACARIUS:—I am neither inferior unto thee, nor "am I more of a servant than art thou, that thou shouldst "send me a blessing."

Now MACARIUS knew [Page 165] that he had been laid hold upon by error, and he rose up and went unto him at the turn of the day that he might persuade him, and he said unto him, "WÂLÎS, WÂLÎS "(VALENS, VALENS) thou hast made thyself a laughing-"stock, and hast fallen into error; receive then cor-"rection;" but seeing that he was unwilling to hearken unto his admonition and reproof he left him and departed. And having become more confirmed in his pride, and having reached the summit thereof, that devil who had completely led him astray went and made unto himself a garb[2] wherein he resembled our REDEEMER, and he came unto him by night, together with phantoms of angels in great numbers who came along bearing lamps and wax candles, and they advanced with chariots and carriages of fire, as if that devil were CHRIST Himself. Then one of the angels came forward unto him, and said unto him, "Christ loveth "greatly thy life and deeds, and thy boldness of speech, "and He hath come to see thee. Get thee forth from "thy cell, and do nothing whatsoever except such things "as I shall tell thee. When thou seest Him afar off

[1] *I. e.*, a gift made to the church that the giver might receive a blessing.

[2] *Or*, "assumed a form."

"fall down and worship Him, and go back to thy cell." Now therefore when WÂLÎS (VALENS) had gone forth and seen the ranks [of phantoms] bearing lamps of fire, and Antichrist himself sitting upon a chariot of fire—now he was distant from him about a mile—he fell down and worshipped him. And WÂLÎS (VALENS) was so much injured in his mind that at the turn of the day he was sufficiently mad to come into the church, and to say before all the brotherhood who were assembled therein, "I have no need to become "a partaker in the offering, for this day I have seen "Christ Himself." Then the fathers tied him up and put iron fetters upon him for about the space of one year, and in this way they made him whole; and he was praying continually, and they humbled him and brought him down from the exalted conception[1] which he held concerning himself, by means of sundry and divers works of a lovely and humble character, and thus they rooted out from him pride, even as it is written, "Each opposing sickness must be healed by "medicines which are contrary and opposite thereto" [Page 166].

CHAPTER XXIII.

OF AHRÔN[2] (HERO) THE ALEXANDRIAN.

And there was also my neighbour, a man whose name was AHRÔN (HERO), who was by race an Alexandrian; now his early manhood was exceedingly glorious, and he was enlightened in his mind, and his intellect was keen, and the habits of his life were pure. This man, I say, after [performing] many labours was also seized by the passion of boasting and pridefulness,

[1] The better reading is ܫܡܥܬܗ.

[2] Reading ܐܗܪܘܢ.

and he wavered[1] and fell; and he evolved in his mind and imagined great things against the fathers, and he reviled also the blessed EVAGRIUS, saying, "Those who allow themselves to be persuaded [into "accepting] thy doctrine[2] certainly go astray and err, "for [men] require no other teacher except Christ." And he put forward and urged in witness of his words, with foolish intent, the speech from the Gospel, (which our Redeemer also spake), "Ye shall call no [man] "master[3] on the earth." And his understanding became so greatly blinded that at length on him also iron fetters fell and he was fast bound, because he would neither be persuaded, nor would he receive or be a partaker of the Holy Mysteries, although he loved the truth greatly. Now, the food upon which he lived was too little, and his habits of life were immeasurably strict,[4] for, according to what those who were continually with him used to relate, on several occasions he only partook of a meal once in three months, the participation in the Mysteries only being sufficient for him; but if it happened that he came across some wild herbs by chance [he would eat them].

Now I myself, with the blessed man, ALBÎNÎS (ALBINUS), received an experience of him when we were going to SCETE. SCETE was forty miles distant from us, and we partook of two meals and drank water three times [on the way], whilst he tasted nothing at all during his journey with us. He travelled on foot, and he was repeating [passages] from the Scriptures by heart; during the time that he went with us, he repeated [passges] from the Scriptures, and sang [Page 167] fifteen Psalms and he repeated the Beatitudes, and the Epistle to the Hebrews, and [the book of] Isaiah the Prophet, and a portion of

[1] Var. ⲥⲁⲅⲉⲓ.

[2] Var. ⲉⲙⲁⲑⲏⲙⲁ.

[3] St. Matthew XXIII. 8.

[4] Lat., immensae virtutis ac vitae fuit atque subtilis; Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 954, col. 2.

Jeremiah, and after [that] the Gospel of [Saint] Luke, and after [that] the Proverbs; and in spite of all this we were unable to overtake him as he trudged along. Now therefore this man was at length persecuted by lust as by a fire, and he was never again able to dwell in his cell, but he went to Alexandria, and by reason of his pride it happened unto him, through Divine Providence, even as it is said, "One good is rooted "up by another." Nevertheless having fallen willingly into a state of indifference, he finally found redemption. Now he was present continually at the shows of the theatres and circuses, and he was never absent from the public drinking rooms of the taverns; and thus whilst he was leading this life of prodigality and drunkenness he fell and was brought to a standstill in the miry ditch of the lust of women. At length he went to one of those women who are at the head of the grade of harlots, and because of his passion with all boldness he held converse with her,[1] and these things having thus been done by him there broke out in the place of his nature a carbuncle which grew with great vigour, and his sickness waxed sore upon him for a space of six months, and his members rotted away and they had to be cut off. By these means he become finally cured, but he remained without members; and afterwards he went back again to the integrity of [his] nature, and to divine thoughts. [And he came to the desert][2] and confessed all these things to the fathers, and though he remained not a long time [there] he did not flee[3] from leading the ascetic life, nor from weeping because of what had happened to him, nor from offering up the repentance which was meet. And after a few days he died and departed from this world.

[1] The better reading is ܟܕ.

[2] Adding ܘܐܬܐ ܠܡܕܒܪܐ.

[3] Reading ܢܦܩ.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Of Ptolemy the Egyptian who was in Scete.

And there was also another man whose name was Ptolemy, [Page 168] and he was by race from Egypt, and he observed a rule of life which no man is able to describe, or rather it is very difficult to relate the story of his life. He dwelt away beyond Scete in that [district] which is called "Ḳalmîrâ."[1] Now the place which is thus called it is impossible for a man to dwell in by reason of its ruggedness, and it was distant from the stream of water wherefrom the brethren used to draw twelve miles. Now this man Ptolemy used to take many vessels[2] for water and carry [them] to a certain spot where much dew fell, and in December and January he used to collect it, for in those countries the dew-fall is abundant. And having gathered together for himself water in sponge[s] from time to time they were squeezed out by him, and the water which he had collected from the dew ran out, and this he was in the habit of doing during the fifteen years which he dwelt there. Now this man, having for much time been deprived[3] of doctrine (*or*, teaching), and of the meetings with the holy fathers, and of the intercourse of edifying speech, and especially of participation in the Mysteries, went wholly astray from the straight path as if he had said, "The matters of service, that "is to say, the Holy Mysteries, are nothing at all." And from this state he senselessly departed and went on until at length he went into Egypt and delivered himself over to prodigal and riotous living, and he

[1] The variants are, ܩܠܡܝܛ, ܩܠܡܝܬ, ܩܠܡܝܬܐ, ܩܠܡܛ, and ܩܠܡܛܐ. Migne's Greek text speaks of a place called Κλίμαξ, *i. e.*, "Ladder," and Rosweyde's Latin calls the district "Clima."

[2] Reading ܒܨܘܢܐ.

[3] Read ܒܟܝ.

never more spake a word of excellence unto any man. And his madness came upon PTOLEMY also because of the senseless[1] and exalted opinion which he held of himself, even as it is written, "Those who are "not under the law of the governors shall fall like "leaves."

CHAPTER XXV.

OF ABRAHAM THE EGYPTIAN.

And there was also a certain man who was an Egyptian whose name was ABRAHAM, [Page 169] and he kept a rule of life of the sternest hardness in the desert; and he was hurt in his understanding by reason of the vain opinion which he held concerning himself. One day he came to the church and strove with the elders, saying, "I have been made an elder "by Christ during the past night, and ye must associate "me in the ministrations of the priesthood." And when the fathers had come to a decision concerning him, and had brought him out of the desert, they laid a light rule of life upon him, and in this manner they cured him of his arrogance, and brought him to the state of being sensible of his feebleness, and of having knowledge of his infirmity, through which the devils made a mock of him.

CHAPTER XXVI.

OF A CERTAIN VIRGIN WHO WAS IN JERUSALEM.

And moreover, I saw a certain virgin in Jerusalem who had been clothed in sackcloth for three years, and

she had secluded herself in a solitary cell, and had never permitted herself to enjoy any of the desirable things wherein there is pleasure. Now this woman, having been forsaken by the Divine Providence, because of her immeasurable pride and arrogance fell into the ditches of fornication, and she opened the window of the habitation in which she had secluded herself, and received [therein] the man who ministered unto her, and she had intercourse with him. And because she did not continue to persevere in faith and in the ascetic life with a perfect will and with a mind which possessed Divine love, but [departed therefrom] for the sake of men, that is to say, for the sake of vain glory, doing so, moreover, with an evil intent and with a corrupt and lascivious mind—for her own thoughts having been cut off, they having been robbed of the divine understanding, she came to the condition of casting blame upon others—the guardian of chastity did not remain with her.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Of the virgin who was in Caesarea of Palestine.[1]

And again there was a certain virgin who was the daughter of an elder in Caesarea, [Page 170] and having been beguiled and led astray by a man, he who had led her astray taught her to bring an accusation against a certain reader of the church of the city. And the time having arrived when it was known [unto all] that she was with child, and being called upon by her father to confess her matter, she made an accusation against that reader. Now her father the elder, because he believed [her] implicitly, made known

[1] This story is told more fully in Chapter XXIX.

the matter unto the Bishop, and the Bishop was a holy man, and a fearer of God, and one who did not hastily pass sentence of death or punishment upon any man, and then only when it was revealed unto him by God whether he who was accused before him was indeed guilty [or not]. So the Bishop went and shut himself up until the matter was made plain [unto him]; and because God informed him that the reader had never been nigh unto the woman he held him to be innocent and condemned the virgin.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

OF A CERTAIN WOMAN WHO FELL AND REPENTED.[1]

There was a certain virgin who was a nun, and who dwelt with two other nuns, and she had led a life of abstinence and voluntary self-denial for nine or ten years, and having been beguiled and led astray by a certain singer of Psalms[2] she tripped, and fell, and conceived, and gave birth to a child; now she hated with the fullest hatred him that had beguiled her. [And she repented within herself with a perfect repentance],[3] and she followed after repentance with such vigour that she went beyond the bounds of what was seemly, and she continued to observe fasts with such self-denial and strictness that she well nigh died of hunger. In her prayers she used to make supplication, saying, "O God, Who dost support and sustain all creation, and Who desirest not the death and "destruction of those who err and commit sin, if Thou

[1] A Latin version of this story is given by Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 777, col. 1.

[2] The better reading is ܕܦܟܝܒ.

[3] Adding ܘܬܒܥ ܒܟܝܢܐ ܫܦܝܪܐ.

"wishest me to live before Thee, shew me a marvellous "thing in this matter, and gather in [Page 171] this "fruit of sin which I have brought[1] forth, lest, because "I cannot again attain to chastity, I kill myself through "reproach and disgrace;" and having made supplication for this thing she was hearkened unto, and he who had been born unto her did not remain very long alive. And from the day wherein she fell and onwards she neither saw him that had beguiled her and led her captive, nor held converse with him, but she gave herself to frequent fasting and to ministering unto the women who were sick and smitten with disease for the whole of a period of thirty years; and thus her repentance was accepted by God, and He at length revealed unto a certain holy old man concerning her, saying, "Such and such a woman is very much more "pleasing unto me by her penitence than by her vir-"ginity" Now I write down these things in order that, if any man be observing a correct rule of life of any kind whatsoever which is pleasing unto God, he may take heed lest he fall, and that even if he be tripped up in a snare and fall he may not come to despair and remain in his fallen condition, but that by leaning upon the staff of the hope of the Divine Mercy, and by arraying himself through repentance in the apparel of simplicity and humility he may again become strong enough to stand up, for we should not despise those who truly repent.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Of another virgin who fell and repented.

A certain virgin, the daughter of an elder in Caesarea of Palestine, having been beguiled and led

[1] Read ديكدي.

astray by a man fell, and he who had beguiled her instructed her to make an accusation against a certain reader of the church of the city. And the time having arrived when her conception became known, and being called upon to confess her matter by her father, she made the accusation against that reader, and the elder, her father, thereupon, like one who believed [her] implicitly, made the affair known to the Bishop. Then the Bishop laid hold upon the shrine[1](?) and commanded that the reader should be called, and [Page 172] his affair having been enquired into, like one who was confident in himself he was unwilling to confess [that he had done the wrong]; for how was it possible for him to accuse himself of that which he had not done? And the Bishop becoming angry said unto him, "Wilt thou not confess, O wretched and "polluted man, thou guilty one who art full of un-"cleanness?" And the reader made answer unto him, saying, "Master, I have neither knowledge nor feeling "about this matter, for my thoughts and mind are "clean in respect thereof, and [no thought] concerning "this woman hath ever entered my mind.[2] But if thou "wishest to hear that which hath never taken place "[I will say that] I myself committed the offence;" and having spoken thus the Bishop straightway removed the reader from his position. Then the reader drew nigh and entreated the Bishop, saying, "Master, since "I have tripped up and fallen, give the command that "the woman be given unto me to wife, for I am no "longer a cleric and she is not a virgin;" so the Bishop gave the woman to the reader to wife, because he thought that he was held by love of her, and that he could not cut the affair concerning her out of his thoughts.

And when the reader had received the woman

[1] بغيبهم.

[2] *Or*, "this woman hath never gone up into my mind."

from the Bishop, he placed her in a religious house for women, and he begged the woman who ministered unto the wants of the sisters to take great care of her straightway. Now a short time afterwards the day arrived wherein she must give birth to her child, but the poor creature was not able to bring it to the birth, and although she could hardly bear the cruel and violent pains of her birth-pangs which were bringing her to the house of the dead, her child did not come forth. And one, two, three days passed by until the seventh [day arrived], and by reason of her great and frequent sufferings the woman was nigh to come unto Sheol; and she neither ate, nor drank, nor slept, but she was crying out and saying, "Woe unto me, "for I am dying, and I made an accusation against "such and such a reader." Now the women who were standing before her having heard these words made them known to her father, who, however, [Page 173] fearing lest he should be blamed severely because he had made an accusation against the reader, held his peace concerning the matter for another two days; and meanwhile the young woman neither gained relief from her sufferings nor died. Now therefore when the nuns could no longer bear the pain of her violent shrieks, they ran and told the bishop, saying, "Such and such a woman hath for some days past been "crying out and confessing that she made an accusation "against the reader." Then the Bishop sent deacons unto him with the message, "Pray thou that the woman "who made an accusation against thee may have relief;" but the reader answered them never a word. Now he had not opened his door since the day on which the accusation had been made against him, but he entreated God and made supplication unto him that the matter might become known and the truth revealed. Thereupon the father of the woman went to the Bishop, and prayer was offered up in the church, but even by these proceedings the woman did not obtain relief.

Then the Bishop rose up and went[1] to the reader, and knocked at the door, and the reader opened [it] to him, and he went in to him and said, "EUSTATHIUS, "rise up and unloose that which thou hast fastened." And at once the reader knelt down with the Bishop, and they prayed to God, and straightway the woman gave birth to her child. Thus were the supplication of this man and his constant persistence in prayer able to clear away oppression and to chastise and rebuke also the woman who made the false accusation, for from that day onwards she fulfilled the days of her life with good works; and we should learn to be constant in prayer and to recognize the power thereof when it is offered unto God with the deep feeling of the whole heart.[2]

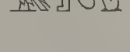
CHAPTER XXX.

OF THE BLESSED WOMAN ṬÊHISÎYÂ (THAISIS[3]).

And now I desire to narrate unto you the excellent history and the great repentance of the blessed woman ṬÊHÎSIYÂ (THAISIS), for speech concerning her is most excellent, and it is full of encouragement and penitence of soul unto those who love God. Now [Page 174] this woman had a mother who, because her daughter was beautiful of face, made her to take up a position in the market, and the rumour of her beauty travelled unto every place, and those who were living afar off desired greatly to see her; and no man who looked

[1] Read ⲁⲓⲓϩⲉ.

[2] A Latin version of this story is given by Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 777, col. 2.

[3] A Latin version of this story is given by Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 374. Thaisis = the Egyptian  .

upon her was satisfied with the sight of her face, because she burned like a flame of fire into the hearts of those who saw her, and many by reason of their mad love for her sold whatever property they had to her parents[1] that they might have commerce with her. Now when BESSARION,[2] the servant of God, heard these things concerning this woman and that through her beauty she was dragging many to destruction, he arrayed himself in the apparel of a man who was in the world, and took with him one *dînâr* and went unto her, and when he saw her he brought forth the *dînâr* and gave it to her; and having taken the *dînâr* she said unto him, "Let us go into a room," and he said unto her, "Yea, let us go in." And having gone in, the blessed man BESSARION saw the couch which was laid out, now it was a very high one, and the woman said unto the old man, "Come, get up on this bed;" and he said unto her, "Hast thou not inside this chamber another "room?" and she said unto him, "Yea." Then he said unto her, "Let us then go in there." And Ṭêhîsîyâ answered and said unto him, "If it be that thou art "ashamed of men [seeing thee, know] that no man can "see [us] in this chamber; but if it be God of Whom thou "art afraid He can see us in whatsoever place we "enter." And the blessed man BESSARION hearing these words said unto her, "My daughter, dost thou know "that God existeth?" And she said unto him, "Yea, I "know that God existeth, and [that there will be] kingdom, "and judgment." Then the old man said unto her, "If thou knowest that God is, and [that there will be] "kingdom and judgment, why dost thou destroy men "in this manner?" And straightway the woman cast herself at [Page 175] his feet, and said unto him, "I "know that there is repentance for those who sin. But

[1] *Or*, "which their parents had," reading in this case ܕܝܗܒܘ.

[2] In the Latin text the monk is called Paphnutius.

"I beseech thee, master, to tarry with me for three "hours, and whatsoever thou wishest do unto me that "do because of all the evil things which have been "wrought by me;" and having told her in what place he would await her he left her and went away.

Then in that same hour the woman took everything which she had gained by fornication and burnt it with fire in the midst of the city, and she said, "Come, "O all ye who have had commerce with me, and see "that I am burning before your eyes every possession "which I have gathered together by means of sin;" and the things which were burned were [worth] three hundred pounds of gold, and there were there also goods and apparel of all kinds; and after she had burned up everything she went to the blessed man BESSARION. And when BESSARION saw her he took her by her hand and led her along and brought her to a religious house of sisters, and he shut her in a little cell, leaving her only one small window in the wall through which a woman passed in food to her. And the blessed BESSARION said unto the head of the house, "Give her a pound of dry bread each day, and water "according to her need." Then the blessed woman TÊHÎSÎYÂ (THAISIS) said unto the venerable BESSARION, "With what petition dost thou command me to pray "unto God? 'That He should forgive me my sins'?" The blessed BESSARION said unto her, "Thou art "neither worthy to pray unto God, nor to make "mention of His Name with thy lips, nor to stretch "out thy hands unto Him; for thy lips are unclean "and polluted, and thy hands are contaminated with "impurity; thou shalt only sit down and gaze towards "the East, and thou shalt say nothing except, "O "Thou who didst create me, have mercy upon me." And having dwelt in that cell for a space of about three years, the blessed BESSARION had mercy upon her, [Page 176] and the blessed man went to ABBÂ ANTHONY that he might learn from him whether God

had forgiven her her sins or not. Then having spoken concerning her unto ANTHONY that blessed man called unto his disciples, and said unto them, "Let each one "of you shut himself up in [his] cell all night, and pray "ye unto God that we may see unto whom shall be "revealed the matter concerning which the blessed "BESSARION hath come unto us [this day]."

And when they all had done as they had been commanded and when a long time had elapsed the blessed PAUL, the chief of the disciples of MÂR ANTHONY, looked into the heavens and saw a couch which had been spread with great splendour, and three angels who were carrying three lamps were standing before that couch, and a crown of glory was laid thereupon. And having seen all this glorious sight, he said, "This couch "can only be for my father ANTHONY." Then a voice came unto him from heaven, saying, "This couch is "not for ANTHONY, thy father, but for TÊHÎSÎYÂ (THAISIS) "the harlot;" and the blessed PAUL rose up early in the morning and related the vision which he had seen. And the blessed MÂR BESSARION came back from ABBÂ ANTHONY in great joy, and he went to the religious house of the sisterhood, and he opened the door that he might bring the woman out from the cell wherein she was secluded; but she made entreaty unto him, saying, "Leave me here until my death, for my sins are "many." Then the blessed man said unto her, "Behold, "the merciful God hath had compassion upon thee, "and He hath accepted thy repentance;" and then she wished to go forth from that cell. And she answered and said unto him, "Believe me, O father, from the day "wherein I entered this cell I have made[1] all my sins a "mighty burden and I have set it before my eyes, in "such wise that as the breath of my nostrils has not "separated itself from me, so [Page 177] my sins have "not separated themselves from me until this hour."

[1] Read ܥܒܕܬ.

And the blessed BESSARION answered and said unto her, "God hath not forgiven thee thy sins because of "thy repentance, but because of the thought which "thou hadst—that thou wouldst deliver thyself over "unto Christ." Now this blessed woman TÊHÎSÎYÂ (THAISIS) lived (*literally*, made) after her repentance fifteen days, and she departed unto our Lord in peace. Thus was the crowning of the blessed TÊHÎSÎYÂ (THAISIS), who was lost and was found, who was dead and who came to life by the grace of Christ, unto Whom belong mercy, and compassion, and glory, and honour, for ever and ever. Amen.

CHAPTER XXXI.

OF THE BLESSED MAN ABBÂ ELIJAH.

There was a certain man whose name was ELIJAH who loved the virgins exceedingly, for there are souls which are thus inclined, and having compassion upon the order of virgins [and] women who lived celibate lives in THEBES, and in the cities which were [round about], and in the city of ATHLIBIS,[1] and possessing many flocks and herds, he built a large nunnery, and he gathered together thereunto every woman who chose to adopt the garb of the nun, and placed them therein. And with ready will he took care to provide them with everything which was necessary for them, and he supplied everything required for their well-being, and he also made a garden for them, and he filled their every want with great zeal and care, for our Lord's sake. And inasmuch as these women were gathered together from various places, they used to

[1] Not Athribis in the Delta, but ATRÊPE near the modern Akhmîm.

quarrel with each other continually, and because it was meet to keep them in order (now he had gathered together about three hundred), he was obliged to take means to pacify them; and he hearkened unto their affairs and arranged the disputes which broke out among them for a space of two years.

Now this man being[1] young, that is to say being about thirty or forty years old, [Page 178] more or less, was vexed by the passion of lust, and for this reason he departed[2] from that nunnery and wandered about for two days in the desert, and he made entreaty and supplication unto God, saying, "O Lord, either kill "me so that I may not see those who are in trouble "and may not become afflicted thereby, or remove "from me this passion, so that I may be able to provide "for the women in everything." And when the eventide had come he lay down and slept in the desert and, according to what he related, three angels came to him, and took hold of him, saying, "Why didst thou "go forth from the nunnery?" And he related unto them the matter and said unto them, "I was afraid lest "I should do harm not only unto them, but unto mine "own soul also." The angels said unto him, "If now "we make thee to be free from this passion wilt thou "go and take care of the women in the nunnery?" And having promised that he would do this they required from him an oath, and the oath which he uttered was as follows; the angels said, "Swear an "oath unto us," and he said: "I swear by Him Who "taketh care of me, that I will take care of them." Then having laid hold of him by his hands and his feet, one of them took a razor and mutilated him, not indeed in very truth but only apparently and in a phantomlike manner, and he imagined in the vision that, as one might say, he had been made

[1] Var. حقنكهوص.

[2] The better reading is ﻫﺒﺐ.

whole. And next they asked him, "Feelest thou that "thou hast been helped?"[1] And he said unto them, "I am greatly relieved, and I feel sure that I have "been set free from the pain and suffering, and that I "have already been delivered therefrom." Then the angels said unto him, "Depart and return." And after five days, whilst the women who were in the nunnery were weeping because of what had taken place, and because he had forsaken them, and because the care which he had taken for their needs had come to an end, he entered into the monastery wherein they were; and dwelt there from that time onward in the cells, in a place which was nigh unto them, and according to his power he ordered their lives for them. And he lived [Page 179] other forty years, and he said unto the fathers, "This passion of lust hath never since "roused itself up in my mind;" now this act of grace happened to that holy man because of care which he exhibited in respect of that nunnery.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Of the blessed Dorotheus.

Now after this man Elijah, the chosen man Dorotheus, who had grown old therein leading a life of excellent and sublime ascetic rule was there; and as he did not wish to dwell in the nunnery by the side of the women, as Elijah had done, he shut himself up in a certain upper chamber, but left therein a window which faced and looked into the interior of the nunnery; and when he knew that it was proper to do so he used to open it or shut it. He always sat by the window, and he shewed the women that he knew

[1] The better reading is ܒܗܕܝܢ ܐܬܪܦܝܬ.

everything which they were doing, and by these means they were rebuked and prevented from quarrelling. And thus he grew old in that upper chamber, and no women ever went up to him, and he was unable to go down to them, for there was no ladder, and in this manner of life he brought his days to an end according to the will of God by the help of His grace.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Of the blessed Pachomius the Great, and of the sons of his monastery, and of the nunneries which were in the Thebaïd.

In the country of Thebes, and in the district thereof which is called Ṭĕbansîs (Tabenna), there was a certain blessed man whose name was Pachomius, and this man led a beautiful life of ascetic excellence, and he was crowned with the love of God and of man. Now therefore as this man was sitting in his cell, there appeared unto him an angel who said unto him, "Since "thou hast completed thy discipleship[1] it is unnecessary[2] "for thee to dwell here; but come, and go and gather "together unto thyself those who are wandering, and "be [Page 180] thou dwelling with them, and lay thou "down for them such laws as I shall tell unto thee;" and the angel gave him a book (*or*, tablet) wherein was written the following:—

"I. 'Let every man eat and drink whensoever he "wisheth, and according to the strength of those who "eat and drink impose work; and thou shalt restrain "them neither from eating nor fasting. Furthermore, "on those who are strong thou shalt impose severe

[1] Var. ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ.

[2] Literally, "it is of superfluity."

"labours; and upon those who are of inferior strength, "and upon those who fast thou shalt impose light labours.

"II. 'And thou shalt make for them a cell, and they "shall dwell together three by three.

"III. 'And they shall partake of food all together in "one chamber (*or*, house).

"IV. 'And they shall not take their sleep lying "down, but thou shalt make for them seats so that "when they are sitting down they shall be able to "support their heads.

"V. 'At night time they shall put on garments "without sleeves, and their loins shall be girded up, "and they shall be provided with skull-caps;[1] and they "shall partake of the Offering on the Sabbath, and on "the First Day of the Week, wearing skull-caps with-"out any nap upon them, and each skull-cap shall have "in the front thereof a cross [worked in] purple.

"VI. 'And thou shalt establish the monks in four "and twenty grades, and to each grade give a letter "of the Greek alphabet from Âlâf to Tâw;[2] every grade "a letter."

And the blessed PACHOMIUS performed[3] and fulfilled [these things] according as he had been commanded by the angel; and when the head of the monastery asked him that was next to him concerning the affairs of the brethren, the man said unto him, "The voice "of Alphâ [and] the voice of Bîtâ[4] salute the head "[of the monastery]." Thus the whole of that assembly of brethren had letters of the alphabet assigned to them, according to the designation of the four and twenty letters.[5] To those who were upright and simple

[1] *Or*, coverings for the shoulders and head.

[2] Bedjan has ܡܢ ܐܠܦ ܦܕܟ ܟܪ, *i, e.*, "from Alâfâ to Ĉ."

[3] Read ܥܒܕ.

[4] *I. e.*, the voice of all the letters of the alphabet.

[5] Rosweyde's Latin text has, "Dum igitur interrogaret sanctus Pachomius, et in tantâ multitudine singulorum requireret

he assigned the letter *yôdh* (*i. e.*, ι), and to those who were difficult and perverse he assigned the letter *ksî* (*i. e.*, ξ), and thus according to the dispositions and according to the habits and rules of life of the orders [of monks] did he assign letters unto them.

And he (*i. e.*, the Angel) commanded that "a monk "who was a stranger and who had a different garb "[Page 181] from theirs should not enter in with them "to the table; the man who sought to be accepted as "a monk in that monastery was obliged to labour there "for three years, after which he was to receive the "tonsure. When the monks were eating together they "were to cover up their faces with [their] head-"coverings, that they might not see each other eating, "and might not hold converse together over the table, "and might not gaze about from one side to the other." And he commanded that "during [each] day they "should repeat twelve sections of the Psalter, [and "during [each] evening twelve sections of the Psalter], "and during [each] night twelve sections of the Psalter, "and that when they came to eat they should repeat "the Great Psalm."

And the blessed Pachomius said unto the angel, "The sections of the Psalter which thou hast appointed "unto us [for repetition] are far too few;" and the angel said unto him, "The sections of the Psalter which "I have appointed [are indeed few], so that even the "monks who are small[1] may be able to fulfil the canons, "and may not be distressed thereby. For unto the "perfect no law whatsoever is laid down, because their "mind is at all seasons occupied with God, but this "law which I have laid down for those who have not

"vitam dicebat secundo ille qui erat in suo ordine prior, quem "admodum se habet Alpha, vel quo modo habet Beta? Et "iterum salutem per unumquemque ex proprio signo et vocabulo "litterae requirebat."

[1] *I. e.*, those who have not the power to become great ascetics.

"a perfect mind is laid down for them, so that although "they fulfil only such things as are prescribed by the "canons they can acquire openness of face. Now "very many nuns hold fast unto this law and canon."

And there were living in that mountain about seven thousand brethren, and in the monastery in which the blessed PACHOMIUS himself lived there were living one thousand three hundred brethren; and besides these there were there also other monasteries, each containing about three hundred, or two hundred, or one hundred monks, who lived together; and they all toiled with their hands and lived thereby, and with whatsoever they possessed which was superfluous for them they provided (*or*, fed) the nunneries which were there. Each day those whose week of service it was rose up and attended to their work; and others attended to the cooking, and others set out the tables and laid upon them bread, and cheeses, and vessels of vinegar and water. And there were some monks who went in to partake of food at the third [Page 182] hour of the day, and others at the sixth hour, and others at the ninth hour, and others in the evening, and others who ate once a day only; and there were some who ate only once a week; and according as each one of them knew the letter which had been laid upon him, so was his work. Some worked in the paradise,[1] and some in the gardens, and some in the blacksmith's shop, and some in the baker's shop, and some in the carpenter's shop, and some in the fuller's shop, and some wove baskets and mats of palm leaves, and one was a maker of nets, and one was a maker of sandals, and one was a scribe; now all these men as they were performing their work were repeating the Psalms and the Scriptures in order.

And there were there large numbers of women who were nuns, and who closely followed this rule of

[1] *I. e.*, the orchard, or place where the trees were.

life, and they came from the other side of the river and beyond it, and there were also married women who came from the other side of the river close by; and, whensoever anyone of them died, the [other] women would bring her and lay her down on the bank of the river and go away. Then certain brethren would cross over in a boat and bring her over with the [singing of] psalms and with lighted candles, and with great ceremony and honour, and when they had brought her over they would lay her in their cemetery; without elder or deacon no man could go to that nunnery, and then only from one Sunday to the other.[1] Now it happened that a certain tailor,[2] who was a stranger, came to that nunnery looking for work, and one of the sisters went forth to talk with him, and she said unto him, "We have our own tailor;" and one of the sisters saw her speaking with him, and she held her peace and informed no one concerning the matter. And after a short time the two women had a dispute[3] about a certain matter, and the sister who had seen the other talking to the tailor went and brought an accusation against the other before all the sisters, saying about her in an evil manner, "This is the Satan who hath sown the strife among us;" and then many of the women having heard [these things] believed [them]. And the sister, not being able to endure the accusation wherewith she had been accused without [Page 183] cause, by reason of her distress went and cast herself into the river and was drowned; [and when the sister who had made the accusation against the other perceived this, seeing that she had calumniated her evilly, and that she had caused the sisters pain in a most serious manner, she also secretly drowned

[1] *I. e.*, they might only pay the women a visit on Sundays.
[2] The better reading is ⲃⲁⲕⲉⲛ.
[3] Read ⲧⲱⲙϧ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧ.

herself].[1] And the elder, who had been made [guardian] of them, knowing this matter commanded one of them that none of the sisters who had believed that sister who had made the accusation against her companion should receive the Offering, and he was not reconciled unto them, and prevented them from [participating in] the Offering for seven years.

Now in that same nunnery there was a certain sister who was a virgin, and she made herself an object of contempt, and she had had a devil in her; and the [other] sisters used to treat her so contemptuously that they would not even allow her to eat with them. And the woman herself was well content at this [treatment], and she would go into the refectory and serve the food and wait upon the whole company [there], and she became the broom[2] of the whole nunnery; and indeed she made manifest that which is written in [the Book of] the blessed Apostle,[3] who said, "Whosoever wisheth to become a wise man in this "world let him become a fool in order that he may "become wise." And this woman used to throw over her head a roughly cut piece of cloth, whilst the other women wore veils, well cut and well made, according to the rule which they had, and in this garb she used to minister in the refectory; and they would not allow[4] her to sit down with them at the table. And whilst she was eating they never looked at her, and she never touched a whole loaf of bread, but used to eat the broken bits and crusts [that fell] from the tables, and [she drank] the rinsings of the basins and of the hands, and they sufficed her; and she neither reviled

[1] The text in Bedjan's edition runs:—حو ةكحبي حصة ةصحصة ةصحصة ةصح

any one of them, nor murmured, nor spoke superfluous words, though they constantly reviled her, and struck her, and thrust her away with harsh words and blows.

Now at that time the blessed PAIṬÔRÎM[1] (PITERIUS), that man of wonder, appeared, and he dwelt in the region which was called Parpôrîṭôs,[2] and an angel appeared unto him and said, "Why holdest thou in "thy mind the proud opinion that [Page 184] thou art "more excellent in ascetic practices than many? If "thou wishest to see a woman who is more excellent "than thou go to the nunnery which is in Tabenna, and "behold, thou shalt find there a woman, [with a roughly "cut piece of cloth thrown over her head][3] who is far "superior to thee in ascetic practices; and this woman "is far more excellent than thou art, for although she "ministereth as a servant to a great congregation her "whole heart is set upon God, whilst as for thee, "though thou dwellest here, thy mind wandereth about "in many countries." And when the man who had never gone forth from his monastery had heard those things, he went quickly to the nunnery and he besought their visitor (*or*, inspector) that [he might be allowed] to see the nuns; and when he had gone inside the house they all came that they might be blessed by the blessed man PÎṬÔR (PITERIUS), but the woman who had made herself a creature of contempt did not show herself at all. Then the blessed man PÎṬÔR (PITERIUS) said unto them, "Have all the sisters come? for there is one lacking;" and they said unto him, "Master, we have "one more, but she is a woman of no account, and she "is in the refectory." And PÎṬÔR (PITERIUS) said unto them, "Bring her that I may see her also;" and they went to bring her, but she did not wish to come, for she felt that the matter of herself would be

[1] *I. e.*, Πιτηρούμ.
[2] *I. e.*, Πορφυρίτης ὄρος.
[3] Adding the words ܒܟܠ ܓܘܫܡܐ ܕܒܝܬܐ.

certainly revealed unto him. Now since she did not wish to go to the blessed man they dragged her along and brought her unto him by force, saying unto her, "MÂR PÎṬÔR (PITERIUS) wisheth to see thee;" and when she had come, the blessed man looked and saw the roughly-cut piece of cloth which was thrown over her head, according to the sign which the angel had given concerning her. Then he bowed down before her, and said unto her, "Bless me, Mother," and she fell down at his feet saying unto him, "Bless thou me, master." When the sisters saw [this] they were all struck with wonder, and said unto him, "Let there be "no disgrace to thee, master, for she is a creature of "no account." Then the blessed man PÎṬÔR (PITERIUS) answered [and] said unto them, "Ye yourselves are "creatures of contempt, but this woman is your Mother "and mine, and I entreat God that He will give unto "me [Page 185] a portion with her in the day of "judgment." Now when all the sisters heard this from the blessed man PÎṬÔR (PITERIUS), they fell down at her feet, and offered unto her regret for every thing which they had been accustomed to do unto her; for some of them used to throw the rinsings of the vessels over her, and others used to buffet her, and she endured many insults from them all. So the blessed PÎṬÔR (PITERIUS) prayed over them and went forth from that place. And a few days afterwards, because the blessed woman could not endure the honour and the praises of all the sisters, and the repentance which they shewed unto her, she went forth from that house altogether, but where she went and where she died no man knoweth.

[CHAPTER XXXIV.]

An apology, and preface, and admonition.[1]

Now therefore, O my brother, it sufficeth for me that I have called to mind all these things, and that I have handed them on in writing; for this thing did not happen without [the Will of] God, because thou wast moved in thy mind to command me to make this compilation and also to hand down in writing an account of the lives and acts of the holy fathers. And, according to the command of the love of God which is in thee, I will write down also the upright lives of holy women who have prospered in the good works of patient endurance, and afterwards I will also write down the account of the stumblings of those who have fallen away from a straight rule of life through

[1] The following Preface is wanting in Lady Meux's Manuscript, and it is here supplied from Bedjan's edition; for a Latin text see Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 977.

ܦܩܝܕܬܐ ܕܗܢܐ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܬܥܒܕ ܒܟ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܐܚܝ ܕܠܐ ܫܦܝܪ ܠܝ ܕܐܬܥܒܕ ܐܠܐ ܒܪܥܝܬܟ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܡܦܩܕ ܠܝ ܠܡܟܬܒ ܠܟ ܗܢܐ ܟܬܒܐ ܐܦ ܥܠ ܕܐܝ

the pride which seized upon them, and through the wicked and vain opinion that came upon their souls, and who were tripped up, and stumbled, and fell through their weakness and the war of the Adversary, although not of their own will, for after their fall they triumphed still more gloriously, and acquired rectitude. And I will do this for the benefit of those who are about to meet with this compilation, so that they may set the edifice of their building upon the firm ground of humility with zeal and care, and may fly from pride, and may take refuge in humility; and it shall be my object to write with extreme care concerning the humility of the holy men, and concerning their longsuffering, and concerning their patient endurance, and the questions which they asked each other, together with their answers, and the sundry and divers things which I shall be able to call to mind concerning the lives of the holy fathers. And, O thou faithful servant of Christ, having lighted upon this book with pleasure, and having derived therefrom sufficiently a demonstration of the Resurrection, and of the lives and labours of the holy fathers, and also of

ܒܗܝ ܗܘ ܕܐ ܐܡܪ ܕܐ ܒܝ ܐܢܫ ܕܐ ܥܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܠܒܗ ܕܥܠ ܕܐ ܐܬܐ ܒܠܒ ܕܫܘܛܐ ܕܫܝܛܢܐ ܘܥܠ ܕܐ: ܒܠܒ ܐܢܫ

their patient endurance, and being able to grow up in a good hope, and to advance easily in virtues, turn thyself round for once, so that thou mayest see that which is behind thee, and seeing my feebleness do thou pray for me. And take good heed to guard thy soul, even as I know thou [hast been able to do] from [the time when] thou didst hold the consular power of TITIANUS unto this day; and again as I found thee when thou wast the prefect and officer of the bed-chamber of the God-fearing king. For the man, who hath such power as this, and who is able to enjoy himself with wealth in abundance, must not forget the fear of God, and he must take the greatest care possible to emulate Christ, Who heard from the Calumniator [these words], "All these things will I give "unto thee if thou wilt fall down and worship me."[1] Therefore take good heed unto thyself, and be vigilant, so that thou mayest at all times be exalted over the neck[s] of thy secret and invisible enemies. Amen.

ܒܥܕܡ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܝܗܒܬܗ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ. ܘܡܢ ܕܠܒܪܝܗ ܕܐ ܐܢܐ
ܟܡܕܡܝܢ ܕܒܟܒܪܢܐ: ܘܒܗܝܢ ܐܢܐ ܣܓܝ ܟܡܫ ܟܡܢ ܠܡܫܕ ܠܡܗܝܕ:
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ܟܘܡ. ܘܗܘ ܐܡܢ ܕܒܥܫܟ ܡ ܕܒܟܟܘܗ ܕܒ
ܘܒܟܢ ܕܒܟ ܠܐ ܟ: ܘ ܠܗ ܕܡ ܡܠܟ: ܘܗ ܐܢ ܕܡ ܡܠ
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CHAPTER XXXIV.

The Triumphant deeds and exploits and histories of holy women.

I. Of the Virgin of Alexandria who hid Athanasius.[1]

Now therefore it is necessary for us to remember also the chosen and mighty women unto whom God also gave an equal measure of strength of will as unto men, so that they might have no cause for being feeble in the performance of the labour of ascetic excellence. I have seen large numbers of widows who were exceedingly glorious and excellent in the performance of ascetic virtues, and among the chaste virgins whom I saw in Alexandria there was one whom I estimated to be seventy years old, and all the clergy testified concerning her that when she was a young woman, about twenty years old, she possessed exceeding beauty, and she was more looked at than many women, and because of her beauty she fled lest she should become the cause of stumbling unto men. Once when the Arians were plotting against the blessed Athanasius, the Archbishop of Alexandria, and were acting craftily in respect of him that they might do him harm through the prefect Eusebius, and [Page 186] through the wicked men who were his partizans in the days of the Emperor Constantine[2] the Less, and were spreading abroad infamous reports about him and were accusing him of many things which were unseemly for Christians to do, Athanasius fled that he might not be condemned in their wicked and corrupt hall of judgment, and he told no man, neither kinsmen, nor friends, nor ecclesiastics, nor any other men [where he was going]. And as soon as certain men from

[1] See Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 974.
[2] *I. e.*, Constantius.

among the magistrates had entered into the episcopal palace suddenly, and begun to search for him and to enquire for him, he rose up at midnight, and took his tunic, and fled to this virgin who, being greatly astonished and struck with wonder at the matter, was moved exceedingly. And the blessed ATHANASIUS said unto her, "Because I am sought for by the ARIANS, "who are making unseemly accusations against me, and "because I do not want to spread about an unseemly "opinion of myself, and I wish not to prepare a great "punishment for those who would be condemned for "my sake and be made guilty for me, I determined to "betake myself to flight, and God gave me a revelation "this night, saying, 'There is no other person with "'whom thou canst find deliverance except this virgin.'" Now therefore because of her exceedingly great joy she removed from herself and set aside all thoughts [of shame], and she became wholly [the servant] of our Lord, and she hid that holy man for the whole period of thirty years,[1] that is to say, until the death of CONSTANTINE. She used to wash his feet, and she prepared everything of which he had need, and she attended to his bodily wants,[2] and whatsoever he needed that she provided, and she borrowed books and brought [them] to him; and no man in Alexandria knew during that whole period of thirty years where the blessed ATHANASIUS was. And when the death of CONSTANTINE (*i. e.*, CONSTANTIUS) was announced, and ATHANASIUS also heard thereof, he rose up and came by night and he was suddenly found to be in the church, and all those who saw him marvelled as they looked carefully at him, for he was like unto a man who had risen from the grave. And he made an apology to [Page 187] those who truly loved him and spake unto them, saying, "I did not flee unto you, for

[1] The variants are "three," and "six."

[2] Var. ܘܐܫܬܡܫ ܒܗ ܘܐܦܩ ܠܗ ܟܠ ܕܨܒ ܠܗ.

"the reason that there might not be unto you an oc-
"casion for swearing [false] oaths. And moreover,
"because of the search and enquiry which they were
"sure to have made for me I fled unto that woman
"concerning whom no man could suspect of harm, for
"she is young and beautiful. And I have gained two
"things, my own life and hers; I have helped her in
"many things, and I have taken care and preserved
"myself."[1]

CHAPTER XXXV.

Of Piamon the virgin.

Piamon was a virgin who lived all her days with her mother, and she spent[2] her nights in constant vigil, and she ate food at the time of evening, and she laboured at the [weaving of] linen; and she was held to be worthy of the gift of knowing what was going to happen before it happened. Now it happened on a time that there was in Upper Egypt a certain village which was fighting with another village, for the villages quarrelled with each other concerning the division of the waters [of the Nile], and they fought so violently that frequently murders were committed and men were beaten to death. And the village which was stronger than the village of this virgin rose up against it in fierce wrath, and there came against the inhabitants of her village a crowd of boastful and violent men carrying staves and spears to kill them; and the angel of the Lord appeared unto her, and revealed unto her the craft of those who were ready to fall upon them secretly. Then she sent and called the elders of the

[1] Reading ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ.

[2] Read ⲁⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉⲩ.

church of her village,[1] and said unto them, "Go ye "forth to meet the inhabitants of that village, for be- "hold, they are coming against you, lest peradventure "ye and the village perish;[2] and make entreaty unto "them that perhaps they may be turned aside from "their daring attack [Page 188], and they may spare "the village."

Now the elders of the village were afraid, and they fell down at her feet and made supplication unto her, saying, "We do not dare to go forth to meet them, "for we are well acquainted with their miserable nature "and their arrogance; but if thou wishest to spare the "village and thine own house, do thou thyself go forth "to meet them." And the virgin would not undertake to go forth, but she went up upon the roof, and stood up there in prayer the whole night long without once kneeling down, and she made bowings and entreaties unto God, saying, "O Lord,[3] Thou Judge of the earth, "Who hast no pleasure in whatsoever is iniquitous, O "my Lord, when the prayer which Thine handmaiden "prayeth and her supplication reach Thee, let Thy "power transfix [the enemy] in the spot wherein they "are;" and straightway, on that very day, at a distance of three miles from the village they became fettered and stood still, being unable to move [from] the spot. And it was revealed unto them also that they were hindered from moving by the supplication of that woman, and thereupon they sent to the inhabitants of the village, and made peace with them and became reconciled unto them, and they also sent a message unto them, saying, "Give ye grateful thanks unto God, "for it was the prayers of PIAMON which prevented us "[from coming to you]."

[1] Reading ܒܥܕܬܗ.

[2] The words ܕܢܬܒܛܠ ܕܢܬܒܥܕ ܥܡ ܟܠܗ are out of place here.

[3] Read ܡܪܝ.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Of the blessed Âmmanṭîlîdâ (Emmâ Ṭalîdâ),[1] the old woman of Antinoë.

Now in the city of Antinoë there were twelve nunneries, and the women thereof conducted themselves according to a rule of beautiful spiritual excellence; here I saw the aged handmaiden of Christ whose name was Âmmanṭîlîdâ, who had dwelt in the holy house, according to what she herself and those who were her associates told me, for eighty years. And there lived with her sixty virgins who followed the path and rule of the ascetic life in purity, and they led a life of happiness under the teaching of this good old woman, [Page 189] whom they loved, and on whom they depended; and because of the great affection which they poured out upon her, the key was never taken away from any one of them, as is customary in other religious houses for women, and through her divine doctrine she changed them into a state of incorruptibility. Now this old woman arrived at such a state of impassibility that when I entered into her presence and sat down by her side, she stretched out her hands and laid them upon my shoulders, in the boldness and freedom[2] which she had acquired in Christ.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Of the virgin Ṭîmîrôn (Taor).

Now in this nunnery there was a certain virgin whose name was Ṭîmîrôn (Taor), who was the disciple

[1] *I. e.*, Mother Talîdâ.

[2] Read حفْوَتِهِنَّ.

of a certain old woman of ascetic excellence, and who had lived therein for thirty years; and she would consent to receive neither beautiful apparel, nor a veil, nor sandals, saying, "I do not require [them] for I am not "compelled to go down into the market." Every First Day of the Week the other women used to go down to the church to partake of the Offering, but this virgin used to remain by herself in the nunnery dressed in rags, and she would sit at her work at all hours. And by these means she acquired such a sagacious, wise, and ready face (*or*, appearance) that every man who was wont to abhor the sight of women would have been nigh to being snared and falling at the sight of her, had it not been that shamefacedness, which is the guardian of chastity, was ever with her, and that she ordered her gaze in a chaste manner by means of shame and fear.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Of the virgin and the martyr Colluthus.[1]

Now there was another virgin there who was a neighbour of mine, and who dwelt near me, but whose face I had never seen, for, according to what they said about her, she had never gone down to the market [Page 190] from the day whereon she had become a nun, but had completed sixty years with the head of her nunnery. And finally, when she was about to depart from the world, the martyr, whose name[2] was Colluthus, and who lived by the side of the nunnery, appeared unto her, and said unto her, "This "day thou art about to depart from this world unto

[1] The better reading is ܒܬܡܘܬ ܫܓܝ. ܩܠܘܬܘܣ ܗܘ ܕܫܡܝܗ.

[2] Read ܕܦܩܝܕ.

"thy Lord, and thou shalt see all the saints; but come "and eat a meal with us in the martyrium." Thereupon she rose up early in the morning and arrayed herself in her apparel, and taking bread, and olives, and garden herbs in her basket, she went forth as she had done for many years; and having gone to the martyrium, she prayed, and having watched for the space of the whole day for an opportunity when no man would be found therein, she drew nigh and cried out unto that martyr, and said unto him, "Ask a blessing on my "food, O Saint COLLUTHUS, and accompany thou me on "this my journey by thy prayers." And having eaten her food and prayed, she came back at sunset to her nunnery, and she gave unto the head thereof the Book of ḲLÎMÎS (CLEMENT) which is called "Stromata," and [containeth] a commentary (*or*, explanation) of AMOS the prophet, saying, "Give this book to the Bishop "who is in Alexandria in exile, and say unto him, "'Pray for me,' for I am about to depart." And she died in the night without suffering either sickness or from pain in her head, but she rolled herself up in her garments and died.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

OF THE VIRGIN AND OF MAGISTRIANUS WHO FOUGHT WITH WILD BEASTS FOR HER SAKE.

In the ancient book which was ascribed to Hippolytus, who knew the Apostles, I have found the following history written:—There was a certain woman who was of noble birth and beautiful in her face, and who came [Page 191] from the city of the Corinthians, and who continued[1] to live in a state of virginity, and

[1] Read ܘܩܡ ܒܬܘܠܘܬܐ.

certain people laid an accusation against her before the governor, who was a heathen, at the time of the persecution [of the Christians], and calumniated her, saying, "She hath abused the Government and the Emperors, "she hath uttered blasphemies against the gods,[1] she "hath treated the sacrifices with contempt;" such were the lying words which the wicked men concocted [about her], because they had been led captive by her beauty. Now because the governor was more addicted than they all to lasciviousness, he accepted such calumnies as those, and he became mad with desire like lustful stallions, even as it is written, "He was "inflamed by lust." And having tried to seduce her by means of cunning schemes of every kind, and being unable to do so, he became furious with her and handed her over to be punished, not by means of stripes and scourgings, but he wanted to make her earn her living by fornication; and he commanded the man unto whom he had delivered her to collect daily from the money which should be paid to her for hire three darics and to bring them to him; and this man, in order that he might not make use of the command in any sluggish manner, and that he might not lose money and also make the governor exceedingly angry, set her up as a gift before all those who wished [to have her]. Now, therefore, when those who were as keen in their lust for the maiden as are hawks for a snared sparrow perceived those things, they thronged into the tavern[2] of destruction, and having given money unto the man to whom the virgin had been delivered, they drew nigh unto her and spoke unto her such things as [they thought] would be helpful to their intentions. But the virgin, who was wise among women, urged them on with blandishments in a gladsome manner, and strengthened her mind in the hope of

[1] Literally, "the idols."

[2] Read شَعْوَة.

Him for Whom she had guarded her virginity, and she made petitions unto them, saying, "I have a hidden "sore in a certain place, and the smell of its running "is exceedingly strong; and I am afraid that after ye "have embraced me it will bring[1] you to hate me and "that your souls will loathe me. I therefore beseech "you to wait a few days until I am well again, and "[then] ye shall have the power to do whatsoever ye "like with me for nothing."

And having with such like words [Page 192] dismissed them, she offered up unto God during those days with her whole heart prayers, and supplications, and bowings to the ground that he would help her, and that she might be saved and delivered from such hateful destruction as this, and that she might be kept in a state of unsullied virginity. Then God seeing her chastity sent a fervent longing [for her] into a certain young man [called] MAGISTRIANUS, who was wholly excellent, both in mind and in body, and it burned like fire even unto death; and he went as it were in lustful passion, and at the time of evening he entered the house of the man who had been commanded to receive the money, and he gave him five darics, and said unto him, "Let me be with the virgin this night;" and he permitted him to be with her. Then having gone into the place which was her sleeping room, he said unto her, "Rise up and save thyself;" and having stripped off her apparel, and dressed her in his own clothes, and covered her with his cloak, and completed her attire after the manner of that of a man, he said unto her, "Muffle up thy head in the hood of the cloak, "and go forth," and having done this she signed herself with the sign of the Cross and went forth. And at the turn of the day the fraud became known, and MAGISTRIANUS was delivered up and was cast to the beasts. Thus was the evil Devil put to shame because

[1] The better reading is ܢܫܒܚܘܗ.

that martyr, who is worthy of admiration, was able to crown himself with the two crowns of a double martyrdom, one on behalf of himself, and one on behalf of that blessed woman.

CHAPTER XL.

Of the holy woman Melania the Great.

Melania, the holy woman who is worthy of all blessings, was of Spanish origin,[1] and she grew up in Rome, for she was the daughter of Marcellinus, a man who had held consular rank;[2] now her husband was a man who performed a large number of duties under the Government, and she became a widow when she was twenty-two years [Page 193] old. Now this woman, having been held worthy to be seized upon by divine love, revealed the matter to no man, for she would not have been permitted to perform her own will because she lived in the time of the rule of Valens; and having arranged that he should be named the procurator of her son's affairs, she took everything which she possessed, which could be easily moved and carried off, and placed it in a ship with tried servants, both men and women, and sailed hastily to Alexandria, where she sold her property and changed it into gold. And she went into the mount of Nitria and saw the Fathers, that is to say, Pambô, and Arsenius, and Serapion the Great, and Paphnutius of Scete, and Isidore the Confessor and Bishop of Hermopolis, and Dioscurus; and she remained with them for half a year, and she went round about through all that desert, and saw all the holy men and was blessed by them.

[1] Var. حِبْشَه

[2] ⲙⲁⲣⲕⲉⲗⲗⲓⲛⲟⲩ τοῦ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων.

And when AGÔṢṬALÎÔS [AUGUSTUS], who was in Alexandria, sent into exile to Palestine and Caesarea ISIDORE, and PÎSÎMÔS [PISSIMIUS], and ADELPHIUS, and PÎSÂNÎS, and PAPHNUTIUS, and PAMBÔ, now with these also was AMMONIUS, that is to say, twelve[1] holy Bishops, this blessed woman clave to them, and she ministered unto them of her own possessions. And when the servants whom she used to send unto them were stopped, this brave woman (according to what the holy men PÎSÂNÎS, and PAPHNUTIUS, and ISIDORE, and AMMONIUS related unto me, for I used to hold converse with them,) used to clothe herself in the garment of one of her servants, and carry unto them late in the evening the food which they needed.

Now when the governor of Palestine learned this thing, wishing to fill his purse, and hoping and expecting to make profit by her, he seized her and cast her into prison, being unaware that she was a woman of noble rank [Page 194]. Then she sent unto him a message, saying, "I am the daughter of such "and such a man, [and the wife of such and such a "man], and I am the handmaiden of Christ. Do not "treat lightly my poor garb and estate, for I have the "power to exalt myself if it pleaseth me to do so, "and thou hast no authority either to hamper me in "this fashion or to carry off any of my property. "Now, in order that thou mayest not dare to do any-"thing in ignorance and so fall under condemnation, "behold, I send thee [this] message; for it is meet that "towards senseless and foolish men we should act in "a masterful manner, and with pride, even as our noble "rank enableth us to do, and should treat them as fools "and men of no understanding." And when the governor learned this thing he apologised to MELANIA, and entreated her to forgive him, and he fell down and did homage unto her and gave orders that she should

[1] Some of the names of the twelve are omitted.

have the power to visit holy men without hindrance.

And after the return of these blessed men from exile, this holy woman built a house in Jerusalem, wherein she dwelt for twenty-seven years, and wherein she had a congregation of sisters, who were in number about fifty; and moreover, the honourable nobleman RUFINUS, who came from Italy and belonged to the city of Eḳlônîyâ [Aquileia], clave unto her her whole life long, and he led a life of glorious works, and finally he was held to be worthy of the office of elder. Now among men one would not quickly find one who was more understanding, and gracious, and pleasant than he. And RUFINUS and MELANIA during the whole of that period of twenty-seven years received and relieved at their own expense all those people who came unto Jerusalem to pray, Bishops, and dwellers in monasteries, and virgins, and they edified and benefited all those who thronged to them. Now they healed[1] the schism of the PÔLÎNESṬÊ [PAULINISTS], who were in number about four hundred monks, and they all were heretics who fought against the Holy Spirit; and having made entreaty unto them they turned them back unto union with the Church. And they loaded with their [Page 195] gifts all the clergy who were in the cities, and they provided with food all those who were strangers and needy [therein]. In this manner they ended their lives, and they never became a stumbling-block unto [any] man. Now as concerning the possessions of which she stripped herself and the things (*i. e.*, money) which she distributed, being hot as fire with divine zeal, and blazing like a flame with the love of Christ, I alone am not able to recount, for it belongeth also unto those who dwell in the country of the PERSIANS [to declare it]; for there was no man who was deprived of her alms and gifts

[1] ܣܢܐ is clearly a misreading; B has ܫܒܝܕ "they united."

[whether he came from the] east, or the west, or the north, or the south. She lived in exile for thirty-seven years, and her possessions sufficed for her to give alms to churches, and to religious houses, and to strangers, and to those who were in prison. And meanwhile her relatives and her kinsfolk were sending [money] unto her continually, and her own son, and those who had charge of her property also sent some of their own money unto her; and she never lacked anything, and during the whole of the time in which she was in exile she never consented to the acquisition of a span of land.[1] And she was never drawn to long for her son, and the love for her only child neither parted her nor divided her from the love of Christ, but through her prayers her son attained unto perfect discipline and unto the ways and habits of excellence; and he became the son-in-law of honourable and noble people, and there also came upon him[2] much power and divers positions of great honour; now he had two children, one boy and one girl.

Now after a long period of time had elapsed, when she heard that the daughter of her son and her husband wished to be sanctified, and fearing lest they should fall into the hand of the heretics who would sow in them evil doctrines, and lest they should grow up in a life of dissolute luxury, that old woman, who was then sixty years old, embarked once again in a ship, and sailed from Caesarea, and after twenty days arrived in Rome. And whilst she was there she converted and made to become a Christian a man called APRÔNÎYÂ [APRONIANUS], who was of exceedingly high rank [Page 196] and was also a pagan; and she moreover persuaded him by means of most perfect admonition and exhortation to become sanctified, and also his wife, who was her own sister and whose name was ABHTÎYÂ

[1] Read ܕܒܪܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ.

[2] Read, with B, ܘܐܬܚܕܘ.

[AVITA], to receive the garb of the followers of the ascetic life, and to become prosperous in all patience in the labours of the life of abstinence and self-denial. And she also strengthened[1] by means of her excellent counsels the daughter of her son whose name was MELANIA, and her husband whose name was PANYÂNÔS (PINIANUS), and she also converted her daughter-in-law whose name was ALMÎNÂ (ALBINA); and she persuaded all these to sell everything which they possessed and to give [the money] to the poor; and she brought them out from Rome, and led them into the quiet and peaceful haven of the life and labours of asceticism.

And she contended with all the women of senatorial rank and with the women of high degree, and strove with them as with savage wild beasts, for the men tried to restrain her from making the women do even as she had done, that is to say, to prevent her from converting them and making them to forsake their worldly rank and position. And she spake unto them thus, "My children, four hundred years ago it was "written that that time was the last time.[2] Why do "ye hold fast thus strenuously to the vain love of the "world? Take ye heed lest the day of Antichrist over-"take you, and keep not fast hold upon your own "riches and the possessions of your fathers;" and having set free all these she brought them to the life of the ascetic and recluse. As for her son PÔPLÎḲÔS (PUBLICOLA), who was a child, she converted [him] and brought [him] to Sîḳîlîâ (Sicily); and she sold the whole of the residue of her possessions and taking the price [thereof] came to Jerusalem, and, having distributed it in a wise fashion and arranged all her other affairs, after forty days she died at a good old age, being crowned with an abundance of gratification and happiness; and she left in

[1] Read, with B, ⲁⲥⲥⲧ.

[2] *I.e.*, that the last hour had come. See 1 John II. 18.

Jerusalem a house for religious folk and money for the maintenance thereof.

Now therefore when all those who clave unto her had gone forth from Rome the great barbarian whirlwind, [Page 197] which had also been mentioned in ancient prophecies,[1] came upon the city, and it did not leave behind it even the statues of brass which were in the market-places, for it destroyed by its barbaric insolence everything whatsoever; and it so thoroughly committed everything to destruction that the city of Rome, which had been crowned and adorned for twelve hundred years with edifices and buildings of beauty, became a waste place. Then those, who without contention had been converted by means of her admonition, ascribed glory unto God Who, by means of a change in temporal affairs, had persuaded those who did not believe her; for whilst the houses of all the latter were plundered the houses of those only who had been persuaded by her were delivered, and they became perfect burnt-offerings unto the Lord, through the care and solicitude of the blessed woman MELANIA. And it happened by chance that I and they once travelled together from ÎLÎÔS (AELIA)[2] to Egypt, and we were accompanying on our journey the gentle virgin SYLVANIA, the sister of RUFINUS, a man of consular rank, and YÔBANYÂNÔS (JUBINUS) was also with us; now he was at that time a deacon, but subsequently he became bishop in the Church of God of the city of Askelon, and he was a God-fearing man, and was exceedingly well versed in doctrine. And it came to pass that a fierce and fiery heat overtook us on the way, and we came into Pîlîsôn (Pelusium) that we might rest therein; and JUBINUS, who is worthy of admiration, came by chance upon a trough for washing, and he began to wash his hands and his feet in a little water

[1] Read ܒܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܕܢܒ̈ܝܐ.

[2] See Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 971, col. 2.

that by means of the coolness thereof he might refresh himself after the intensity of the blazing heat. Then having washed himself he threw on the ground a sheep-skin whereon he might rest from the labour of the journey. And behold, the mighty one among women stood up over him like a wise [mother], and in her simplicity rebuked him[1] by her words, saying, "Seeing that thou art still in the heat of youth how "canst thou have confidence that by means of careful-"ness [on thy part] thou wilt be able to resist [Page "198] the [natural heat of] the constitution of the body "which still burneth in thy member[s]? And dost thou "not perceive the injurious effects which will be pro-"duced in thee by [this washing]? Believe me, O my "son, for I am this day a woman sixty years old, and "from the time when I first took upon myself this garb "water hath never touched more of my body than the "tips of the fingers of my hands, and I have never "washed my feet, or my face, or any one of my "members. And although I have fallen into many "sicknesses, and have been urged by the physicians, "I have never consented nor submitted myself to "the habit of applying water to any part of my body, "and I have never lain upon a bed, and I have never "gone on a journey to any place reclining on a "cushioned litter."

Now this wise and blessed woman also loved learning, and she turned the nights into days in reading all the books of the famous Fathers, I mean to say the works of the blessed GREGORY, and of the holy man STEPHEN, and of PAṬRÎYÂ[2] (PIERIUS), and of BASIL also,

[1] B reads, "Seeing that thou art still in the vigour of youth "how canst thou have confidence that by means of carefulness "thou wilt be able to bring softness to the body wherein thy "blood still burneth," &c. ܐܢܬ ܥܕܝ ܒܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܘܒܝ ܛܠܩ ܐܢܬ ܒܬܪ ܕܡܐ ܕܒܟ ܒܓܘܫܡܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܬ ܒܬܘܟܠ ܕܬܗܘܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܠܓܘܫܡܟ ܕܒܗ ܕܡܐ ܕܒܟ ܘܠܐ ܬܚܫ ܒܢܦܫܟ ܡܢ ܗܕܐ ܕܬܬܥܒܕ ܒܟ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܐܢܬ

and of other [writers], more than two hundred and fifty thousand sayings;[1] and she did not read them in an ordinary fashion or just as she came[2] to them, and she did not hurry[3] over them in an easy and pleasant manner, but with great labour and with understanding she used to read each book seven or eight times. And because of this she was enabled, being set free from lying doctrine, to fly by means of the gift of learning (*or*, doctrine) to great opinions, and she made herself a spiritual bird, and in this wise was taken up to Christ her Lord. And may He in His mercy grant unto us through her prayers the power to act mightily, even as she did, and may we see her with all the saints who love Him, and with them may we lift up praise to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit for ever and ever.

CHAPTER XLI.

Of the blessed woman Melania the Younger.

Now inasmuch as I have already promised above to relate the history of [Page 199] Melania the Younger it is meet that I should pay [my] obligation, for it is not just that I should consign to oblivion a young woman who, though so very young in her years, by reason of her indefatigable zeal and knowledge was very much wiser than the old women, or that I should omit to make manifest by words the history of one who though a girl in stature was old in the mind of the fear of God. Now therefore the parents of this maiden drew her by force into marriage, and they united her unto

[1] Literally, "twenty-five myriads."

[2] Read جاء.

[3] The better reading is تحدّث.

one of the nobles of Rome, but she kept in mind continually the words which had been spoken unto her by her aged[1] [relative], and kept herself as was fitting, and became strengthened especially in the fear of God. And she had two sons, and as both of them died she came to be possessed of such a hatred of marriage that she said unto her husband, whose name was PENYÂNÊ (PINIANUS), the son of SEBHWARÊ (SEVERUS), a man of consular rank, "If thou wishest to live with "me a life of purity I will regard thee as the husband "and lord of my life; but if, inasmuch as thou art a "young man, this is too hard for thee, take everything "which I have and leave only free to me my own "body, for in this way I shall be able to fulfil my "desire which is in God, and I shall become the heir "of the excellences of that woman after whose name "I have been called. For if God desired me to lead "the life of this world He would never have taken "away the children to whom I gave birth."

And when they had been for a long time debating the matter, at length God had mercy upon that young man, and He placed in him the zeal of the fear of God to such a degree that he also sought to be excused from all the material things of this world, and thus was fulfilled the word which had been spoken by the Apostle,[2] saying, "How knowest thou, O woman, "whether thou shalt give life to thy husband [or not]? "Or how knowest thou, O man, whether thou shalt "give life to thy wife [or not]?" Now when she was married to her husband she was about twelve [*or*, thirteen] years old, and she lived with him for seven years, for she was twenty years of age when she withdrew from the world [Page 200]. First of all she bestowed all her raiment of silk upon the holy altars, which also did OLYMPIAS, the handmaiden of Christ,

[1] The better reading is ܒܥܒܝܕܬܗ.

[2] 1 Corinthians VII. 16.

and the remainder of her apparel of silk she cut up, and made it suitable for the service of the church in other ways. Her silver and gold she entrusted to an elder whose name was PÂULÊ (PAUL), who was a monk from Dalmatia, and she sent it by sea to the countries of the East, I mean to Egypt and to the Thebaïd, to the amount of ten thousand darics; and she sent in this manner ten thousand darics to Antioch, and to the countries which were nigh thereunto, but to Palestine she sent fifteen thousand darics. To the churches which were in the islands, and to the people who were in exile she sent ten thousand darics, and to those who were in the West, I mean in the churches, and in the monasteries there, and the houses for the reception of strangers, and to all those who were in want she distributed [her gifts] with her own hands. And I speak as before God [when I say] that she must have given away four times these [amounts besides], and that she snatched away [her money] from ÈLÔRÎ-KHÔS (ALARICUS) her confidential servant[1] as from the mouth of a lion. Of those who wished to be free among her servants she gave freedom to about eight thousand in number, and on the remainder who had no wish to have their freedom, and who preferred rather to remain in the service of her brother, she bestowed three thousand darics.[2] All the villages which she had in Spain,[3] and in ḲÂṬÔNÎYÂ (AQUITANIA), and in the Island of ṬARḲÔS (TARRAGON), and GÂLÂṬÎYÂ (GAUL) she sold, as well as those which she had in SÎLÎḲÎYÂ (SICILY), and in CAMPANIA, and in AFRICA, and received [the proceeds thereof] in her own hands, so

[1] I have followed the text of B:— ܘܡܢ ܕܒܝܬ ܐܒܐ ܐܬܩܢܝ ܘܡܢ ܕܒܝܬ ܐܡܗ ܐܬܩܢܝ ܕܒܝܬ ܐܚܘܗ ܐܬܩܢܝ ܘܡܢ ܕܒܝܬ ܒܥܠܗ ܐܬܩܢܝ ܕܒܝܬ ܐܚܬܗ ܐܬܩܢܝ ܘܡܢ ܕܒܝܬ ܒܢܝܗ ܐܬܩܢܝ ܘܡܢ ܕܒܝܬ ܒܢܬܗ ܐܬܩܢܝ ܘܡܢ ܕܒܝܬ ܚܡܝܗ ܐܬܩܢܝ ܘܡܢ ܕܒܝܬ ܚܡܬܗ ܐܬܩܢܝ ∴ ܘܡܢ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܒܝܬ ܐܝܠܝ ∴

[2] B has "three darics apiece" ܬܠܬ ܕܪܟܡ ܠܟܠ ܚܕ.

[3] ἐν ταῖς Σπανίαις, καὶ Ἀκυτανίᾳ, καὶ Ταβακωνησίᾳ, καὶ Γαλλίαις.

that she might give them to the monasteries, and churches, and all those who were in want. Such was the wisdom of MELANIA, this lover of Christ, and such was the mature and divine opinion which she adopted in respect of the weighty burden of these riches.

And her manner of life was thus. She herself ate once a day, though at the beginning she ate once in five days, and the young women whom she had converted and who lived with her [Page 201] she commanded to partake of food every day. And there lived with her also the mother of ALBÎNÂ, who observed the same rule of life, and who distributed her possessions among the needy after the manner of MELANIA; and sometimes they dwelt in the plains of SÎLÎḲÎYÂ (SICILY), and some times in the plains of Campania, and they had with them fifteen men who were eunuchs, and a proportionate number of virgins who ministered as servants.

And PENYÂÔS (PINIANUS), who had once been her husband, was now one who helped in the work of ascetic excellence, and was her associate, and he dwelt with three hundred men who were monks and read the Holy Scriptures, and he enjoyed himself in the garden (*or*, paradise), and conversed with the people. Now these men who were with him helped and relieved us in no slight degree, and we were very many in number, when we were going on our way to Rome on behalf of the blessed man JOHN the BISHOP, for they received us with the greatest good will and they supplied us with provisions for the way in great abundance, and they sent us on our way in joy and gladness.

And their kinsman, whose name was PEḲÎÔS[1] (PAMMACHIUS), a man of consular rank, withdrew from the world as did they, and he lived a life which was pleasing unto God, and during his lifetime he distributed his possessions among the needy, and left them [to them]

[1] Παμμάχιος ἀπὸ ἀνθυπάτων.

after his death; and thus he departed unto our Lord. In like manner the man MACARIUS, of Bicaria (?),[1] and CONSTANTINUS, who was the assessor to the prefects in Italy (now they were well known men and men who merit mention), arrived at the highest pitch of ascetic excellence which I describe even as it is; and they abide in the body at this present and lead a life of glorious and divine deeds, and are awaiting the perfect life which is full of happiness.

CHAPTER XLII.

OF THE BLESSED WOMAN OLYMPIAS.

Now the holy and chaste woman OLYMPIAS, whilst journeying in the footsteps of this woman MELANIA, [Page 202] was emulating her in the excellence of her divine life and labours, and she was seized with the fervent desire of travelling in the path which leadeth to heaven, and in every respect she made herself to cling close to the mind of the Divine Books. This woman was in the flesh the daughter of COUNT SELEUCUS, but, if we say what is true, in the spirit she was the daughter of God. Now she was the daughter of the son of EBHLĔBHÎS [ABLAVIUS], a man who had held consular rank in Constantinople, and she was for a few days the daughter-in-law of NEBHRÔD [NEBRIDIUS], the sub-prefect of Constantinople, but in truth she was not the wife of the man, for they say concerning her that she died in purity and in her virginity, and that she only lived according to the Divine Word in chastity, wherein was mingled true humility, and that she made herself a friend of and ministered unto all those who were needy. Now her abundant riches sufficed for this

[1] ἀπὸ Βικαρίας. The Latin text has "ex vicariis fecit."

work, and it is impossible to reckon up that which she used to distribute to everyone with a sincere intent; for there is not a city, or a district, or a desert place, or an island, or a shore which hath been deprived of the gifts of this glorious woman. And she gave gifts also to the churches for their maintenance, and to the houses wherein strangers were received, and also to the prisons and, moreover, to those who were in exile, and, so to speak, on the whole world this blessed woman scattered her alms broadcast. And she leaped upon and ascended the uppermost part of the lofty mountain of humility, wherein nothing whatsoever was to be seen of the acts and deeds of vain glory, nor of deceitful action (*or*, appearance), but the life of simplicity, and the common garb, and the emaciated body, and the submissive mind, and the understanding which is without arrogance, and the lowly heart, and the watching of vigil, and the spirit which is without anxious care, and the love which hath no limit, and friendship without end, and the holding in contempt the operation of the feelings, and the restraint from everything [harmful], and the mind which is simple towards God, and the hope which never faileth, and the loving kindness which is unspeakable, and the thoughtful care of [Page 203] all poor folk.

Now this woman suffered many temptations through the agency of that evil devil, who loveth hateful things and who hath never had experience of things which are good, and she endured great contendings for the sake of the Name of Christ. And she gave herself unto tears which were without measure both by day and by night, and she submitted herself unto all sorts and conditions of the children of men for the sake of God, and she bowed down[1] reverently before the holy Bishops, and she paid homage to the elders, and she entreated in an honourable manner the clergy, as well

[1] Reading, with B ܐܘܡ ܫܒܩ.

as the orders of monks who dwelt in the monastic houses, and she received with welcome the virgins, and she visited the widows, and she reared the orphans, she strengthened [those who were in a state of] old age, and she had care for the sick, and she mourned with the sinners, and she led the erring into the right path, and she tended everyone,[1] and she converted many women among those who did not believe, and prepared them for life. She left behind her to the world a beautiful remembrance, and she changed the slavery into freedom of all the members of her household, who were about a myriad in number, and she shewed unto them honour in the same degree as to her noble family; and if, as is right, we must tell the truth, she made them to become of more account than herself.

It was impossible for any man to see apparel worse than hers on anyone, for the garments of this brave woman were not as good as those of the people who cover themselves with the oldest rags; and the food which she offered to her body was of such an inferior class that on account of its poorness it was rejected even by her servants. By this woman, who was clothed in Christ, no blame was ever found in anyone, not even in her neighbours, all through her life —which was not a life—by reason of the repentance and in the vehement tears wherewith she burned; one may perchance see a fountain which, owing to the violence of the heat, has dried up, but no man ever saw the eyes of this woman, which were fixed upon Christ, lacking tears. But of what use is it for [Page 204] us[2] to tell and to devote myself so strenuously to narrate [things] concerning her? For the contendings of this woman, who was perfect in excellence, were so exceedingly numerous that they were more in number

[1] Reading with Bedjan ܘܠܟܠ ܚܕܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ.

[2] B reads ܠܝ "me."

than those which were declared concerning her, and men would only imagine concerning me that I was narrating from hearsay great things which were not true about this woman OLYMPIAS, who became a vessel of honour of the Divine Spirit, and who was above [all] passions. Nevertheless I was a spectator of her excellence and of her angelic acts and deeds, and I was, as it were, a member of her household, and her kinsman in the Spirit, and she made, by my counsel, [gifts] unto many from her possessions. And this woman, who never thought about the things which were in the flesh, suffered[1] many vain calumnies for the sake of the truth, and those who were living in Divine fear in Constantinople rightly deemed that she should be numbered with the confessors, because even unto the death she persisted in striving for righteousness' sake, and in [performing her works] she received perfection, and she waited hopefully for the never-withering crown, which was full of all blessings in the everlasting mansions on high, with all the saints who were like unto her, and she sought after the reward of her good deeds with freedom (*or*, boldness) of speech.

CHAPTER XLIII.

OF THE BLESSED WOMAN CANDIDA.

And after the manner of the blessed woman CANDIDA, the daughter of the blessed man ṬRÂYÂNÂ [TRAJAN],[2] the general, also laboured, and she arrived at the perfection of ascetic excellence; and she offered unto the Bishops, who were the ministers of the Mysteries of Christ, the homage which was meet for them, and

[1] Literally, "received."

[2] B adds ܕܒܟܬܗ.

she provided suitably for the performance of all the service of the church, and supplied the clergy with gifts, unto each man according to his grade. She converted her daughter and placed her in the ranks of the virgins, and she offered unto God this gift of the fruit of her womb, and sent [her] before her, and finally she herself also became like unto her daughter in the chastity of her purity, and she distributed her wealth among the poor and needy. [Page 205] And I know that night after night this brave woman used to rise up [from her bed] and grind corn, and heat the oven, and make bread for the Offering, and bake it with her own hands, and she was wont to say that she did this in order to reduce the strength of her body, for, she added, "Because I am unable to receive "any benefit from fasting I have taken upon myself "this labour for watching, so that I may do away with "the greedy appetite of Esau." Now she separated herself from every kind [of meat] wherein there is blood, fish alone excepted, and she made use of oil and vegetables, but these only on festival days; and on all other days she used to live upon dry bread dipped in vinegar, and it sufficed her. And she awaited with hope the Resurrection which was to be full of happiness, in return for these stern labours, and she hoped to enjoy the everlasting delights which God hath prepared for those who love him.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Of the blessed woman Gelasia.

And Gelasia, the daughter of a man of the rank of tribune, desired earnestly to follow in the fear of God after this woman whose life and deeds were glorious, and her excellence consisted in never allo ing the sun

to go down upon her wrath[1] against man, neither against her servants nor against [any] other man; and this blessed woman fled from the path of men of wrath which leadeth unto everlasting death.

CHAPTER XLV.

Of the blessed woman Juliana.

And again there was a certain virgin, whose name was Juliana, in Cesaraea of Cappadocia, and it was said concerning her that she was a believing woman, and a woman of understanding, and that in the time of the persecution when the writer Ewârgenîs [Origen] was fleeing from the heathen she received [him] and hid him [in her house] for two years; and she fed and kept him [Page 206] at her own expense, and made him to be satisfied and content with her ministration. Now I have found these things set down in a certain book which was in the handwriting of Ewârgenîs [Origen] himself, and I found this book in the possession of the excellent virgin Juliana in Cesaraea who had hidden it, and who used to say that she had received it from Sûmâkhôs (Symmachus), the expositor of the Jews. And I have not set down in writing [the story of] the excellences of these glorious women for any ordinary purpose, but that we may learn that by every means whatsoever we may, if we wish, find sundry and divers occasions for [obtaining spiritual] advantage.

[1] Read, with B, ܒܚܡܬܗ.

CHAPTER XLVI.

Of Heronion and his wife [Bosphoria].

In Ancyra, a city of Galatia, I met a man whose name was Heronion, an "Apôkômâṭôs,"[1] and an enlightened man, and his wife whose name was Bôspôrîyâ (*i. e.*, Bosphoria[2]), and of their mode of living and acts I experienced an example. Now these folk had such a firm[3] hope in the happiness (*or*, good things) which were to come, that they neglected even their children, for they awaited with hope the actual [fulfilment] of the things to come, and they distributed[4] among the poor and needy the income which they derived from their villages, notwithstanding the fact that they had four male and two female children. To these [children] they never gave anything whatsoever, except to the daughters who had married husbands. And finally, they used to say, "After we are dead every-"thing will be yours, but during our lifetime the income "which we derive from our villages we shall take [for "ourselves];" now they used to divide their moneys among the churches, and monasteries, and houses for the receiving of strangers (*or*, hospitals?), and among the poor and needy. And besides these things they [Page 207] performed the following act of excellence. There was a great famine, and every man shut up (*or*, restrained) his mercy,[5] but these folk opened the storehouses which they had in their villages and gave [food] to eat to those who were famished, and through this act the heretics who were living in that country

[1] "Clarissimum quendam nomine Excomitem una cum Bosphoriâ."

[2] Var. "Dosphoria."

[3] Read مثبتة.

[4] *Or*, "they spent."

[5] *I. e.*, withheld his customary gifts.

were changed and were turned unto the [true] knowledge [when they saw their unspeakable loving-kindness; and they gave praise unto God for the simplicity of their faith. And other examples of their excellence were the following:—The modest garb, common and simple apparel, food eaten but rarely, and then only in such quantity as was sufficient [to maintain] life; and they lived meanwhile in a state of chastity which was acceptable unto God. They dwelt in the fields several days [at a time], loving a life of silent contemplation, and they fled from the tumult of cities and from the evils which are begotten of them, lest when they were living among a crowd of people something might come upon them to disturb them, and they might fall from the[ir] divine state of mind. For this reason these blessed men were doing all these excellent things, because that with the eyes of the understanding they had already looked upon the good things which had been for ever prepared[1] for them.

CHAPTER XLVII.

Of the blessed woman Mâghanâ (*or*, Magnâ).

In this city of Ancyra there were also many other virgins who led lives of ascetic excellence, and they were two thousand, or more, in number; and they kept themselves in restraint and served God with great humility. And among them were also famous women who triumphed with glorious strenuousness in the contending of the fear of God, and of those was Mâghanâ (Magnâ), the chaste and proved wife; now I know not whether I ought to describe her as a virgin or as a widow, for this woman, owing to the pressure which

[1] Read ؤمهيّئة.

was put upon her by her mother, was yoked unto a husband. But [Page 208] she used to make pretences to her husband in diverse ways, and she avoided his embraces by urging the bodily sickness which she had on her as an excuse, and thus she was, according to what the members of her household said, preserved spotless from him. Now after a short time the man died, and he left everything which he had unto her alone, and she exchanged the things of time for those which were everlasting, and she offered herself wholly to God and devoted herself unto the things which belonged unto the life which is to come; and thus she lived a life in the great chastity of the fear of God, and even the Bishops were put to shame by the sight of her. Now the rest of the building[1] she made perfect in the furnace of the love of voluntary poverty, and whatsoever there remained unto her she gave, as it is written, gladly unto the churches, and monasteries, and houses for receiving poor strangers, and unto the orphans and widows; and she abode continually in the church, and served God, and awaited the hope which was to come.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Of the monk [Misericors] who lived in Ancyra.

And moreover, we found in this city a certain monk, and we met him at the time when he had [just] received the laying on of hands as an elder; formerly he had been a husbandman, but he had laboured in the life of a solitary recluse (*or*, monk) for twenty years, and he had lived in close intercourse with the

[1] B has, "the rest of her riches she made perfect in the fire of the love;" ܘܫܠܡ ܗܘ ܫܪܝܟܘ ܕܫܠܡ ܒܢܘܪܐ ܕܚܘܒܐ.

Bishop of the city, who was a holy man. He was such a benevolent man that even in the night time he would go round about and visit those who were poor and needy, and he was so indefatigable in his work that he neglected neither the prison-house, nor the house of the sick (*i. e.*, hospital), nor the houses of the rich and poor, but he helped everyone. He urged the rich with words which were full of mercy and exhorted them to fair deeds, and he toiled with anxious care on behalf of the poor and needy, in respect of those things which were [Page 209] meet for them. Those who were struggling in contention he brought nigh unto peace, and those who were naked he clothed with raiment, and he laboured for the sick and brought them the bindings up which conduced to [their] healing. Now there existed in this city of Ancyra that which existeth rightly in large cities, that is to say, in the porch of the church thereof there lay a great number of poor folk, who were in the habit of going about begging for their daily bread, and among them were certain men who had wives; and it fell out on the night of a certain day that one of these women was about to give birth to a child. And by reason of the pain which was darting through her, and the severe anguish of the birth-pangs, she cried out loudly, and the blessed man heard her outcries from the church as he was praying; and the blessed man ceased praying and went forth to see [what was happening], although it was winter. And seeing that there was no man nigh unto her in her necessity, he himself filled the place of the midwife,[1] and he abhorred not the shame which attacheth unto those who give birth to children; for the great act of lovingkindness which he was about to perform did not grant unto him the perception of such things.

[1] Literally, "the woman doctor."

Now of this blessed man the garments (*or*, possessions) were so utterly poor that they were worth nothing at all, for by reason of the great lovingkindness which dwelt in him he took no pains at all to acquire any possession whatsoever. For if anyone gave him a book he straightway went and sold it, and unto those who enquired of him concerning it, saying, "Why didst "thou sell [the book]?" he said, "How am I to persuade "the Master (*or*, Teacher) that I have in truth learned "His handicraft, unless I make use of His testimony as "to the true [meaning] of His handicraft?" And this holy man thereupon persisteth in this course of action until this day, and he hath left behind him unto all those who dwell in that country a never-fading remembrance. And he is happy in the expectation of the good things which are for ever, and he waiteth to receive the reward [Page 210] of the labours of his triumphs in the kingdom of heaven from Him Who said, "I was "an hungered and ye gave Me to eat. I was naked "and ye clothed Me."[1]

CHAPTER XLIX.

Of John of Lycus, a city of the Thebaïd.

John, who lived in the city of Lycus, and who had learned in his youth the craft of the carpenter, and whose brother was a dyer, afterwards, when he was about five and twenty years old, took upon himself the garb of monkhood; and having lived in divers monasteries for five years, he finally departed by himself to the mountain which is in Lycus, to the lofty eminence which is on the top of the mountain and made three cells for himself there. Now he built and

[1] St. Matthew xxv. 35, 36.

prepared these for himself in the first year after he went to the mountain and went up into it. The first cell was for the needs of the body, in the second he laboured at the work of his hands, and took his food, and in the third he said his prayers, and during the three[1] years which he was in seclusion there he was wont to receive whatsoever was necessary for him through the window from him that ministered unto him.

Now this blessed man was worthy [to receive] from God the gift of being able to declare things before they came to pass, and on several occasions he made known things before they happened unto the blessed Emperor THEODOSIUS, I mean he foretold that he would conquer MAKHSÎMÊ (MAXIMUS) the rebel and would return from GALLIA,[2] and he also announced to him beforehand concerning the defeat of EWÂRGHENÎS (EUGENIUS) the rebel, and thus the fame of this holy man went forth greatly, and he was held to be a man of spiritual excellence. Now therefore when we were in the desert of Nitria, I and the members of the following of the blessed EWÂRGHENÎS (EVAGRIUS?) wished to gain exact information concerning the state of spiritual excellence to which the man [had attained]. Thereupon the blessed EVAGRIUS said, "I am very desirous of learning[3] from "some one who is skilled in the investigation [Page 211] "of the mind and understanding what manner of man "[John] is; for although I myself am unable to see him, "still I can learn from another man [concerning] his "qualities of excellence if he be able to narrate them, "but I cannot go so far as [his] mountain." Now when I had heard these things I said nothing whatsoever to any man, and I held my peace for a day, but on the morrow I shut up my cell, and having confided myself

[1] B, "thirty."

[2] Reading with B ܡܝܦܩ ܡܢ ܓܠܝܐ.

[3] Read, with B, ܕܡܬܠܦ ܡܢ.

to the hands of God I set out on my journey to go to the Thebaïd, where I arrived after eighteen days, on some of which I walked on my feet and on others I sailed on the river. For it was the period of the year when the river riseth, and when many folk fall sick, the which also happened unto me. And when I had gone [to JOHN] I found that he had shut himself up in the place wherein he lived in seclusion, and I took up my abode with the brethren in a great house which contained about one hundred[1] men, and which the brethren had built a long time; for though they shut in JOHN during the other days of the week on Saturday and Sunday they used to open his window.

When therefore I had learned the rule concerning his seclusion, I waited until the Saturday, and at the second hour I drew nigh and found him sitting in the opening in the wall (*or*, window), wherein he waited to administer comfort and consolation unto those who thronged unto him. And having saluted me he said unto me through an interpreter, "Whence art thou, "my son? And why hast thou come? Thou appearest "to me to belong unto the congregation of EVAGRIUS." And I said unto him, "I am a stranger from [the "country of] the Galatians," and I confessed that I also belonged unto those who were the followers of EVAGRIUS. Now whilst we were conversing together behold, ALÔMPÎS (ALIPIUS), the governor of the country, came unto him, and as the governor turned to him, JOHN ceased to talk to me and I left them for a little space and gave them opportunity[2] to talk, and I rose up [and departed] from the mountain. And when they had passed much time in their converse I became impatient and angry, and I murmured against that excellent old man because it seemed as if he had treated me lightly

[1] Read ܡܐܐ ܕܫܢ.

[2] Literally, "I gave place."

and had paid honour to the governor; [Page 212] and being offended in my mind at this [treatment] I made up my mind to go away because of his disregard of me. Then JOHN called unto his interpreter, whose name was THEODORE, and said unto him, "Go and "say unto that brother, 'Be not angry and impatient, "'for I will dismiss the governor immediately, and [then] "'I will speak with thee.'" Thus it appeared to me that, like a spiritual being he had knowledge of secret things, and I made up my mind to remain. And when the governor had departed JOHN called unto me and said unto me, "My son, why wast thou vexed with "me? What hast thou found which is worthy of [being "considered] an offence? Thou hast imagined[1] things "which are not to be found in me, and which are not "creditable unto thyself. Dost thou not know that it "is written, 'Those that are whole have no need of a "'physician;[2] only those who are in very evil case have "'need of him.' Thee I can find whensoever I wish, "and if I myself do not comfort thee the brethren and "the other fathers will do so. But this governor who "hath come to us is tightly bound unto the Calumniator "by means of the affairs of this world, and, having "obtained respite for a brief space from the vain labour "of [his] abominable servitude, he fleeth like a slave "from his master and cometh to be helped; therefore "it would not be seemly to leave him, and to be con-"stant in attention unto thee, for thou art at all seasons "occupied with the cultivating of thy life."

And having said these things I entreated him to forgive me, and I became certain in my mind that he was a spiritual man. Then with a smile he patted my left cheek with his right hand, and said unto me, "Many temptations will rise up for thee to endure, and "moreover, for many years [past], thou hast struggled

[1] Reading, with B, ﻩﺒﺤﺘﺴﺍ.

[2] St. Matthew IX. 12; St. Mark II. 17; St. Luke V. 31.

"to go forth from the desert, and thou strugglest even "to this day, but thou hast been afraid; and the causes "thereof, which were thought [by thee to arise from] "the fear of God, hath the Evil One himself sowed in "thy mind; and although thou didst drive away thy "thought from thee thou hast kept him with thee. "For he sowed in thee the thought of desire, which "was also pleasant unto thee [Page 213], that is to say, "thou didst care greatly to bring out of the world thy "father and also thy sister that they might take upon "themselves the garb of the monastic life. Now there "still remain to thy father seven[1] other years of life, "therefore continue to abide in the desert, and do not "on account of these thoughts desire to go to thy "kinsfolk, for it is written, 'No man who hath put his "'hand on the ploughshare and looketh back is useful "'to the kingdom of heaven'."[2] Now, therefore, being helped by these words whereby I triumphed[3] I gave thanks and praise unto God Who had quieted and laid to rest in me the cause which was urging me to go forth from the desert.

Then afterwards he said unto me with a smile, "Wishest thou to become a Bishop?" And I said unto him, "I have already been made one;" and he said unto me, "Where?" Then I answered and said unto him, "I am the Bishop of the public eating-houses, and "of the taverns, and of tables, and of wine-pots, for I "am a visitor of them. And if the wine hath gone "sour I can distinguish it, and that which is fit [to "drink] I drink. Similarly I visit the cooking pot and "if it needeth salt, or any seasoning whatsoever, I "season it with sauces and then I eat thereof. For "this is my episcopate, that is to say, my visiting, and "it is the love of the belly and gluttony which hath

[1] Reading with B ܫܒܥ ܫܢܝܢ.

[2] St. Luke IX. 62.

[3] B ܡܬܢܚܡ ܗܘܝܬ "I became comforted sufficiently."

"made me the visitor of these." And with a smile he said unto me further, "Quit these [words] of jesting, "for a Bishop thou must needs be, and thou wilt have "to labour and to be troubled greatly; now if thou "wishest to flee from tribulations and temptations go "not forth from the desert, for in the desert no man "will make thee a bishop."

And when I had departed from him I came to the desert, that is, to my place wherein I dwelt, and having related these things unto the blessed fathers, who after two months went and held intercourse with him, I forgot his words. And three years afterwards I fell sick with a sore sickness which was caused by my kidneys and stomach [Page 214] and I was sent to Alexandria by the brethren who believed that I was collecting water (*i. e.*, becoming dropsical), and the physicians counselled me to leave Alexandria, and for the sake of the air (*or*, climate) to go to Palestine, where the air (*or*, climate) was temperate and light and would be beneficial to my body. From Palestine I went to Bithynia, where, for what reason I know not, whether by the care and solicitude of men, or whether by the Will of God Who is exalted above all things, I was held to be worthy of the laying on of hands for the episcopacy, which was far above my deserts, and I became an associate in the temptation (*or*, trial) which rose up against the blessed JOHN,[1] Bishop of Constantinople. And having been secluded for a period of about eleven months in a dark cell I remembered that blessed man who had told me of the things which had happened to me before they came to pass. Now the blessed man JOHN related the things unto me, according to my opinion,[2] that by means of the narrative he might incite my mind and bring me to continue to dwell in the desert; and he said unto me,

[1] *I. e.*, John Chrysostom.

[2] Read هٰذِهِ.

"Behold, I have passed eight and forty years in this "cell, and I have never seen the face of a woman "[during the whole time], and no man hath either seen "me eat or drink."

Now the handmaiden of Christ POEMENIA came unto the blessed man and begged that she might see him, but the blessed man would not allow her to do so; and he sent unto her other spiritual words to give her consolation, and he commanded her that when she was going down from the Thebaïd she should not turn aside to Alexandria, saying, that if she did so, she would certainly fall into temptations. But POEMENIA, forgetting this [advice] and never letting it enter her mind [again], turned aside to Alexandria that she might see the city, and on the way, by the side of the city NIKÔS [NICIUS], she stopped her ship that she might rest herself. And when her servants had disembarked, through some untoward circumstance strife broke out between them and the people of the country, who were truculent men, and they cut off a finger of one believing man [Page 215], and another they killed, and without knowing it they drowned the holy Bishop DIONYSIUS in the river. And they made the venerable woman to endure many revilings and threatened to do much violence unto her; and they beat all her servants with many severe stripes, and they would hardly allow them to proceed on their way.

CHAPTER L.

OF THE BLESSED MAN POSSIDONIUS.

Now the things which [are narrated] concerning the holy man POSSIDONIUS the Theban are so many that it is impossible to describe them all; he was so gentle, and gracious, and patient, and enduring, and

his soul had so much goodness in it that I do not know that I ever met another man who was like unto him. For I lived with him in Bethlehem for a year, at the time when he was living beyond the MONASTERY OF THE SHEPHERDS, which was close to the town, and I observed in him many qualities of excellence, of which I will relate [an example of] one or two. He told me one day when I was living by the side of PORPHYRITES, [saying], "I have not spoken to a man for a whole "year, and I have not heard the speech of one. I have "not eaten bread, but the insides of palm leaves soaked "in water and, whenever I could find it, wild honey. "Once, however, the time came when these things failed "me, and I was in sore tribulation because of it. And "I went forth from the cave that I might go to the "habitations of men, and having journeyed on the "whole day I was scarcely two miles distant from the "cave. And I turned [and looked] behind me, and I "saw, as it were, a horseman[1] whose appearance re- "sembled that of a knight, and he had upon his head "the similitude of a helmet, and thinking that he was "a Roman I turned back to the cave, and I found "outside it a basket of grapes and new, ripe figs, and "I took them and went with them into the cave "rejoicing; and that [Page 216] food sufficed to be "a consolation unto me for a period of two months."

And the blessed man wrought in Bethlehem[2] the following miracle. A certain woman had conceived, and she was possessed of[3] an unclean spirit, and being near to the bringing forth of her child she was greatly afflicted by birth pangs and was violently tortured by that spirit; and as she was writhing by reason of the workings of that devil, her husband came and entreated the holy man to go and pray over her, and

[1] Read, with B, وَضَجَ.

[2] Read, with B, حمه كسد.

[3] We must delete سقكر here.

we went into [her house] therefore that we might pray together. And having stood up and prayed, after he had knelt down twice he cast out that unclean spirit; when he stood up he said unto us, "Pray ye, "for straightway the devil shall go forth." But there was a certain sign, the fulfilment of which [he wished] to shew us, and therefore when that devil had gone forth, he overturned the whole of the courtyard wall unto its very foundations; now that woman had not spoken a word for a period of about six years, but after that devil had gone forth she brought forth her child and spake.

And, moreover, I also saw [an example] of the prophecy of this blessed man. There was a certain elder, whose name was ÎRÔNÔMÔS (HIERONYMUS), who dwelt in these parts, and he was exceedingly well versed in the art and practice of grammar and of eloquence, and he was greatly skilled in the Latin language; but he possessed the vices of envy and evil-eyedness to such a degree that the excellence of his very great skill and ability was entirely hidden. Now the blessed man POSSIDONIUS had dwelt with him for many days, and he told me that the free-woman PAULA, who had taken care of him, departed from this world before her time in order that she might escape from his envy, and, according to my opinion, it was on account of this man that none of the holy men would live in these districts; and the envy of this man continued to such a degree that it overtook his own brother, which thing took place even as he had foretold. And he also persecuted the blessed man KSÛPRÎTÎPÔN[1] (OXYPERENTIUS), who came from Italy, [Page 217] and the wonderful men PETER the Egyptian and SIMEON, who were seen by me. And POSSIDONIUS the Great himself told me that for the whole period of forty years he had not tasted food made of bread, and that

[1] حصوقيتيبخ and ةحصوقيتيبهه.

wrath against any man did not abide with him as long as the half of the day.

CHAPTER LI.

Of Chronius who was from the village of Phoenix.[1]

There was a certain man, whose name was Karnîôs (Chronius), who came from the village which was called Temerĕthâ[2] (*or*, Tomârtâ) which was nigh unto the desert; and when he had gone away a little distance from human habitations, and had departed from his village, having measured out along the road with his right foot about fifteen thousand paces, he prayed and dug in that spot a pit, and he found [therein] good and sweet water. Now the well was about seven *ḳâwmê*[3] in depth; and he built there a little habitation wherein to dwell, and from the day wherein he shut himself up in that place, he prayed to God that he might never return to a region inhabited by men. Now when he had dwelt there some few years, he was esteemed worthy to become a priest unto the brotherhood, for there were gathered together unto him about two hundred brethren. And these excellent things are said concerning him: that during the whole of the period of sixty years, wherein he was performing the ministrations of the altar, he never once went out of the desert, and that he never ate bread which he had not [earned by] the labour of his hands.

[1] τῆς κώμης τῆς λεγομένης Φοίνικος.
[2] A literal translation of Phoinix.
[3] *I. e.*, seven ells, or fathoms.

CHAPTER LII.

Of James the Lame [and of Paphnutius Cephala].

Now by the side of this Karnîôs (Chronius), who is [mentioned] above, there used to dwell a certain man who was called James the Lame, and he was an exceedingly learned man; now both of these men knew the blessed Anthony.

And it came to pass one day that there happened to be there also Paphnutius, who is described as a man who watered gardens by machines,[1] and who possessed the gift [Page 218] of knowledge to such a degree that he knew how to expound the Books of the Old and New Testaments without reading from them; and he was such a gentle man that his meekness overcame the gift of prophecy which was found with him; now the former was voluntary, and the latter was an act of Divine grace. And of this man it was said that he possessed spiritual excellence to such a degree that for a period of eighty years he did not own two tunics. Now when I and the blessed man Evagrius came to these men we desired to learn the reasons for the stumblings of the brethren and for their transgressions against the strict rules of the ascetic life.

And it came to pass in those same days that Chaeremon the anchorite departed from the world whilst he was sitting on his seat and holding his work in his hand.

And it came to pass that another brother was buried by a fall of earth when he was digging a well.

And another died of want of water as he was coming from Scete.

And in addition to these [we wished to learn] concerning the matter of Eṣṭapânâ [Stephen], which

[1] The Syriac translator has confused Κεφαλᾶ with ܩܦܠܐ.

ought not to be spoken about, for he fell into foul lasciviousness.

And [we asked] concerning EUCARPIUS, and those which concerned HĒRO the Alexandrian, and WÂLÎS [(VALENS)] the Palestinian, and PTOLEMY the Egyptian, who were in Scete. And we were asking among ourselves the question, "What is the reason why men live "lives of this kind in the desert, whereby some receive "injury mentally, and some are ensnared by lasciviousness?" Whereupon PAPHNUTIUS, that man of great learning, made answer unto us in the following words, saying, "All the various things which take place in "the world must be divided into two categories, for "some happen through the direct Will of God, and the "others by His permission only; the things which are "wrought to the praise of God especially happen by "the direct desire of God, but all those which appertain to loss (*or*, injury), and danger, and to matters "which produce tribulation take place by the permission "of God. Now permission ariseth from a fault on the "part of the mind. [Page 219] For it is impossible for "the man who thinketh rightly to fall into foul sins, or "into the error which ariseth from the devils, for all "of these take place through a corrupt intent[1] (*or*, "disposition), and through the [love of the] approval "of the children of men, and by the daring of the "thoughts, [which] hope to make perfect spiritual excellence. Such men fall into reprehensible wickedness, "and God permitteth them so to do, that they may "be a help unto them, that when they feel the difference which hath come upon them through this "permission, they may remember themselves and "may turn [again] unto spiritual excellence, either "that which existeth in the mind, or that which exists in deeds. And sometimes it is the mind "which sinneth, that is to say, when that sin which

[1] Read ذِحنِيَّة.

"taketh place is committed with evil intent; and some-
"times it is the deeds themselves which must be
"rejected, as, for example, when they are performed in
"a manner which is quite beyond everything which is
"right and seemly, and this latter case happeneth
"frequently. Thus a man of lust will, with corrupt
"design, give alms unto young women in order that
"he may fulfill his foul desire, even though at the
"beginning he may say, 'It is a beautiful act for us to
"'offer help to the maiden who is an orphan, and alone
"'[in the world], and in misery.' And again it may
"happen that a man may begin to do alms with a good
"and acceptable intent to those who are sick, or to
"those who have lost their riches and become poor,
"and that though he giveth his gift in a niggardly
"manner, and may murmur [at the expense] and wax
"wroth, his motive in giving will be found to be a
"right one. Now the deed is not [to be thought]
"equal to the motive. For it is right for the man
"who would shew mercy to make his gift gladly and
"with a good eye."

And they also spoke the following: "There is a
"difference between the gifts which exist in various
"souls. Some of them possess keenness of mind, and
"some of them find it exceedingly easy and simple to
"acquire the habits of ascetic self-denial, or to do that
"which is difficult for other souls to do; but when a
"man maketh use of [his] gift of keenness of mind
"without a good object for so doing, or when he ex-
"erteth his faculty of performing things because it is
"easy for him to do so, or when men exercise the
"gifts which they have received [Page 220], they do
"not ascribe, as would be right, the correctness of their
"spiritual excellences unto God, but to their own desire,
"and to their own keenness of mind. And those to
"whom it is sufficient to perform fair works are per-
"mitted by the Divine Providence to be caught in a
"snare, either by filthy deeds or filthy passions, or by

"the contempt or by the disgrace which cometh unto "them from the children of men, so that through the "shame and the contempt which [they receive] from "the multitude they may little by little and by degrees "cast away from them their boasting about the spiritual "excellence which they imagine they possess.

"For he who is inflated and unduly exalted at the "keenness of speech [which he possesseth] doth not "ascribe to God, as is right, such keenness, or the dis- "covery of the knowledge which is from Him, but to "his own training, forsooth, or to his own naturally "keen disposition; [therefore] doth God remove from "him the Angel of His Divine Providence, and the "Angel being separated from him, this man is im- "mediately vanquished by his Adversary, and he who "was [unduly] lifted up in his keenness [of mind and "speech] falleth into lasciviousness, or into some kind of "filthy passion, because he was [unduly] exalted. And "because he was lifted up, and because the witness of "chastity hath separated himself from him, the things "which are said by him become unworthy of credence, "and those who fear God flee from the teaching of "the mouth of the man who is in this condition, even "as they would flee from a fountain which is full of "leeches,[1] so that there may be fulfilled that which is "written, 'Unto the sinner God saith, What hast thou "'to do with the Books of My Commandments?[2] For "'thou hast taken My covenant in thy mouth.'

"For in very truth the souls of those who are "moved by passions are like unto fountains of divers "kinds; the souls of gluttons and of those who live in "impurity and drunkenness are like unto muddy springs; "and the souls of those who love money and are "avaricious [are like unto wells which are full of frogs; "and the souls of those who live in envy and pride,

[1] Gr. καθάπερ πηγὴν βδέλλας ἔχουσαν.
[2] Psalm l. 16.

"even though][1] there be found in their nature a facility "for receiving doctrine, are like unto wells which breed "snakes, and which, even though their flow be continual, "no man is able to drink from because of [Page 221] "the bitterness of their manners and habits. And "because of this the blessed man David asked and "entreated God to give him three things:—gracious-"ness (*or*, sweetness), knowledge, and instruction. [For "without graciousness knowledge hath no use],[2] and if "a man whose manner of life is thus correct shall "himself lift from off himself the cause of the per-"mission [from God], which is boasting, and shall take "upon himself humility, and shall recognize his true "capacity, and shall not, at the same time, exalt him-"self over any man, and shall confess (*or*, give thanks "unto) God, the witness of knowledge will return unto "him again."

"Now this is the behaviour of spiritual excellence. "For the spiritual words of a chaste mode of life do "not permit to grow up together with them the parched "spear-grasses, and ears of corn which have been smitten "by the south wind (*or*, drought), and which by reason "of their appearance make men think they are full, "whilst there is no [flour of] bread in them. Every "lapse (*or*, calamity) which taketh place, either through "the tongue, or through some feeling, or through some "action, or through the whole body, taketh place, in "proportion to the measure of a man's pride, and by "the permission of God, Who sheweth compassion upon "those who commit themselves to His Divine Providence. "For, if in addition to their skill in ordering their speech "and their keenness of nature, the Lord were also to "testify to the beauty of their words by never per-"mitting them to fall, the arrogance with which they

[1] Adding from Bedjan:—ܕܐܦ ܥܠ ܓܒ ܕܠܒܟܝܢ ܫܩܝܐ ܕܡܝ ܕܡܬܠܝܢ ܒܗ ܚܝܝܬܐ ܘܕܡܝ ܕܡܬܠܝܢ ܒܗ ܡܘܠܕ ܐܝܟ ܒܐܪ̈ܝ̈ ܕܡ̈ܝ ܕܐܦ ܥܠ ܓܒ ܕܬܕܝܪ ܢܓܪ̈ܝ̈ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܐܢܫ ܡܢ ܡ̈ܝ ܕܡ̈ܪ̈ܝ̈ ܡ̈ܢ ܒܗ ܡ̈ܢ ܓܒ ܡ̈ܪ̈ܝ̈ ܕܐ̈ܘ̈ܪ̈ܚ̈ܘ̈ܗ̈ܝ̈ ܘܕܐ̈ܘ̈ܠ̈ܦ̈ܢ̈ܘ̈ܬ̈ܗ̈ܝ̈ ܘܥܠ ܕܐ̈ܢ̈ܝ̈ ܕܡ̈ܢ ܗ̈ܕ̈ܐ ܐ̈ܫ̈ܬ̈ܐ̈ܠ̈ ܓ̈ܒ̈ܪ̈ܐ̈ ܕ̈ܕ̈ܘ̈ܝ̈ܕ̈ ܩ̈ܕ̈ܝ̈ܫ̈ܐ̈ ܬ̈ܠ̈ܬ̈ܐ̈ ܡ̈ܠ̈ܝ̈ܐ̈ ܢ̈ܚ̈ܬ̈ܐ̈ ܘܝ̈ܕ̈ܥ̈ܬ̈ܐ̈ ܘܡ̈ܠ̈ܦ̈ܢ̈ܘ̈ܬ̈ܐ̈ ܕ̈ܡ̈ܢ ܕ̈ܠ̈ܐ ܢ̈ܚ̈ܬ̈ܐ̈ ܠ̈ܐ ܝ̈ܕ̈ܥ̈ܬ̈ܐ̈ ܡ̈ܫ̈ܬ̈ܟ̈ܚ̈ ܬ̈ܘ̈ܒ̈ܬ̈ܐ̈ ܐ̈ܝ̈ܬ̈ܝ̈ ܠ̈ܗ̈ ܠ̈ܐ̈ ܡ̈ܢ̈ ܕ̈ܡ̈ܢ̈ ܕ̈ܠ̈ܐ ܢ̈ܚ̈ܬ̈ܐ̈ ܠ̈ܐ ܡ̈ܫ̈ܬ̈ܟ̈ܚ̈ ܐ̈ܢ̈ܫ̈ ܡ̈ܢ̈ ܡ̈ܝ̈ ܕ̈ܡ̈ܪ̈ܝ̈ ܡ̈ܢ̈ ܒ̈ܗ̈ ܡ̈ܢ̈ ܓ̈ܒ̈ ܡ̈ܪ̈ܝ̈ ܕ̈ܐ̈ܘ̈ܪ̈ܚ̈ܘ̈ܗ̈ܝ̈ ܘܕ̈ܐ̈ܘ̈ܠ̈ܦ̈ܢ̈ܘ̈ܬ̈ܗ̈ܝ̈ ܘܥ̈ܠ̈ ܕ̈ܐ̈ܢ̈ܝ̈ ܕ̈ܡ̈ܢ̈

"would exalt themselves in impurity would probably "surpass that of the devils."

And the following also did these men of the house of ABBÂ PAPHNUTIUS say unto us:—"When thou seest "evil deeds and acts, that is to say, the conversation "of him who leadeth an evil life, [and knowest] that "they are fair and exceedingly plausible,[1] remember "the Devil who, [as we learn] from the Holy Scriptures, "spake with Christ,[2] and also the testimony which saith, "'Now the serpent was the most subtle[3] of all the "'serpents which were on the earth,' and that it was "by reason of his subtlety that destruction came upon "him, because he possessed no other quality of ex- "cellence which attached itself closely to his cunning. "For it is meet that the believing man who feareth "God should ponder upon that which God giveth "unto him. And let him speak that which he medi- "teteth, and let him [Page 222] do that which he "speaketh. For if to the asseveration of words there- "be not attached a brotherhood in acts and deeds, it "is bread without salt, which cannot be eaten, lest "[digestion[4] be disturbed, even as the blessed man JOB "said, 'Can the thing which is insipid be eaten without "'salt? Or, is there any taste in the juice of the ox- "'tongue plant?'[5] Even thus polished words possess no "savour whatsoever unless they be made complete by "works.

[1] Literally, "perfect in entreaty."
[2] St. Matthew IV. 3ff. [3] Genesis III. 1.
[4] The text within brackets [] on pp. 270-274 is supplied from Bedjan's edition:—

ܕܟܝ ܒܟܠܝܠ ܒܣܡܐ ܣܡܘܟܝ ܀ ܐܝܟ ܕܢܫܬܕ ܠܚܡܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܠܚ ܀ ܕܟܡܐ
ܡܐܟܠ ܦܓܪܐ ܕܟܝ ܡܠܚ ؟ ܐܘ ܐܝܬ ܒܥܡܐ ܕܬܒܥܐ ܕܣܟܠܐ ؟
ܒܪܝܟ ܐܦ ܟܝ ܡܟ ܣܒܟܝ ܒܬܢ ܒܥܡܐ ܀ ܐ ܗܝ ܕܟܝ ܣܒܪܝܟ
ܣܡܘܟܐ ܕܒܟܟܐ. ܘܗ ܗܝܟ ܕܡܥܒܕܝܢܐ ܐܝܬ ܡܢ ܡܠܟ

[5] Job VI. 6.

"Now therefore there is one kind of permission which "hideth spiritual excellence in order that it may be "revealed, as, for example, that of JOB concerning which "God made known when He said unto him,[1] 'Blame "'not My judgment, and think not that I have done "'these things unto thee for any other reason than that "'it might be known that thou art righteous. Thou "'wast known unto Me because I see secret things, but "'thou wast not revealed unto the children of men, "'because they thought that thou didst care exceed-"'ingly for riches that thou mightest make perfect My "'pleasure; it was for this reason that I brought upon "'thee the trial of stripping thee of thy riches so that "'I might shew them thy gratitude towards Me, and "'thy patient endurance.'

"And there is another kind of permission [which "God giveth] in order to drive out pride (*or*, arrogance), "as in the case of PAUL, for the blessed PAUL was

ܕܡܟܒܢ ܡܒܗܕܗ ܕܒܗܒܟܝ ܐܝܟ ܕܐ ܕܢܒܒ ܕܐܡܕ ܕܟܝ
ܢܟܐ ܒܝ ܢܒܕ ܒܗ ܟܟ ܒܗܒܢܟ ܕܒܒ ܟܟ ܒܗܒܕ
ܒܟ ܕܒܗܒܟ ܒܕܒ ܣܒܢ ܗܢܢܗ ܟܐ ܟܟ ܒܗܒܢ
ܕܒܒ ܢܟ ܒܟ ܡܟ ܢܒܕ ܒܐ ܗܒ ܕܢܒܗ ܢܟ ܒܗܒܟ
ܕܟܒܢ ܢܢ ܟܟ ܒܟ ܐ ܒܐ ܗܒ ܕܒܗ ܒܗܒܟ
ܗܒܢ ܢܟ ܐ ܒܟ ܒܗ ܢܒ ܗܒ ܢܢ ܗܒ ܢܟ ܒܗ
ܗܒ ܒ ܗ ܒ ܗ ܒ ܗ

"permitted by means of distractions and a goad, and "he fell into divers tribulations, and he said, 'There "'hath been given to me a goad in my flesh, a mes-"'senger of Satan,[1] to buffet me so that I may not be "'[unduly] exalted,' lest through the superfluity of the "revelations, and signs, and gratifications [of the spirit], "and prosperity, and honours which were found with "him, he might become lax and fall into arrogance. "And the paralytic was permitted because of sin, even "according to what our Redeemer said unto him, "'Behold, thou art whole; sin no more.'[2] And JUDAS "was permitted because he held money[3] in greater "esteem than life, and because of this he hanged "himself. And ESAU[4] was permitted, and he fell into "filthy desire because he honoured the dung of the "bowels more than the divine birthright. Therefore, "because the blessed PAUL understood all these things, "did he say concerning men, 'Because they have not

ܒܗܕܐ. ܕܒܟܠܗ ܓܡ ܚܒܫܐ ܕܒܟܬܒ ܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܒܫ
ܒܚܙܘܬܐ: ܡܛܠ ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܣܟܠ ܒܦܓܪܗ ܡܠܐܟ ܣܛܢܐ ܕܢܣܦܩ
ܢܬܪܘܡ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܪܡ. ܒܗܕܐ ܡܬܬܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܠܗ ܒܟܠ ܫܒܝܠ: ܐܦ ܓܒ ܕܒܥܐ
ܟܕ ܩܕܘܫ: ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܫܒܩ ܐܬܐ ܗܘ ܟܕ ܚܣܝܢ. ܒܗܕܐ ܒܣܘܡ
ܒܟܠ ܕܒܥܐ ܟܣܦܐ ܡܢ ܢܦܫ: ܡܫܟܚ ܓܢ ܥܠ ܐܝ ܒܗܕܐ. ܒܗܕܐ
ܒܗ ܗܘ ܒܥܠ ܟܣܘܬܐ: ܕܒܕܒܪ ܕܠܒܟܐ ܕܪܥܬ ܡܢ ܚܘܒܬܐ
ܒܫܬܝܩܐ. ܐܦ ܓܒ ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܣܟܠ ܒܦܓܪܗ ܩܕܡ ܕܢܣܦܩ
ܒܟܠ ܓܒܪ ܒܟܠ ܙܒܢ: ܡܫܟܚ ܒܟܠ ܙܒܢ ܒܢܟܣܘܬ ܕܒܪܗ
ܕܢܟܬܒ: ܒܗܕܐ ܒܢܐ ܢܟܬܒ ܟܬܒܬܐ ܕܗܢܘܢܐ: ܕܒܫܘܒܚܐ ܟܬܒ
ܒܟܠ ܓܒܪ ܟܠ ܙܒܢ. ܡܫܟܚ ܕܒ ܢܟܬܒ ܢܣܬܐ: ܕܗܘܬ ܗܘ ܕܒܥܐ

[1] 2 Corinthians XII. 7.
[2] St. John V. 14.
[3] St. Matthew XXVII. 5.
[4] Genesis XXV. 25.

"'decided within themselves that they will know God,
"'He hath delivered them over unto an empty under-
"'standing so that they may work that which is un-
"'seemly.'[1] And concerning other men who think that the
"knowledge of God is in them together with the corrupt
"mind which they possess, he said, 'Because they have
"'known God, and have not praised Him as God, and
"'given thanks unto Him, He hath delivered them
"'over unto the passions of disgrace.'"

Therefore from these things it is meet that we should know that it is impossible for a man to stumble and fall into filthy desire without the permission of the Providence of God.

CHAPTER LII[A].

Of the blessed man Solomon.

Now I went about in Antinoë of the Thebaïd for a period of four years, and I learned concerning the whole of the system of the religious houses which

[1] Romans I. 27.

were there; for there dwelt by the side of the city about twelve hundred men, who worked with their hands, and who lived the life of spiritual excellence. Among these there were a number of solitary monks who shut themselves up in caves, and among them was one who was called SOLOMON; he was a chaste and humble man, and unto him was given the gift of patient endurance. He used to say that he had passed fifty years in the cave, during which time he had fed himself by means of his labour, and he could repeat the Scriptures by heart.

CHAPTER LII[B].

OF DOROTHEOS THE PRIEST.

And there was DOROTHEOS, a priest, who used to live in a cave, and he possessed more goodness than very many men, and led a spiritual life of high excellence]; now he had been held to be worthy of consecration to the priesthood, and he performed the offices thereof for the brethren who dwelt in the caves. Unto this blessed man, Melania the Less, the kinswoman

ܡܫܝܚ ܕܥܡܗ ܕܡܪܝ ܐܠܗܐ. ܕܗܘ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܫܪܝܪܐ ܕܒܥܠ ܣܓܝ ܛܒ̈ܐ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ: ܘܒܟܠ ܙܒܢ ܕܗܘ ܒܥܐ ܠܡܗܘܐ ܒܚܕ̈ܐ ܘܠܐ ܐܫܟܚ ܠܗ ܒܥܠ ܡܠܬܐ: ܐܠܐ

of Melania the Great, concerning whom we are about to speak later, sent five hundred darics and begged him to spend them on behalf of the brethren [who were there]; but he only took three of them, and then sent the remainder to the wandering monk Diocles, a man of knowledge and understanding, saying, "O our "brother Diocles, thou art wiser than I am; I am not "equal [to spending these];" and having taken them Diocles was able to spend them wisely on those whom he knew of a certainty to be in want.

CHAPTER LIII.

Of Diocles.

This man Diocles was originally [one] of those who were greatly skilled in grammar, but afterwards he became learned in philosophy. And having arrived at the period of the twenty-eighth year of his life, he was called by the Grace of God, and he departed and removed himself from the house of instruction, and delivered himself over to the promise of Christ; and having dwelt in caves for the space of thirty-five years, he said unto us, "The mind which removeth itself "from the meditation of God" [falleth into lust].[1] Now he used to say that lust was that of a savage, animal, and bestial character, [for he said unto us, "The mind "which falleth away from the meditation of God be-"cometh either a devil or a beast"];[2] and we asked him to explain this saying unto us, and he did so, and said, "The mind which maketh itself to be remote "from the contemplation of God must, perforce, be de-"livered [Page 223] over either to the devil of lust,

[1] Adding ܢܦܠ ܒܚܫܘܩ.

[2] ܕܐܡܪ ܠܢ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܗܘ ܕܦܫ ܡܢ ܗܓܝܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܕܗܘܐ ܒܗܡܐ ܐܘ ܒܚܝܘܬܐ.

"who leadeth [it] into lasciviousness, or to the evil "devil of wrath, wherefrom are produced the animal "passions." And he said, "The feeling of lasciviousness "is a bestial thing, but the feeling of wrath appertaineth "to the devil." And making answer I said unto him, "How is it possible for the human mind to be with "God continually and uninterruptedly?" And he said, "The mind of that soul which liveth in the thought "or deed of the fear of God, no matter what it may "be, is with God."

CHAPTER LIV.

Of the blessed man Ḳâpîṭôn (Capiton).

Now by the side of this man there used to dwell Capiton, a man who had been formerly a thief, and he had lived in holes in the rocks for fifty years, [at a place] which was about four miles from Antinoë; he never went down from his cave, not even to the river Nile, for he used to say that he was unable to meet in the congregation of the children of men him that still fought with him, namely, his Adversary.

CHAPTER LV.

Of the monk who fell.

And by the side of these blessed men I saw a man who also had made himself remote from the world, and he dwelt in holes in the rocks even as did they; now this man was mocked at by the devil of vain glory, and by the visions which he saw, and he was deluded (*or*, snared) by things which appeared to

approach him and then wandered away. And he was lacking in mind, even as it is written, "Being exalted "in his dreams he pastureth spirits and pursueth after "a shadow;" now he was chaste in his body, perhaps owing to the length [of his years], or perhaps through vain glory, yet through the matters of spiritual excellence he destroyed his understanding [Page 224], and he was corrupted by empty and polluted glory, and because of this he departed from the straight road of the ascetic life.

CHAPTER LVI.

Of the blessed man Ephraim, the deacon of the Church of Edessa.

A certain man among the holy Fathers saw in a dream the company of the holy angels who came down from heaven by the commandment of God, and one of them held in his hand a roll which was written on the inside and on the outside; and the angels said unto each other, "Who is fit to be entrusted with this "thing?" Then some of them mentioned one man and others another, and others answered and said, "Verily "these [whom ye mention] are holy and righteous, but "they are not sufficiently [so] to be entrusted with this "thing." And having reckoned up many names of Saints, they finally said, "No man is fit to be entrusted "with this thing except Ephraim;" and then they gave the roll to him. And when he had stood up in the morning, he heard that they were saying, "Behold, "Ephraim teacheth, and [his words] flow from his mouth "like [water from] a fountain;" then the old man who had seen the vision knew within himself that the things which were proceeding from his lips were of the Holy Spirit.

Now therefore this EPHRAIM, who was [one] of those who had been held to be worthy of mention by the saints, travelled along the spiritual road nobly and straightly, turning neither to one side nor the other of the straight path; and he was held to be worthy of the gift of the knowledge which he possessed naturally, and subsequently he received the knowledge which enabled him to utter divine things, and perfect blessedness. Thus he lived throughout the period of a certain number of years a life of chastity, and stern asceticism, and contemplation, and he edified all those who thronged to visit him, each according to his peculiar needs; and finally he compelled himself to go forth from his cell for the following reason, namely, a mighty famine lay over the city of Edessa. For having compassion on the creatures of the human race [Page 225] which was perishing and being destroyed, he spake unto those who were heaping up grain in the store houses, for he saw that they were wholly without compassion, saying, "How long will ye refuse to bring into your memories "the loving-kindness of God? How long will ye "allow your wealth, which is corruptible, to be the "means of the accusation and condemnation of your "souls?" Then they took counsel, and said unto him, "There is no man whatsoever whom we can trust to "relieve the wants of those who are dying of hunger; "for all the people are crafty and they act in a lying "fashion concerning affairs" [of this kind]. Then EPHRAIM said unto them, "What manner of man do ye "imagine that I am?" Now his character was held in the highest esteem by every man [in the city], and every man knew that he acted according to the truth and not falsehood. And the people said unto him, "O man, we know that thou art God;" and he said unto them, "Put your trust in me, then, and give me "[the means of relieving] this distress, for behold, for "your sakes, I will set myself apart to become the "keeper of a house for receiving strangers." And he

took money, and he began to fence off in the streets places which were suitable for his purpose, and he provided with great care three hundred beds, some of which were intended for use in the burial of those who were dying, and others were intended for those who, it was thought, would live; and, in short, he brought in from the villages which were outside the city all those whom famine had stricken, and put them to bed, and every day he performed for them with the greatest possible solicitude the constant service of which they were in need, [paying for the same] with the money which came to him, and he rejoiced by means of those who supported him in the matter.

And it came to pass that, when that year of famine had been fulfilled, and there arrived after it a year of abundance, and every man departed to his house, inasmuch as he had nothing else to do he went into his cell; and after a period of one month he brought his life to a close, God having given him the opportunity whereby he might be crowned at the end of his life. Now he left behind him many books, and writings of various kinds, which were worthy of being preserved with the greatest care. It is said [Page 226] concerning him that when he was a youth he saw a dream, that is to say a vision, wherein a vine grew up out of his tongue, and it increased in size, and filled the whole of the space which was beneath the heavens, and was laden with grape-clusters in rich abundance; and all the feathered fowl of the heavens came and ate of the food thereof, and all the time they were eating the grape-clusters were increasing both in numbers and in size.

CHAPTER LVII.

Of Innocent the priest.

Concerning the matters of the blessed priest Innocent, who [lived] in the Mount of Olives, I think that thou must have heard from many people, but thou mayest also learn from us not a few things, for we lived with him for a period of three years. Now therefore this man was exceedingly simple, and he was [one] of the nobles of the palace in the kingdom of the Emperor Constantine; he withdrew himself from the partnership of marriage, but he had a son whose name was Paule, who served in the household [of the Emperor]; and this son was caught in a transgression with the daughter of a certain priest, and Innocent was exceedingly wroth with him. Then Innocent made entreaty unto God, saying, "O our Lord, give thou unto him "such a spirit that he will not be able to find time to "sin in the lust of the body," for he thought that it would be better and more excellent in every way for his son to be delivered over to a devil rather than to fornication. And this actually came to pass to the youth, and he liveth to this day in the Mount of Olives loaded with irons, and admonished by a devil. Now this man Innocent, the father of Paule, because he was of a most merciful disposition—though if I were to tell [the whole truth] I should say that he appeared to me to be lacking in sense—on very many occasions stole [things] and hid them from the brethren, and gave them unto those who were in want; but he was a simple man and had no wickedness in him; and he was held to be worthy of the gift [Page 227] [of the possession of power] over devils.

For a certain maiden, in whom was a devil, came unto him, [and[1] whilst we were looking at her the

[1] Adding, ܘܗܘ ܡܕܡܥܪܒ ܥܡܢ ܣܓܝ̈ܐ ܒܥܝܢ ܕܚܙܝܢ ܐܢܚܢ ܒܗ.

devil smote her, and threw her down upon the ground] and made her body to writhe and twist about; and when I saw [this] I wished to dismiss that maiden in order that she might go to her mother, because, on account of the cruelty (*or*, violence) of that devil, I thought that she could never be healed. And whilst I was pondering those things the old man INNOCENT came, and he saw her mother standing, and weeping, and tearing her face with her nails, and plucking out her hair, because of the great madness, and the gnashing of the teeth, and the contortions of her daughter. When, therefore, that blessed old man saw her his mercy revealed itself because he was grieved on account of her tribulation, and he took the maiden, and went into his martyrium, which he himself had built, and wherein was preserved a blessed [relic] of Saint JOHN THE BAPTIST, and having prayed there and made supplication unto God from the third unto the ninth hour, he gave the maiden [back] to her mother, and she was healed on [that] day, and he drove away from her the devil and [his] struggles [with her]. Now the strugglings and contortions of the maiden were such that when she spat, she spat upon her side [instead of away from her]; to this extent was her body twisted.

And again, a certain old woman lost a sheep, and she came to him weeping [about it], and he took her, and said unto her, Shew me the place where thou didst lose it; and they came, therefore, to a place which was near the grave of LAZARUS, where he stood up and prayed. Now certain boys had stolen the sheep and had already killed it. And INNOCENT having prayed, and the boys being unwilling to confess that the flesh of the sheep was buried in a vineyard, a raven suddenly appeared, though wherefrom no man knoweth, which had taken a piece of flesh from the carcase, and stood over the place where it was; and when the old man saw this he perceived that the sheep was buried there. Then [Page 228] those boys fell down and did

homage to him, and they confessed that they had taken the sheep, and paid the price thereof to its mistress.

CHAPTER LVIII.

Of the blessed Elpidius.

In those caves which, in ancient times, certain men had hewn out of the rock in the valley of the river near Jericho, wherein those who had fled from before Joshua, the son of Nun, had gone up and hidden themselves, there dwelt Elpidius; now he was a Cappadocian, who had been converted in the monastery of Timothy the Chorepiskopos, and he was a wonderful man and was also held to be worthy of consecration to the priesthood. And he came and dwelt in one of these caves, and he shewed such patient persistence in his self-abnegation, that he surpassed and eclipsed many [thereby]; for he followed for five and twenty years his rule of life, and during that time he only ate food on the Sabbath day, and on the First Day of the week, and he dwelt like the chief and the king of the bees among the cells of the whole brotherhood. And he used to rise up continually during the night and pray; and I myself also dwelt with him. And he made that mountain to be so peaceful and to contain so many inhabitants that it resembled a city, and during the night season a man might see the various works, and the labours of all kinds which appertain to the ascetic life, being performed there. One night, when this man Elpidius was reciting the service, now we were with him, a scorpion stung him, and he crushed the insect, without either leaving the place where he was or being in any way moved as a man usually is when he is suffering from the sting of a scorpion. And one day as he was holding in his

hand a vine branch, a certain brother took it away from him; and as he was sitting by the side of the mountain, he dug a hole and pushed the vine branch into it, like a man who is planting [vines]; and although it was not the time for planting, the vine-branch sprouted, and grew very large, and spread its branches abroad until it covered the whole church. Now the name of that brother was AENESIUS, a wonderful man [Page 229].

CHAPTER LIX.

OF THE BLESSED MAN EUSTATHIUS.

EUSTATHIUS was a brother of the ELPIDIUS whom [we have mentioned] above, and this man followed so strenuously after the acquisition of impassibility, and made his body so dry (*i. e.*, emaciated) by the labours of vigilant prayer, that the [light of] the sun could be seen between his ribs. And of him the following story is told by the brethren who were continually with him, that is to say, by his disciples:—He never turned himself towards the west, because close by the side of the door of his cave[1] was a mountain which, because of its mighty bulk, was very hard [to ascend]; and he never looked at the sun after the sixth hour of the day, because the door of his cell was hidden by the shadow of the mountain so long as the sun was declining towards its place of setting. And moreover, he could never see those stars which appear in the western part of the sky, and for five and twenty years from the time when he entered the cave wherein he dwelt he never went down from the mountain.

[1] Add ܘܠܐ ܚܙܐ ܟܘܟܒ̈ܐ ܕܒܡܕܝܢ̈ܚ ܡܥܪܒܝܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ. ܘܠܡ̈ܛܠ ܕܚܡ̈ܫ ܥܣܪ̈ܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܡܢ ܙܒܢܐ ܕܥܠ ܒܝܬ ܡܫܟܢܗ ܥܠ ܐܬܪ ܗܘ ܕܝܬܒ ܒܗ ܠܐ ܢܚܬ ܡܢ ܛܘܪܐ.

CHAPTER LX.

Of the blessed man Sisinnius.

Now this holy man Elpidius had a certain disciple whose name was Sisinnius, who was a slave by birth, though a free man in the faith; by race he was a Cappadocian, and it is necessary that we should make known the fact that he was so, for the sake of the glorifying of Christ Who hath made us worthy to be accounted His kinsmen, and to be exalted to that true family, which is full of happiness, of the kingdom of heaven. Now therefore, when this man Sisinnius had passed some time with Elpidius, and had struggled to lead the ascetic life strenuously for a period of six or seven years, he at length shut himself up in a grave for three years, and he endured such privations therein that neither by day nor by night did he sit or lie down, and he never went out therefrom. And this man was held to be worthy of possessing the gift of authority over devils, and now that he hath come into his own country he hath been held to be worthy of the gift [Page 230] of the priesthood; and he hath made congregations of men and of women, which, according to a sure testimony, lead lives of purity and chastity. He hath trampled upon the lust which is in men, and he hath bridled the voluptuousness of the women, so that there hath been fulfilled that which is written, "In Christ Jesus there is neither male nor "female."[1] And he was also a great lover of strangers and of voluntary poverty, which was a reproach unto those who were rich and miserly.

[1] Galatians III. 28.

CHAPTER LXI.

Of the blessed Gaddâi (Gaddanus), the Palestinian.

And I saw a certain old man whose name was Gaddâi, who lived without a shelter all his days in the places which were by the side of the Jordan. On one occasion the Jews rose up against him in fierce hatred (*or*, zeal) by the side of the Dead Sea, and they drew the sword against him, and one of them took up a weapon to smite him, when the following great and wonderful thing was wrought upon the man who dared to lift up a sword against the blessed man:—the hand of the man who had drawn the sword withered immediately, and the sword itself fell upon the ground.

CHAPTER LXII.

Of the blessed man Elijah.

And there was in this place a solitary monk called Elijah who used to dwell in a cave, and he passed his life in performing the works of spiritual excellence, and was worthy of praise. One day, when a great many of the brethren thronged to him—now his [dwelling-place] was a cave[1]—he lacked bread, and he made apologies [to us] because he was troubled on account of the insufficiency of the bread. Now therefore, when the brethren went into his cell they found three loaves of bread, and when twenty men had eaten and were satisfied, there still remained one loaf which, one said, satisfied him for five and twenty days [Page 231].

[1] Bedjan's reading is مَبْحَفَةٌ.

CHAPTER LXIII.

Of Sâbhâṭ [Sabas] the layman[1] of Jericho.

And there was a certain layman from Jericho whose name was Sâbhâṭ [Sabas], and he had a wife, and this man loved the monks so much that during the night season he used to go round about in the desert and pass by the cells of the solitary dwellers therein, and outside the cell and habitation of each one of them he would set down a bushel of dates and vegetables, which would be sufficient for his wants, for the monks who lived by the side of the Jordan did not eat bread, and thus this man Sâbhâṭ supplied the wants of the monks. One day as he was carrying along a load [of food] for the usual needs of the monks, through the operation of the Evil One, who is the Adversary of the monks, a lion met him, which terrified him, and wished to make him to cease from his ministrations to those holy men, and schemed to prevent him from performing his benevolent intent for their comfort. And the lion having overtaken him about a mile from the place where the monks were, and having seized him by his hand in order to turn him aside from his business, He, Who by the hand of Daniel shut the mouth[s] of the lions, shut the mouth of this lion also, and the beast did this lover of alms no harm whatsoever; and although the lion was exceedingly hungry he only took a very little of the things which Sâbhâṭ was carrying for the old men, and then he departed. And it is manifest that He Who gave this man his life also satisfied the hunger of the lion.

[1] Literally, "son of the world", *i. e.*, a man who had not adopted the ascetic life.

CHAPTER LXIV.

Of the blessed man Serapion of the Girdle.

And again there was a certain blessed man whose name was Serapion, and who was called "Serapion of "the girdle," because during his whole life he neither put on nor was clothed with anything except the girdle wherewith he was girt about; and he [Page 232] led a life of the strictest self-denial and poverty. And though he was a wholly unlearned man he could repeat all the Scriptures by heart. And by reason of the greatness of his self-denial and the repetition of the Scriptures he was unable to live in a cell, because he could not make use of anything which belonged to [this] world; but he went round about at all seasons and taught the multitudes, and he sold himself voluntarily, and he preached, and taught, and turned many people unto God. And this form of self-denial was of his own choosing, and [it was by such means as this that he made] his preparation [for heaven]; now there are very many ways of leading a stern life of self-denial. And many of the venerable fathers relate concerning him that on one occasion he took a fellow monk, who sold him to some comic actors for twenty *dînârs* in a city of the heathen, and having received these *dînârs* he tied them up [in a bag] and sealed them, and kept them carefully; and then he became subject to and ministered in all humility to those actors who had bought him until he had taught them and made them Christians, and had freed them from following the business of the theatre. [And[1] he never ate anything except dry bread and water,] and his mouth never once ceased from uttering [the words of] the Scriptures.

[1] Add: حذ صدم نسقس كذ لحنط ٦٥٥. ١كذ ؛ كسعذ محمد ٥٥٤ :

Now the man [who was the master of the actors] was the first to become converted and enlightened by the word of God, and the next was his wife, and finally their whole house was converted. During the first years after the actors had bought him, and when they did not know who he was, he used to wash their feet with his hands, and having taught them and baptized them he made them to be remote from their occupation in the theatre, and they led a God-fearing life in all righteousness; and they held him in reverence, and honoured him, and marvelled at his radiant life. Finally they said unto him, "Come, O our brother, we "will set thee free from this servitude, even as thou "hast set us free from the slavery of heathenism." Then he answered and said unto them, "Since God "hath helped [me], and your souls have been set free "and they have life, I will tell you my story (*or*, thing) "and my contending. I undertook this kind of work "in order that [Page 233] your souls might have life. "By race I am an Egyptian, and a free man [but] "I am a monk [vowed] to self-denial and poverty, and "for the sake of our Lord I sold myself to you in "order that your souls might be set free from the im- "purity of this world; since now our Lord hath worked "through my meekness, and your souls live, take your "gold and I will go to another place, so that I may "be able to benefit others also." And they begged and entreated him, saying, "Remain with us, and thou "shalt be unto us a father, and a master, and a director;" but he would not hearken unto their entreaty. And again they answered and said unto him, "Give the "gold to the poor, and let it be a pledge of life for "us; and we entreat thee to see us if it be only once "a year."

Then, this man having gone round about came to HELLAS, and stayed in ATHENS three days, and no man gave him a morsel of bread; now he carried nothing with him, neither purse, nor wallet, nor head-cloak,

nor anything whatsoever. And when the fourth day had come, he waxed exceedingly hungry, and he went and stood up upon a certain high place where all the free men of the city were gathered together, and he began to clap his hands, and to cry out with a loud voice, saying, "O men of Athens, send [help]."[1] And at [the sound of] his voice they all marvelled, and the free men and the soldiers ran to him, and said unto him, "What aileth thee? Whence comest thou? What "hath happened unto thee?" Then he answered and said unto them, "By race I am an Egyptian, and being "a long way from my true country I have fallen into "the hands of three creditors; now two of these have "departed from me having taken that which was theirs, "and now they have no debt against me about which "to chide me, but the third will not leave me." And the philosophers made enquiries of him who these creditors were, and they said unto him, "Shew us "who thy creditors are, and who it is [Page 234] that "is afflicting thee, and we will entreat them [to desist]; "shew us who they are so that we may help thee." And he answered and said unto them, "From my "youth up the love of money, and fornication, and the "appetite of the belly have oppressed me; from the "first two of these, that is, the love of money and "fornication, I have been freed, and they no longer "oppress me, but I am wholly unable to set myself "free from the appetite of the belly. Behold, it is "now the fourth day since I have eaten anything and "the belly constraineth me, for it demandeth that which "is its usual debt, and unless this debt [be paid] I shall "not be able to live." Then certain of the philosophers thought that he had schemed this crafty device in order that he might gain some benefit, and one of them took a *dînâr* and gave it unto him, and having taken it he spent [part of] it in buying bread in their presence;

[1] Bedjan has ܒܚܕܘ.

and he took one [loaf of] bread, and straightway departed from the city and did not come back to it again. Thus the philosophers knew that he was indeed a wonderful man, and they paid the price of the loaf of bread which he had taken, and received back the *dînâr*.

And having departed to another city he heard there concerning a certain other man, who was the chief of the whole city, and who was a Manichaean, with all his house, and who had several associates [in the city]. Then the monk, according to his former plan, sold himself to this Manichaean, and in two years he was able to turn this man and his wife [from their error], and to bring them into the Catholic Church; and after they had learned who he was, they never again regarded him as a slave, but they honoured him as a father, and as a master, and they ascribed praise unto God.

And on another occasion he determined to go to Rome, and he embarked in a ship which was going thither[1] that he might go with them (*i. e.*, with the sailors). Now when the sailors of the ship saw that he boldly embarked in the ship carrying nothing with him, neither bread, nor anything [else], nor provisions for the journey, they thought that one of their number must have taken his baggage and placed it in the ship, and because of this thought [Page 235] they received him unquestioningly. And having embarked, when the sailors had sailed from Alexandria [a distance of] about five hundred stadia, each one of those who were sitting in the ship began at the time of sunset to eat, and the sailors also ate in their presence; and they observed that the monk did not eat on the first day, and thought that [he did not do so] because of sea-sickness, and thus also was it on the second day, and on the third day, and on the fourth day. Now

[1] Adding ܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܐܟܠ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ.

on the fifth day, whilst all those who were on the ship were eating their meal he sat in his place and was silent, and as they were looking at him they said, "Why dost thou not eat?" and he replied, "I have "nothing [to eat]." Then they began to make enquiries and to cry out among themselves, "Who among you "has taken his things, or his provisions for the way?" And when they saw that no man had taken anything from him [they began to] dispute with him, and to say unto him, "O man, how is it that thou hast em- "barked on the ship without provisions and money? "Where wilt thou obtain the money to give us for thy "passage?" And he said unto them, "I have thought "nothing whatsoever about it, [for] an Egyptian has "no anxious care about anything; but carry me back "whence ye took me and cast me out [if you wish]." Now even if he had given them one hundred *dînârs* they would not have been able to turn him back [to Alexandria], and he therefore remained in the ship, and they fed him until he arrived in Rome. And having come to Rome he made enquiries, and learned what monk or nun was there, and he found RÛMNÎN (*or*, DÔMNÎN), the disciple of EVAGRIUS, whose bed, after his death, cured every kind of sickness. And having seen him, and spoken with him he was greatly edified by him, for he was a man who was greatly skilled in the labours of the ascetic life, and in speech, and in knowledge, and he learned from him what monks and nuns were in Rome, in order that he might see them.

[Here some editor of Palladius remarks, "In another manuscript the following is written"]:—

And the venerable fathers relate concerning him that he once heard that there was in the city of Rome a certain nun who led a life of the strictest seclusion, who had never [Page 236] seen a man, and who used to think concerning herself that she was perfect. Then this blessed man threw himself into a ship and came to Rome, and having learned where she lived

he went and spake with the old woman who ministered unto her, and said unto her, "Get thou in and say "unto the virgin, I desire to see thee most eagerly, "because God hath sent me unto thee;" and he waited two days and then saw her. And when he saw her, he said unto her, "Sit thee down;" and she said unto him, "I will not sit down, but will depart." And he said unto her, "Whither goest thou?" and she said unto him, "To God." And he said unto her, "Art "thou living or dead?" and she said unto him, "I believe, "by God, that I am dead, for who that liveth in the "body is not able to depart [therefrom]?" And he said unto her, "If thou art dead as thou sayest, do thou "that which I do;" and she said unto him, "Tell me "what can happen, and I will do it." And again he said unto her, "To one who is dead unto the world "it is easy to do every thing except commit sin," and he further said unto her, "Come down, and get thee "out of thine house;" then she said unto him, "I have "not gone out of it for five and twenty years, why "should I go out of it now?" And he said unto her, "If thou art indeed dead unto the world, and the world "is dead unto thee, it is the same thing unto thee "whether thou goest forth or dost not go forth; come, "get thee out." And she went out.

And after she had gone forth she followed him[1] to a certain church, and he said unto her in the church, "If thou wishest me to believe that thou art dead to "the world and art not alive, in order that thou mayest "be pleasing[2] unto the children of men, do what I do, "and then I will believe thee and I shall know that "thou art a dead woman, even as thou sayest." And she said unto him, "Tell me what it is meet for me "to do, and I will do it;" then he said unto her, "Cast "off thy garments, and put [them] on thy head, and

[1] The better reading is ܕܐܙܠ ܒܬܪܗ.

[2] Reading, with Bedjan ܕܢܗܘܐ.

"walk through the midst of the city, and I will do "likewise and [will go] in front of thee in this [Page 237] guise." And the nun said unto him, "I should "offend many folk by such a remarkable act as this, "and then they would say, 'This woman hath gone "'mad, and hath a devil'." And he said unto her, "What need hast thou to consider [their words] even "if they should say, 'She hath gone mad, and hath a "'devil'? For, according to what thou thyself sayest, "thou art a dead woman unto them." And the nun said unto him, "If there be any other thing [except "this] tell me, for I cannot come to such a measure of "disgrace as this." Then he said unto her, "Do not "imagine in thy mind that thou art more perfect than "anyone else, or that thou art dead to the world; for "I am far more dead to the world than thou art, and "I can shew thee that I am indeed so, and that I can "boldly do this thing without [feeling] shame or dis-"grace." Then having broken her spirit and humbled her pride, he departed from her. And there were many things of the same kind which this same SERAPION did in the world, for he despised both worldly shame and the glory which passed away; he died at the age of sixty years, and was buried at a good old age, being adorned with all virtues.

[CHAPTER LXV.]

THE TRIUMPH OF THE BLESSED MAN EULOGIUS, WHO MINISTERED UNTO THE ARIAN, WHOSE BODY WAS DESTROYED FOR THE SAKE OF CHRIST.

[The following story] was related unto me by CRONIUS, the priest of Nitria, [who said]:—When I was a young man I abhorred the monastery, and I fled from it, and from the head of the monastery

who was my instructor, and having lost my way and gone round about, I came unto the Monastery of MÂR ANTÔNÎS (ANTHONY); now he used to dwell between the mountains of Babhlônâ and Bĕharḳâlâ,[1] in a parched desert which led to the Red Sea, about thirty miles from the river [Nile], and I was there in that monastery wherein dwelt those disciples of his who buried him when he died, now their names were MÂḲÂRÎS (MACARIUS) and AMAHṬÊÔS (AMATUS), in a place which was called Espîr. And I remained there for five days, so that I might be able to see the blessed ANTHONY, for they used to say that he was in the habit of coming [Page 238] to this monastery from the Inner Desert once every five, or ten, or twenty days, according as God directed and brought him, to give help unto the souls who thronged into his monastery, and who awaited him there, in order that they might be relieved by him. And the brethren also were assembled there and waited for him also, each one of them having his own individual matter [to lay before him]. Now among them was a certain man from Alexandria, whose name was EULOGIUS, and with him was another man, an Arian, whose body was destroyed,[2] and they had come because of this matter. And this man EULOGIUS was a scholastic, and he was the most educated of all the learned men [of this time], but the love of the living God had suddenly come into his mind, and he made himself to be remote from the world, and he distributed all the money which he had among the poor, and he left himself only a small sum which was just sufficient for his bodily needs, for he was unable to work or to enter into a monastery with many monks in it, and besides this lassitude was contending with him, and he sought a little companionship.

[1] *I. e.*, he dwelt in the mountains between Babylon and Herakleia.

[2] *I. e.*, he was a leper.

Now [he went forth] seeking to buy something which he wanted in the city, and he found in the market a certain man who was an Arian, and whose whole body was destroyed; he had neither hands nor feet, but his tongue was sharp, and he employed it unsparingly upon every man whom he met. And when EULOGIUS had seen him, and looked at him, he lifted up his eyes and his mind towards God, and he prayed and made this covenant between himself and God, saying, "O our LORD JESUS CHRIST, in Thy Name, O "my Lord, I will take this man, who is sick in his "body, and I will relieve [his wants] all the days of "my life, so that through him my soul may live before "Thee; but I beseech Thee to give me power to en- "dure in my ministrations to him." And having prayed, he drew nigh unto the man, and said unto him, "I "beseech thee, O man, to let me take thee unto my "house and to relieve thy wants." [Page 239] And the sick man said unto him, "Why not?" Then EULOGIUS said unto him, "I will therefore bring an ass, "and carry thee off," and he promised him [saying], "I ".....;"[1] and he went and brought an ass and carried him to the place where he lived, and he took care of him with the greatest diligence. And for a period of fifteen years EULOGIUS relieved his wants with the greatest and most careful attention, and he even washed him with his own hands[2] and he did everything he could to alleviate the affliction of his sickness.

Now after fifteen years a devil began to stir in that Arian, and he began to revile EULOGIUS, and to offer resistance to him, and he cursed him and hurled after him insults and abuse, saying, "O thou runaway "[slave], who hast eaten thy lord, thou hast stolen the "riches of other folk and art spending them upon me,

[1] The text is uncomplete here.

[2] Adding, from Bedjan, ܘܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܒܝܕܘܗܝ.

"and thou thinkest to have life through me! Cast me out "into the street, for I wish to eat flesh." And EULOGIUS brought him flesh, and again he cried out, and said, "Thou wilt not persuade me [to remain here] by these "means; I wish to go forth into the street, and I desire "to see the world. By Jupiter, carry me out and cast "me where thou didst find me. If I only had hands "I would strangle myself." Now [he spake] thus through the madness of the devil which was with him.[1] Then EULOGIUS rose up and went to the neighbouring monks and said unto them, "What shall I do? for this de- "formed man hath brought me to despair. I would "set him free, only I have given [my] right hand in "covenant to God, and I am afraid [to do so]; but on "the other hand, if I do not cast him out he will bring "upon me bad nights and bitter days. What to do with "him I know not." And they said unto him, "[ANTHONY] "the Great is still alive, go to him; take the man with "thee in a ship, and go thou up to him, and carry "the man to his monastery, and wait there until he "cometh from the desert and then tell him thy business. "And whatsoever word he shall say unto thee thou "shalt perform, for God shall speak unto thee through "him." Then EULOGIUS was persuaded by them, and he placed the man in a small boat, and he carried him up to the monastery wherein were the disciples [Page 240] of ANTHONY.

And it came to pass that on the very day after EULOGIUS had arrived there that great man came from the inner desert to his disciples in the late evening, and he was clothed in [his] skin cloak. Now whensoever he came to his monastery he was in the habit of calling out to his disciple MACARIUS, and saying unto him, "O brother MACARIUS, have any brethren come "this day from anywhere?" And MACARIUS would say, "Yea." Then ANTHONY would say, "Are they Egyptians

[1] Read ⲙⲡ.

"or Jerusalemites?" Now he had given MACARIUS this sign:—"When thou seest brethren who are simple and "innocent say they are EGYPTIANS; but when thou seest "brethren who are venerable and are skilled in speak-"ing, say they are JERUSALEMITES." Therefore according to his custom ANTHONY asked MACARIUS, "Are they "Egyptian brethren or JERUSALEMITES?" and MACARIUS said, "They are neither EGYPTIANS nor JERUSALEMITES."[1] Now when MACARIUS would answer, "They are EGYP-"TIANS," ANTHONY would say unto him, "Cook them a "mess of lentiles that they may eat, and then dismiss them, and let them go in peace;" and he would say a prayer on their behalf, and would straightway send them away. And when MACARIUS would answer, "They "are JERUSALEMITES," ANTHONY would sit down the whole night, and would converse with them to the benefit of their lives.

And on that night he sat down, and called unto them all, and he discoursed without any man having told him the name of one of them, and it was dark and the night had come; and suddenly he cried out three times, thus, "EULOGIUS, EULOGIUS, EULOGIUS." And EULOGIUS the scholastic answered him never a word, because he thought that ANTHONY was calling some other person, and again ANTHONY cried out to him, "Unto thee I speak, O EULOGIUS, "who hast come from Alexandria." Then EULOGIUS said unto him, "Master, what commandest thou [me to do? "Tell me], I beseech thee." And ANTHONY said unto him, "Wherefore hast thou come?" And EULOGIUS answered and said unto him, "Let Him that hath revealed unto "thee my name declare unto thee for what purpose I "have come." Then ANTHONY said unto him, "I know "why thou hast come, nevertheless [Page 241] declare "[it] before the brethren in order that they may hear." And EULOGIUS answered and said unto him, "I found "this Arian in the street (*or*, market), and I gave the

[1] Literally, "they are a mixture."

"right hand to God (*i. e.*, made a covenant with God), "that I would minister unto him, [that] I might live "because of him, and he because of me. And behold, "I have ministered unto him for the last fifteen years, "and now, after all these years he stirreth [himself] up "against me, and causeth me tribulation, and I have "had it in my mind to cast him out; therefore I have "come unto thy holiness so that thou mayest advise "me what I should do, and that thou mayest pray on "my behalf, for I am greatly oppressed and am in sore "straits." Then ANTHONY said unto him angrily and in a hard voice, "If thou sendest him away, He Who "created him will not send him away; if thou dost cast "him out, God, Who is better and more excellent than "thou, will gather him [to Himself];" and when EULOGIUS heard these words he set a bridle on his mouth and was silent.

And having left EULOGIUS [ANTHONY] came to chastise the Arian with his tongue, and he cried out and said unto him, "O thou deformed Arian, thou art "worthy neither of heaven nor of earth. Wilt thou "not cease to contend against God? Knowest thou "not that he who ministereth unto thee is Christ? "How canst thou dare to utter these words against our "Lord? Was it not for Christ's sake that EULOGIUS "gave himself to thy service?" Then having made the man sorrowful he ceased from EULOGIUS and the Arian, and spake unto all the brethren who were there, unto every man according to his business. And he called unto Eulogius and the Arian and said unto them, "Turn ye not unto any [other] place, but depart and "separate not yourselves from one another, and return "ye to the cell wherein ye have lived so long a time, "for behold, God will send upon you [your] end. And "behold, this trial hath come upon you because the "end of both of you is nigh, and because ye are "esteemed worthy of crowns. Therefore do not ye "act in a contrary manner, and let not the angel come

"after you and not find you in your place[s], [lest ye "be deprived of your crowns"];[1] so the two of them departed and came to their cell. And in less than forty days [Page 242] EULOGIUS died, and in less than three days afterwards the Arian died. Now this ḲÛRÎNÔS (CRONIUS), who related unto us the narrative of this matter, tarried for a time in the monasteries which were in the Thebaïd, and he came down to the monasteries which were in Alexandria; and it happened that the brethren were gathered together commemorating the death of EULOGIUS after forty days, and the death of the Arian after three days.[2] And when ḲÛRÎNÔS (CRONIUS) heard he marvelled, and he took a Book of the Gospels, and set [it] down among the brotherhood, and then related what had happened; and he took an oath, and said, "In all this affair I was the "interpreter for Mâr Anthony because he did not know "Greek; but I know both languages, [and I acted as "interpreter for both sides, turning Greek into Egyptian "for EULOGIUS, and Egyptian into Greek for ANTHONY.]"[3]

HERE ENDETH THE FIRST BOOK OF THE HISTORIES OF THE HOLY FATHERS WHICH WERE COMPILED BY PALLADIUS.

[1] Adding from Bedjan ܕܠܐ ܬܫܬܟܚܘܢ ܒܗ.

[2] This appears to be the meaning of the text here.

[3] Adding ܘܐܡܪ ܒܟܠ ܗܢܐ ܥܢܝܢܐ ܐܢܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܡܬܪܓܡܢ ܠܐܦܛܝ ܡܢ ܝܘܢܝܐ ܠܡܨܪܝܐ ܠܐܘܓܪܝܣ ܘܡܢ ܡܨܪܝܐ ܠܝܘܢܝܐ ܠܐܢܛܘܢܝܘܣ.

HERE BEGINNETH THE SECOND BOOK OF THE [HISTORIES OF] THE FATHERS [AND] MONKS WHICH WERE ALSO COMPILED BY PALLADIUS.

CHAPTER I.

THE TRIUMPH OF THE BLESSED MAN MARK THE MOURNER.

MACARIUS the priest told us the following story:—"At the time when I was administering the Holy Offering I took good heed unto MARK[1] the mourner, and "I never gave it to him, but an angel did so from the "altar; I saw, however, the palm of the hand of the "angel who gave it unto him." Now this MARK was a young man, and he could repeat by heart the New and the Old Testaments; he was meek beyond measure, and both in body and in thought he was purer than many.

CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORY OF MÂR PAULUS (PAULE), THE PRINCE OF MONKS AND ANCHORITE.

Concerning ABBÂ PAULUS there were questions among the monks and anchorites who were living in the land of Egypt, and they asked who were the first monks

[1] The text has, but wrongly, "Macarius."

[Page 243] who lived in the desert. And some of them remembered the saints of olden time, and said, "It hath been proved[1] that the first to dwell in the "desert were Saint ELIJAH the Prophet, and JOHN the "Baptist, and it is manifest that ELIJAH was immeasur-"ably superior in ascetic excellence to the [other] monks, "and, moreover, JOHN was proclaimed in the womb to "be a prophet before he was born." Now there were many who contradicted this opinion, and who asserted with firmness that MÂR ANTHONY was the first and the prince of them all, and also of the order [of monks]; but if we wish to learn the whole truth we shall discover that it was not MÂR ANTHONY who was the first [monk] that dwelt in the desert, but the blessed man MÂR PAULUS. For I myself have seen the disciples of MÂR ANTHONY who buried him, and they it was who related unto us the history of the man PAULUS the anchorite, the Theban, who was indeed the first [monk to live] in the desert; therefore we believe that it was not the blessed man [ANTHONY] who was the first to do this, as some men say, but PAULUS, and for this reason I wish to narrate briefly the history of PAULUS the anchorite, and how he began and how he ended [his career] in the days of DECIUS and VALERIANUS the persecutors, and [how] CORNELIUS made an end of the strife of his testimony for the sake of the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ in Rome.

Now this blessed man PAULUS dwelt with his sister, who was the wife of a certain man; and their parents died and left them great riches when the blessed man PAULUS was sixteen years of age. And he had been educated in the learning of the Greeks and the Egyptians, and he was meek of soul, and he loved God thoroughly. And when the persecution of the Christians waxed strong, he remained continually in one place, and he took care of himself at all seasons (*or*, continually).

[1] Literally, "the beginning of the proof to dwell."

Now the avarice which constraineth the race of the children of men to commit evil deeds did not cease from him, for his sister's husband, instead of hiding him, (Page 244) endeavoured most strenuously to give him up [to the persecutors], and he neither had pity upon the tears of his wife nor did he fear the judgment of God; and he desisted not from this iniquitous conduct, but continued in his envy and sought always to give him up because he was a Christian. And the wise young man, having comprehended his guile and knowing that he was lying in wait for him, took to flight secretly, and he went to a certain high mountain which he found to be not what he desired,[1] and he changed his place [of abode] on account of the violence (*or*, necessity) of the persecution; but as he was living there, little by little he found out in the mountain a rock, wherein was a large cave, which was shut in with a stone, and having lifted up the stone he found within great repose, and he looked inside with great desire. And he discovered that the cave was clean, and that the dust of the ground also was fair, and he loved the place and dwelt there, and he gave thanks unto God Who had given it unto him for a dwelling-place; and he lived in that mountain all the days of his life, and his food and his raiment were made of the palm trees which were in the mountain. Now in order that no man may say, "How is this possible?" I take God and His holy angels to witness that we have seen many monks [living] in this fashion, and that they have brought their lives to an end in this way, and have not been afraid of Satan.

I must not, however, neglect the history of the blessed man PAULUS. This holy man lived a heavenly life upon the earth in love to our Lord for one hundred and thirteen years; and MÂR ANTHONY, who was ninety years old at the time, was living in

[1] Literally, "contrary to his will."

another desert. And MÂR ANTHONY on one occasion told me the following:—"I once thought within myself "that there was no man living beyond me in the desert, "and on the night wherein I pondered upon these things "in my mind, it was revealed unto me from God [by "one] who said unto me, 'Beyond thee [in the desert] "'there is a man who is more excellent than thou art, "'and it is meet that thou shouldst [go and] see him "'with all diligence, and with great joy'." And when the morning had come, [Page 245] the blessed old man MÂR ANTHONY took the palm branch whereon he leaned his weight, and he began to walk in the desert as his mind directed, because he did not know the way; and when it was noon, although the heat of the sun was fierce and burning, the blessed old man did not turn aside from the way, but he said, "I believe "that God will not withdraw [His] hands from me, but "will shew me His servant concerning whom He hath "sent me a revelation."

And as he was thinking thus about him he suddenly saw a man who possessed two natures, one half of him being that of a man, and the other half being that of a horse; now the poets call this being a "centaur."[1] Then the blessed ANTHONY called unto him and said, "I, a man of God, say unto thee, Where "dost thou dwell here?" And the creature returned him an answer in a barbarous language with words of impurity, and his mouth was full of fear; so the old man went on his journey seeking out the way. And as ANTHONY was marvelling [at this thing], the animal passed in front of him as if [it were going] to a broad field, and [ANTHONY knew that] it was Satan who had taken the form of the creature in order that he might terrify the blessed man, and he wondered at the similitude of the form which he had seen in the animal. And having passed on a little way further he saw

[1] ܐܝܦܘܩܢܛܘܪܘܣ = ἱππoκένταυρος.

another animal, which was smaller in stature than the first one, and he was standing on a rock, and he had horns upon his head and on his forehead; and when the blessed ANTHONY saw him, he put on the helmet of faith and [took the] shield of righteousness, and he asked him, "Who art thou whom I see here?" And the creature answered and said unto him, "I am a mortal "man and one of these who are in the desert, whom "the heathen call 'satyrs',[1] and whom, because of their "error concerning them, they worship as a god;" and the beast having spoken these words the old man ANTHONY went on his way, and his tears were flowing, and they ran down upon the ground, but he rejoiced because of the glory [Page 246] of Christ, and because of the destruction of Satan, and he wondered within himself how he had been able to understand the words of the animal. Then he smote the ground with his staff, and said, "Woe be to Alexandria! Woe be to the "city of the heathen, wherein are gathered together "all the devils of all creation!"

And ANTHONY went on his journey thinking anxiously [how] he could attain to the end thereof, and he wished to find the servant of God; and whilst he was meditating what he should do and where he should go, he observed on the flat surface of the desert the footprints of an animal which had passed over the spot that very day. Then he meditated within himself, saying, "It is impossible for our Lord to forsake me;" and he journeyed on his way during the night with his prayers in his mouth continually. And when the morning had come he saw a huge hyena, running with all its might up to the top of a mountain, and he followed in its footsteps, and having ascended the mountain he came nigh unto a cave, and saw the

[1] Mortalis ego sum, et unus ex accolis eremi, quos vario delusa errore gentilitas, Faunos Satyrosque et Incubos vocans, colit; Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum,* p. 18, col. 2.

hyena going into it; and he looked into the cave and saw perfect love, that is to say, MÂR PAULE, the old man. Then he cast away from him all fear and doubtful thoughts, and looking into the cave he saw that there was much light therein, and he approached the door of the cave, and knocked thereat with a small stone, but as soon as the blessed man PAULE heard the sound of the knocking he rolled the stone [down] quickly and closed the entrance of the cave. Then ANTHONY fell upon his face before the door of the cave, and besought him to let him come in, and said, "I am alone;" [and the blessed man PAULE answered and said, "Why hast thou come?"] And ANTHONY said, "I know that I am not worthy to see thee, "but since thou receivest wild beasts why dost thou "hold the children of men in abhorrence? I have sought "and have found [thee], and I knocked with confidence; "open thou then the door unto me. And if this "may not be I shall die here, and when thou seest "my dead body do thou bury it." And when with these words ANTHONY had taken up his position there the blessed man PAULE answered from within [Page 247], and said unto him, "No man who is angry cometh "[in here], and no man entreateth [for admission] and "maketh accusations;" then he spake unto him words of gladness, and he opened unto him the door, and they met and embraced each other and kissed each other with holy kisses, and each man told his fellow his name.

Then after these things the blessed man PAULE made MÂR ANTHONY sit by his side, and he said unto him, "Why didst thou cast upon thyself all this tribu- "lation, and the great labour of seeking to see an old "man whose body is altogether withered and emaciated? "After a short time thou wilt see that I have become "dust; but love overcometh all things. Tell me now "what is the present condition of the race of the "children of men, and whether they are still building

"houses in the ancient cities, and whether there are "still kings in the world, and whether the governors of "the world are still in subjection to the error of devils." And having said these things unto ANTHONY, the two of them looked and they saw a raven sitting on the branch of a tree, and straightway it stood up with great quietness upon the branch, and it had in its beak a whole loaf of bread which it came and laid down between them, whilst both men were looking on; and when the bird had departed they both marvelled. And the blessed PAULE said unto MÂR ANTHONY, "Truly our Lord is merciful and pitiful in that He "sendeth us a meal [in this way]. For behold, for fully "sixty years I have been in the habit of receiving from "this bird half a loaf of bread [daily], but at thy coming, "behold, our Lord hath sent unto us a double portion "of food because we are His servants." Then having given thanks unto God both men sat down at the table, and they disputed with each other who should first break the bread, and whilst they were thus disputing the night came on; thereupon the two men took [the bread], and spread out their hands, and brake the loaf in the Name of our Lord, and ate it, and having eaten they stood up the whole night in prayer.

Now when the morning [Page 248] had come, PAULE said unto ANTHONY, "Thou must know, O my "brother ANTHONY, that I have been living in the desert "for a long time past, and that it was our Lord "Himself Who revealed unto me what manner of man "thou art; but, because the time of my rest hath "come, and because that which I have been seeking, "that is to say, that I should depart and be with "our Lord, is about to overtake me [I could not go "to see thee]. And now that my time hath come to "an end, and, as I believe, a crown of righteousness "hath been laid up for me, thou hast been sent by "our Lord that thou mayest bury my body in the "ground." Now whilst the blessed man PAULE was

saying these things, MÂR ANTHONY was weeping with many tears and heaving sighs, and he made supplication unto him, and said, "O my beloved one, leave "thou me not here, but take me with thee whither "thou goest;" and the blessed PAULE answered and said unto him, "It is not meet that thou shouldst seek "thine own [advantage], but that of thy neighbours, "and therefore, O my beloved, I beseech thee, if it be "not a thing which is too hard for thee, to go quickly "to thy monastery, and to bring hither to me the cloak "which MÂR ATHANASIUS the Bishop gave thee." Now he did not speak thus because he had need of any apparel, but because he wished to depart from his body whilst MÂR ANTHONY was absent.

And when ANTHONY heard concerning the Bishop, and concerning his cloak he marvelled within himself; and having looked upon the blessed PAULE in our Lord Jesus, and bowed down before him, he prayed and set forth to go on his journey, and he approached and kissed him on his eyes and on his hands, and he made haste and went forth to depart to his monastery. And having made the journey and arrived at the monastery, his two disciples, who had been seeking him for a long time, met him, and they said unto him, "O father, where hast thou been these days?" And he answered and said unto them, "Woe be unto me! "Woe be unto me, a sinner. For the name of 'Chris- "'tian' which I bear is only a borrowed thing. This "day have I seen ELIJAH and JOHN in the desert, for "verily I have seen PAULE in Paradise, and he was "holding converse with them;" and MÂR ANTHONY smote with his hand upon [Page 240] his breast, and he took the cloak and went from his disciples, who besought him to reveal unto them the whole matter. And he said unto them, "There is a time to be silent, "and a time to speak;" so he departed and went forth on his way without taking any provision whatsoever with him. And he made haste to come to the place

where the blessed man PAULE was, for he desired earnestly to see him, [again], and he was afraid lest whilst he was yet afar off PAULE might deliver himself up unto our Lord. And he journeyed on his way the first day, but on the second day, at the time of the ninth hour, he saw along the road, in the air, a company of angels, and a multitude of the Prophets and of the Apostles, and ABBÂ PAULE, who was shining with light like the sun, was in their midst, and he went up with them into heaven. And immediately he saw them, he fell upon his face on the ground, and he sighed, and wept, and cried out, and said, "O "fearer of God, why hast thou left me thus? And "why didst thou not receive my salutation together "with all [the toil of] this journey which I have made "as swiftly as a bird?"

And MÂR ANTHONY went on his way and arrived at the cave, and he saw ABBÂ PAULE kneeling upon his knees, with his face[1] gazing into heaven and his hands spread out; and seeing him thus MÂR ANTHONY thought within himself, and said, "Perhaps he is alive;" and he prayed fervently, and the blessed PAULE also stood up and prayed with him. And when some time had elapsed, and he heard neither the sound[s] nor the sighs which are customary in prayer, he knew that it was only the body of ABBÂ PAULE which prayed; and he bowed down before God, in Whom everything liveth, and he placed the body in the middle of the cloak and wrapped it in it, and he took it up upon his shoulders; and though he sang Psalms, according to the custom of the monks, the blessed ANTHONY was greatly grieved because he had not remembered to bring with him a spade or some other instrument wherewith to dig a grave for the body. Then he meditated within himself and said, "What shall I do? If I go to my "monastery and bring a spade I cannot possibly return

[1] Literally, "head."

"here in less than four days;" [Page 250] and he said, "O Jesus Christ, let me also die with Thy beloved "servant PAULE."

Now as he was saying these things, behold, two lions came running along together, and when he saw them his whole body smoked with fear; and when he had lifted up his mind to God and had looked at them again, they appeared to be doves flying through the air. And the lions drew nigh and stood near the body of the blessed PAULE, and they wagged their tails at the blessed ANTHONY, and they crouched down before him in perfect tameness, and they rubbed their teeth together and purred so loudly that the blessed man knew that they wished to be blessed, and to be helped, and that they desired [to know] concerning the departure of the blessed PAULE. And after they had acted thus, the lions began to dig [a grave], and they threw up the earth with their paws, and they made the hole in the ground deep enough, and wide enough, and long enough, according to the measure of the body; and they lowered their ears and their tails, and bowed down their heads before Abbâ ANTHONY, and they licked his hands and his feet, and he knew that they wished to be blessed. Then he gave thanks for the glory of God because that even the wild and savage beasts knew how to [help] the good and chosen men of God, and he spake thus:—"O Lord God, without Whose "command not one leaf falleth to the ground, and "against Whose Will not one bird droppeth into the "snare, do Thou bless all of us." And he brought his hand nigh unto the lions, and commanded them to depart; and when the two lions had gone away ANTHONY took the body and buried it in the customary way. Then, after one day, he took the tunic of ABBÂ PAULE, which was made of palm leaves sewn together, like a true inheritance and a thing which brought privilege, and departed to his monastery. And when he had arrived there he related unto the monks the

whole matter in due order; and on the feast of unleavened bread and at Pentecost SAINT ANTHONY used to put on the tunic of the blessed [Page 251] and holy man PAULE, and he would pray with it upon him.

And I, HIERONYMUS the sinner, entreat all those who read this book to pray for me.

[Concerning[1] these histories of PAULE, and of the company of MARK(?), and of Macarius, there are some who say that they were compiled by HIERONYMUS because his name occurs at the end of them.]

HERE ENDETH THE HISTORY OF MÂR PAULE, THE HOLY MAN, THE FIRSTBORN OF ALL THE DESERT MONKS.

CHAPTER III.

THE TRIUMPH OF A YOUNG MAN WHO WAS AN ALEXANDRIAN.

There was a certain young man in Alexandria, who, immediately the law of nature began to work in him, and to make him to possess the knowledge which distinguisheth good from evil, endeavoured by every means in his power to make himself wholly a stranger unto things which are evil, and to cleave unto those which are good. And having been trained for a long time, and having made himself proficient in the things which befit monks, even though he still lived and went about in the city, he at a certain time thought within himself, and said, "Since there is no good reason what-"soever which compelleth me forcibly to remain in the "city any longer it is not right that I should do so," and he was at all times reminding himself of the word which was spoken by our Lord to the rich man, "If "thou wishest to be perfect, go and sell all that thou

[1] This is a note by some editor of Palladius, or scribe.

"hast and give [it] to the poor, and take thy cross "and come after Me."[1] And the young man said, "The "word of our Lord is true, but it is impossible for a "man to acquire that perfection of which He spake "whilst he is living among men."

When then he had made himself ready to perform in very deed this great thought, [Page 252] he began to journey along the road which leadeth to one of the deserts of Alexandria, where large numbers of monks used to dwell, and he offered up prayer unto God that He would prepare a way for him, and would direct him unto a man who would be able to help him [to attain] his object, and would lead him to the end which he desired. And he decided within himself, and said, "This shall be unto me a sign that the Lord "hath prepared His way before me:—The door whereat "I shall knock, and wherefrom shall go forth one who "liveth there, and shall receive me in peace, and shall "urge me to go in to him, and shall receive me in "the love which monks have for strangers, that shall "be the place, and that shall be the man whom the "Lord hath prepared for the fulfilment of my thoughts "concerning spiritual excellence." And he said, "Unto "the man who hath been prepared by the Lord it is "meet for me to be in subjection as unto Christ, and "I must hearken unto his command willingly and un-"hesitatingly as unto that of Christ." Now as he was praying with these words, and with others which were like unto them, and was thinking deeply, he arrived in the desert into which he had set his face to go. And having gone in among the monasteries, he found himself by the dispensation of God before the door of a habitation wherein a certain old man dwelt; and when, according to his expectation, he had drawn nigh, and had knocked at the door which was in front of him, there came forth therefrom straightway the old

[1] St. Matthew XIX. 21.

man who dwelt inside, and opened the door to him; and when he saw the young man who was standing there he saluted him gladly, when as yet he had asked him nothing whatsoever, and entreated him urgently to come inside. And this actually took place.

Now after he had gone in and had, according to custom, prayed, and sat down, the young man compared the things which had taken place with those which he had written down in his mind, and he waited for a right issue to all [the rest]. Then, being full of gladness, the old man urged him repeatedly to partake of food, but the young man answered and said unto him [Page 253], "My lord, I beseech thy holiness to "permit me first of all to speak openly, and to make "known to thy fatherly nature the reason of my coming, "and if through the working of God thou wilt make "thyself the perfecter of my desire, and of my thoughts, "whatsoever thy holiness and thy meekness shall com-"mand me [to do] I will perform strenuously." Now when the old man had heard these things, he answered and said unto him, "Thou hast full power to say every-"thing which thou wishest, joyfully and fearlessly, as "unto thy father who, according to his power, in great "love, is ready to fulfil thy desire by the help of God." Then, after these words, which the old man spake in simplicity (now none of the thoughts of the young man had entered into his mind), the young man made clearly manifest before the old man the matters which he had marked out and decided upon in his mind from the beginning of his actions in the city even until that very hour.

And when the old man had heard all these things he was greatly moved and disturbed, because he remembered his own former acts and life, and because he was held in contempt by his conscience by reason of the conditions and circumstances under which he was then living, and because that by reason of these he was unable to promise to fulfil the works of which he

had [then] no knowledge whatsoever, [and he was afraid][1] and excused himself from the task. And when he considered his own feebleness, and the greatness of the matter concerned, and the strenuousness and readiness of the young man, and the many other reasons which he called to mind, he was ashamed to reveal to the young man the true reason for his refusal, yet nevertheless, because of it, he said that he was unable to act [for him]; but the young man dismissed his objections and made an end of them, and he shewed [him] that they all were insufficient to drive him away from the old man, and to do away the fervent desire and aim which were in his mind. Then the old man felt compelled to make plainly manifest before him the true reason for his refusal [Page 254], and to shew him that it was not a mere matter of a report of words, but one which could be seen by the actual sight of the eyes. And wishing to fulfil his intention [of shewing] that the true reason was not a mere excuse, or one which was fabricated like those which he had previously given, and that it was indeed a true one, and one which would proclaim concerning itself openly, he took the young man by the hand, and led him into a certain chamber wherein dwelt the wife of that old man with her two children, and he said unto him, "God hath sent thee hither for my "shame, and for the condemnation of mine old age. "Behold, this is my wife whom Satan and not God hath "given unto me, and behold, these are the children of "shame whom I have had by her, and they are the "fruits of a contemptible and damnable union."

Now when the young man saw and heard these things, because the foundation of his building was laid upon the rock of truth, he was neither moved nor disturbed, and he was not offended with the old man, and he did not hold him in any contempt whatsoever.

[1] Adding ܕܚܫ.

And after these things the young man answered and said unto the old man, "My lord, I entreat thy holiness "to confirm that which I am about to say unto thee. "Let me have with thee, even as with a real father, "a wholly perfect understanding, such as it is right for "children to have with their fathers and with their "brethren, which shall be free, by the help of God, "from all stumblingblocks; and let me have the same "understanding with this woman, as with a real mother, "and with thy children as with beloved brethren." Thus the old man was overcome by means of all these words by a gracious defeat, and though he wished by the urging of his own mind to give the young man permission to live with him as a disciple, and to fulfil his desire according to the bent of his mind, he was driven thereto far more by the power of the excellence of the young man himself. And when these things had taken place they gave thanks to God, and then they occupied themselves, each one with the service and work which were requisite for their habitation, day by day with the help of God [Page 255], and the young man excelled in works towards the old man, according to his promise, in humility, and in great obedience, and the spiritual excellence of his mind was greatly revealed.

One day the old man said unto the young man, "My son, knowest thou that thou and I are building "this house with weariness and abundant toil, and that "we have not sufficient reeds [to make] the roof, and "that the winter hath drawn nigh? Now, in order that "our labour may not be in vain, behold, I see that "there are reeds in the habitation of the monk who "is our neighbour, and since he is not there that we "may borrow from him, and supply our need, do thou "go down and take up from there a bundle, and bring "[it hither], so that we may finish the roof, and may "rejoice through his forethought." And when the brother heard this, he made ready quickly to fulfil the

command of the old man, and having gone down and brought that which was necessary for them, they completed their work. Then the old man said unto that brother, "Tell me truly, O brother, what didst thou "think in thy mind about that which I said unto thee, "that is to say, that thou shouldst go down, and shouldst "bring reeds as it were by theft, and without the "knowledge and during the absence of their owner?" And that brother said [unto him], "As I have already "told thee, everything that thou shalt say unto me I "shall receive as if it came from the mouth of Christ, "and shall perform it in faith unhesitatingly. I said "within myself, 'Christ said unto me, Thou shalt not "'steal, but now it is He Who hath just said unto me, "'Steal; I have nothing to do with the matter, and it "'is Christ unto Whom I must render obedience.'" And when the old man had heard these words he marvelled at the wisdom and at the integrity of his obedience; and wishing to make him to rejoice[1] in his hope, he said unto him, "My son, thou must know "that I had made up my mind that we must tell the "owner of the reeds [what I had done], and must give "him whatever price he might require, [when] I sent "thee [Page 256] down to bring up that which belonged "to him, and I did not do so with the abominable in-"tention of stealing [from him]."

And after a certain time, during which the two men had lived together a correct life which was full of peace and profit, the old man thought within himself, saying, "It is a great iniquity on my part, and it "meriteth a severe penalty, that I who have grown "old in sins, and who am still in the mire of fornication, "should dwell with this brother who is perfect in spiri-"tual excellence; for it is not seemly that darkness "should live with light. But I will leave [this] abode "in his hands, and I will take away this stumblingblock

[1] Read ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥϫⲱⲡⲉ.

"which Satan hath set in my way, and these fruits of "shame which have come to me from her, and I will "go to the world and unto those whom I resemble, "whose works are like unto mine own."

And when he had meditated with these and such like thoughts, and had made them known unto the woman who dwelt with him, he sent to the village which was nigh unto them, and brought from thence an animal to take away that which he needed from the monastery, so that he might lead away his wife and his children, and he might go and live in one of the villages round about them. And when the animal had come, and the old man had loaded him with whatsoever they needed, and he, and his wife, and his sons began to go forth, he said unto that brother, "My son, we are not able "to dwell in a monastery because our sins are many, "and because we are not worthy so to do; for it is "great wickedness for us to dwell under the cloak of "falsehood among monks, whilst our deeds are more "evil than those of the folk who are in the world. "But do thou remain in this dwelling, O my son, and "the God Whom thou hast loved, and Whom thou hast "made plans to please in everything, shall be unto thee "a father, and a fellow monk;[1] and do thou pray on "my behalf that the Lord may visit me." And when that brother had heard these words, he answered and said unto the old man with love and great humility, "O my father, I have made a covenant with the Lord "that I will not be separated from thee except by death, "and inasmuch as [Page 257] my dwelling with thee "hath been unto me a source of great benefit, there "is nothing which can remove me and take me away "from thee; but wheresoever thou goest I will go, and "wheresoever thou dwellest I will dwell with thee."

Then after all these things the old man came to himself, and he sighed greatly, saying, "Verily, this is

[1] Literally, "son of the monastery."

"a matter which can only have come from God, the "Merciful, Who desireth not the death of a sinner, but "that he may turn to Him and live, and He it is Who "hath remembered my former works, and hath not left "me to perish utterly, but hath sent this young man "unto me that He might again turn me unto Him." Then the old man found himself able by means of words, which were full of strong entreaty, to persuade the woman to take her daughter with her, and to go and dwell in one of the abodes of women which existed in the villages round about them. And this actually came to pass. And after the old man had remained there with his son, and with that excellent disciple, he began to remember his former life and to renew the habits thereof, and he excelled greatly in the cultivation of all kinds of spiritual excellences, and he gave thanks unto God unceasingly, that by means of the young man He had made him worthy of the end of peace. And he was always saying, "Truly "obedience for the sake of God not only greatly helpeth "those who possess it, but it greatly gratifieth God "also, and it is found by others to be the cause of life, "and it tormenteth Satan sorely; on the other hand, "disobedience worketh that which is contrary to all "these things." So after a long time that old man died in peace, being worthy of the great measure [of reward] of his fathers, and he departed from the world, and left behind him as upright heirs of his spiritual excellences and of his monastery his spiritual son, and the son who was his according to the body and the spirit; may our Lord through their prayers make us worthy of their spiritual excellence and their inheritance! Amen and Amen [Page 258].

CHAPTER IV.

The triumph of the disciple of a certain old man who was in Scete.

There was a certain old man who used to live in the desert which is called Scete, and he had a disciple who lived with him; now this [latter] brother was adorned with the spiritual excellences of every kind which befit those who are in subjection to old men, and he was exceedingly conspicuous for his obedience, which was the greatest of all his virtues. And he was sent to the village continually by the old man to sell their work, and to bring back whatsoever was needed for their habitation, and that brother, without any compulsion whatsoever, performed every command which the old man gave him with zeal and diligence. Now when the enemy of righteousness, the Foe of the human race, and especially of the orders of the monks, that is to say, Satan, the opponent of all virtues and the hater of the upright life of the children of men, saw that this brother was overcoming and bringing to nought all his crafty designs by the might of his simple obedience, which was full of discretion, he made a plan to lay two snares for him in the path of his spiritual excellence, even as it is said concerning him in the Psalm, as it were by the mouth[1] of those who cultivate spiritual excellence, and who walk in the way of righteousness, "In the way of my steps they have hidden snares "for me."[2] Now the two snares were these:—The first consisted in making that brother to pursue fornication, and the second was in making him to fall into disobedience; and the Enemy, in his cunning, expected that the brother would not only be caught by one of

[1] Read ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲥⲱⲡⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ.

[2] Psalm CXLII. 3.

these, and so become involved in both, but also that deliverance from the one would be found to be the occasion for his falling into the other, for he saw that he was being sent continually to Egypt by his master [on the business] of the work of their hands and of the matter of their need.

And one day, when that brother was carrying on his shoulders something which he wished to sell, and was going about in the market [Page 259] of the village according to his wont, it happened that owing to the sight of a woman, who was a virgin, and who was continually coming in his way, and who bought from him some of the wares which he carried, that the war of fornication rose up against him suddenly by the operation of the Evil One. Now when this thing had thus come to pass the evil cunning of the Devil did not wander from that discreet brother, but he meditated within himself, and said, "Both matters "are exceedingly difficult for me. Peradventure, if "through some reason such as this which the Enemy "hath prepared for me, I reject the command of the "old man, and do not go up [to him], I shall always "be in the habit [of thinking] that I have treated the "command of the old man with contempt; and if I do "go up [to him] I shall be oppressed for a very long "time with the war of fornication."

And when that brother had passed much time in tribulation, and in such thoughts as these, and in doubts of mind, and still did not know which course of action to choose and which to reject, he drew nigh unto a certain old man who dwelt close by them, and was great and skilled in all [such matters], and made known his business unto him, and spake unto him thus:— "Father, what shall I do, for the war of fornication "hath risen up against me? My father sendeth me "always to the village for that which we need, and "every time I go to the village I am vexed with "thoughts about fornication, through which I am thrown

"into a strife, and I know not what to do; if I obey "my father, and go to the village, the war which is "stirred up against me will become fiercer, and if I "remain here and do not go I shall be a disobedient "[disciple]. I beseech thee to give me the advice "which shall be beneficial for me, and pray thou on "my behalf, for I am greatly vexed." And when the old man had heard these words, he answered and said unto him, "My son, if I were thou[1] I should, with God's "help, obey my father, [and should overcome the war "of fornication]."[2] Then that brother said unto him, "I beseech thee, O my lord, to perform an act of grace, "and [Page 260] teach thou me the object of this "conquest, and help me with thy prayers." Then the old man said unto him, "Know, O my brother, that "Satan is not so anxious to cast thee into fornication "as he is to dismiss thee from obedience, and to make "thee disobedient and rebellious, and he plotteth always "with exceedingly great care to make thee thus; for "Satan himself hath been acquainted with disobedience "from the beginning and he knoweth that it is the "cause of every kind of condemnation and of wicked-"ness to those who possess it. And, O my son, let "it be certain to thee that, if he vanquish thee by "means of it, thou wilt be, as it were, stripped hence-"forth of the help of the power of obedience, and of "thy father's prayers, whensoever he casteth thee into "the passion of fornication, and he will be able to drag "thee down into passions of all kinds easily. But if "thou dost vanquish him first of all in the matter of "obedience, and dost thyself abide therein undoubtingly, "and dost believe in the prayers of thy father, God "will make thee to prosper in every strife with a crown "of righteousness, and He will give thee victory in "every war with the Calumniator. For he, who for

[1] B has ܐܢܬ ܗܘ̈ܝܬ ܐܢܐ.

[2] B adds ܒܨܠܘ̈ܬ ܐܒܝ ܢܨܠܚ ܠܝ.

"the sake of God acteth in obedience to his father "also acteth obediently unto God; now obedience unto "God is the victory over all passions. Go therefore, "O my son, and obey thy father faithfully and un- "hesitatingly, and when the war cometh upon thee say "thus:—'O God of my father, help me!'"

Now when the Adversary saw that that brother was armed with the wise and powerful words of the old man as with an impregnable coat of mail, and had prepared himself strenuously for the contest, he changed the method of attack which he had formerly employed, and instead of vexing that brother with thoughts about the woman as he had done at first, he left him, since he was prepared and was sufficiently strong to stand up against him, and went to the feeble woman who lacked both discernment and help—for it hath been his custom always to run to the weak and sluggish side of disciples, [Page 261] and to overcome the strenuous by means of it—and as he overcame ADAM by means of EVE, and as he overcame other [saints] by means of other things, even so did he act towards this marvellous brother who, through this cunning, gained condemnation and shame, even as did JOB, and JOSEPH, and others.

Now therefore when this brother according to custom had taken his work, and had readily gone up to Egypt, and had arrived at the village wherein he was wont to sell it, Satan stirred up that woman to go forth to meet him as it were by chance, and having seen that brother and being inflamed through the operation of Satan with the fire of love for him, she drew nigh unto him by means of some crafty device, and took him and brought him into her house, with the excuse that she was going to buy something from him; and after they had gone in, and she had shut the door upon them, she began to throw herself upon him. Then that brother, with faith wherein there was no doubt, cried out with a loud voice, and said, "O God of my

"father, help me!" And immediately, by the agency of God, he found himself upon the road to Scete, and by the Divine help the Calumniator was put to shame, and the war of fornication ceased from that brother. And when he had come to the old man with whom he lived, and he had narrated to him the whole matter, and what had happened, they gave thanks to God and glorified Him Who had hearkened unto the voice of His servants and had redeemed them out of the hand of their enemies, and had saved them from the snares of the Calumniator. May our Lord hide us beneath the wings of His mercifulness and [save] us from all the evil workings of the Calumniator! Amen.

CHAPTER V.

The triumph of the disciple of another old man who dwelt alone in a cell.

One of the aged men said:—I have heard from certain holy men that there have been youths who [Page 262] have led and guided old men to life, and they told me the following story:—There was a certain old man who used to plait mats of palm leaves by day, and sell them in the village [in the night], and get drunk on the money which he received for the same. At length there came a certain brother who took up his abode with him, and he also worked at the plaiting of mats by day, and the old man took his work also, and sold it, and got drunk with the money which he received for the work of both, and he would bring home at eventide a little bread for that brother; and though the old man did thus for a period of three years the brother said nothing to him about it. And after these things the brother said within himself, "Behold, I am naked, and I only eat my

"bread by forcing myself to do so; I will therefore arise "and depart from this place." But again he thought within himself, saying, "Whither have I to go? I will stay here "a little longer, for I can live unto God just as well "as if I were in a monastery where many monks are." And straightway the angel of the Lord appeared and said unto him, "Depart thou not unto any [other] place, "for to-morrow we are coming unto thee." Then that brother made supplication unto the old man, and entreated him, saying, "I beseech thee, O my father, "not to go forth this day to any place whatsoever, "for the angels are coming to receive my soul." When now the hour had arrived for the old man to go out and sell [the work] according to his wont, he said unto the brother, "My son, they will not come to-day, "for they have delayed too long;" but the brother said, "Yea, my father, indeed they will come;" and whilst he was talking to the old man he died. And when the old man saw what had happened, he wept and sighed deeply, and said, "Woe is me! Woe is me, "O my son! I have lived in faith for many years, but "thou hast gained life for thyself through a short period "of patient endurance!" and from that day forward the old man led a life of sobriety and became a chosen monk [Page 263].

CHAPTER VI.

The triumph of the disciple of an old man in the desert.

There was a certain desert monk who was very anxious to find a quiet place which would be suitable for him to dwell in; and there was there a certain old man who had a cell nigh unto him, and he entreated him, saying, "Come, take up thine abode here until

"thou canst find a cell [suitable for thee," and he went [there]. Now the brethren used to come unto him as unto a stranger, and they brought him food in order that they might be helped [by so doing], and he rejoiced in them, and gave them relief. Then the old man began to envy him, and to heap abuse on him, saying, "Behold, how many are the years wherein I "have lived here in the strictest abstinence, and yet "no man came unto me; yet unto this deceiver, who "hath only passed a few days here, many come!" And this old man said unto his disciple, "Go and say unto "him, 'Depart from that place, for I have need both "'of the place and of the cell.'" And his disciple went, and said unto him, "My father,[1] speak some words, and "pray thou for me because I am greatly vexed by my "stomach;" then he came to his master, and said unto him, "He said unto me, 'I see a cell and I am going "'forth.'"

And after two days the old man sent his disciple unto him again, and he said unto him, "If thou hast "not departed, I will come myself and drive thee out "with a stick." And the disciple came to the monk, and said unto him, "My father hath heard that thou "art sick, and he is greatly grieved, and he hath sent "me to visit thee;" and the monk said unto him, "Through thy prayers [all is] well." And the disciple came, and said to his master, "I have spoken to him, "and he said unto me, 'Wait until the first day of the "'week, and I will, by the Will of God, go forth.'" And when the first day of the week had come, the monk had not departed, and the old man took a stick and was going forth to beat him, and to drive him out; but his disciple said unto him, "Let me go first, lest "there be there some stranger who will be offended "at thine act." And having gone before his master

[1] Literally, "My father, speak from thy voice;" but the text is probably corrupt here.

the disciple said unto the monk, "Behold, my father "hath come to entreat thee [to leave. Page 264] and "to take thee to his cell;" and when the monk heard of the old man's love he made haste to go out to meet him, and he expressed his sorrow afar off, and said, "Be not vexed, O my lord and father, for I was "coming to thy holiness; forgive me for the sake of "Jesus." And God saw the work of that disciple, and he opened the mind of the old man, and he threw away his stick and ran to salute the monk; and having drawn nigh unto him he gave him the salutation of peace, and took him into his cell. Now the stranger had heard nothing whatsoever of the words which had been said by the old man. Then the old man said unto his disciple, "Peradventure thou didst say[1] unto "the monk that which I said unto thee?" And the disciple said unto him, "Nay, father, I did not;" and the old man rejoiced greatly, and he brought him in to the stranger, and treated him kindly. And the old man knew that what had taken place in him had been caused by the working of Satan, and he fell down before his disciple, and said, "Henceforward thou shalt "be my father, and I will be thy disciple, for through "thy good works, after God, thou hast helped the "souls of two [men]."

CHAPTER VII.

The triumph of Peter, the disciple of one of the old men.

There was a certain old man who had an excellent disciple, and on one occasion the old man by reason of his hasty temper drove him away, and turned him

[1] Read ܐܡܪܬ.

outside the door, and his apparel with him; and the brother sat down outside the door and waited patiently, and when the old man opened the door he found him sitting outside. Then the old man repented, saying, "O PETER, the meekness of thy longsuffering nature "hath vanquished my hasty temper; henceforward thou "shalt be my old man and father, and I will be thy "servant and disciple. By thy good work thou hast "made (*or*, fashioned) mine old age."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE TRIUMPH OF A DISCIPLE OF ONE OF THE OLD MEN.

On a certain occasion the disciple of a great sage (*i. e.*, old man) had a war of fornication, [Page 265] and when the old man saw that the brother was vexed and oppressed in his mind, he said to him, "Dost thou "wish me to entreat God to make the war less fierce?" And the brother said, "Father, I perceive that, although "I toil and am afflicted, I am yet able to see the fruit "which I possess within my soul through this strife, "[therefore pray not for this thing]; but entreat God "especially in thy prayer to give me strength to en- "dure." His father said unto him, "This day I know "that thou hast surpassed me therein."

CHAPTER IX.

OF AURELIUS [ADOLIUS?]

I used to know a man in Jerusalem whose name was AURELIUS [ADOLIUS?], and by race (*or*, origin) he came from the city of Tarsus, and when this man

arrived in Jerusalem, he walked wholly in the path wherein are no stumblings, and wherein many have not walked. Now he laid down for himself ascetic rules of life of new kinds, and [these were so severe] that the devils were afraid of him, and they were unable to stand up before him, and by reason of the greatness[1] of his toil he might have been thought to be a shadow, for he would pass the whole weeks of the Forty Days in fasting,[2] and he would spend the other days in constant vigils. Now the greatest of all his acts of asceticism was this. Whilst the brethren were gathered together each evening in the house of prayer, he would go up to the highest peak of the MOUNT OF OLIVES, to the place where our Lord was lifted up, and as he stood there upon his feet he would recite the whole Office, and whether rain, or snow, or sleet fell he would never leave his place; and when he had finished the Office according to [his] custom, he would take a hammer and beat [a board], and rouse up those that slept, and having gone round to the doors of all [the monks] [Page 266], he would gather them together to the places for prayer, and in each place he would recite the Office with them; and he would also stand up in the midst of companies [of monks], and would recite the Office. In the day time he would go to his cell, and in very truth on several occasions his brethren had to strip off [his clothes] from him because they were wet through, and to put others on him; and he would rest until the third hour of the day, and then he would come to the service [in the church and stay] until the evening. Such was the manner in which Aurelius lived, and in this way he brought his life to an end; and he was buried in Jerusalem.

[1] The text has ܫܘܢܝܐ, but this word makes no sense here.

[2] This seems to be the meaning of the passage, for the writer can hardly intend to say that Aurelius fasted for forty weeks.

CHAPTER X.

Of abbâ Moses the Indian, [a captain] of thieves.

Now there was a certain man whose name was Moses, who was by race an Indian,[1] and his skin[2] was black, and he was the slave of a man in high authority,[3] and because of his evil deeds and thefts his master drove him out of his house; now it is said that he even went so far as [to commit] murder. Now I am compelled to mention his wickedness in order that I may shew forth the beauty of his repentance, and people say concerning him that he was even the captain of a band of seventy thieves. And the following thing used to be related about him, and he is said to have committed it during the period wherein he passed his time in stealing.

He had as an enemy a certain shepherd, against whom he remembered certain evil things, and he went to steal [sheep] from his flock. And the shepherd was told by a certain man, [who said], "Moses hath "crossed the Nile by swimming, and he holdeth a "sword in his hand,[4] and his clothes are placed on his "head; and he hath crossed the river by swimming;" and the shepherd covered himself over with sand, and hid from him. And when Moses had come and did not find the shepherd, he chose out two fine rams from among the sheep and slew them, and he tied them [together] with a rope, and swam across the river again [with them]; and having come to a small village he skinned the rams and ate the best portions of them, and [Page 267] he sold the remainder for wine, and drank, and after these things he went back to his

[1] *I. e.*, an Ethiopian.
[2] Literally, "flesh."
[3] Gr. πολιτευομένου τινός.
[4] B has "in his mouth," ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁ.

companions. One day whilst he was associated with them in doing hateful things, his senses came back[1] to him in the morning season, and he repented of his evil acts, and he rose up and fled to a monastery, and from that time he drew nigh unto works of repentance so closely that the devil who had made him sin from his youth up, and [who would have continued] to make him sin, would stand before him in visible form and would look upon him. Thus he came to the knowledge of our Lord Christ.

And about him they tell the story that thieves once came unto him and went into his cell, because they did not know who he was, and he tied them all together with cords and lifted them up upon his shoulders like a bag of chopped straw, and brought them to the church to the brethren, and said unto them, "Since I have not the power to do evil unto "any man, what do ye command me to do to those "who rose up against me to slay me?" Now at that time MOSES had been fasting for seven days, and he had eaten nothing. And after he had done this he informed the thieves, saying, "I indeed am MOSES who "was formerly the captain of [a band of] thieves;" and having heard [this] they praised and glorified God, and when they saw [the sincerity of] his repentance they also removed themselves from their evil deeds, and said within themselves, "Let us also draw nigh "unto repentance, so that we may become worthy of "the forgiveness of sins, even as he also is worthy."

And whilst fasting often, and during the time of prayer and silent contemplation, that devil of error, who bringeth back to the remembrance of the mind the wickedness of former habits, would come to him, and tempt him to such a degree that, even as he himself hath told us, it wanted exceedingly little to make him fall from his covenant. And having come

[1] Literally, "his mind fell upon him."

to the old man ISIDORE the great, who had arrived from Scete, MOSES told him concerning the war of his body; [Page 268] and the old man said unto him, "Be "not distressed, for these are the beginning of the "birth pangs, and they come upon thee seeking what "they are accustomed[1] [to receive], even as a dog which "[cometh] continually to the cook, and if a man give "him nothing he will not go there again. And thus "also it is with thee, for if thou wilt continue in fast- "ing, and in prayer, and in silent contemplation, the "devil will straightway fall into despair and will flee "from thee."

And from that time he was exceedingly constant in his work of spiritual excellence. He ate nothing whatsoever except ten ounces of dry bread [daily] when he was doing work, and he would recite from beginning to end fifty prayers during the day; but the more he dried up his body, the more[2] he was vexed and consumed by dreams. And again he went to one of the old men, and said unto him, "What shall I do? "For thoughts of lust which arise from [my] former "habits attack me;" and the old man said unto him, "These lead thee into error because thou hast not "turned away thy heart from the similitudes of them, "but give thy heart to watching and careful prayer, "and thou wilt be free from them." Now when he had heard this direction he went to his cell, and made a covenant with God that he would neither sleep during the whole night nor bend his knees, and he dwelt in his cell for seven years, and remained standing the whole of each night with his eyes open, and he never closed his eyelids. And after this he set himself other ascetic labours, for he would go out during the nights and visit the cells of the old men, and take their water skins and fill them with water, because

[1] Read ⲉⲥⲟⲧⲙ.

[2] Read ⲙⲛⲧⲣ.

they lived a long way from the water, that is to say, some two miles, some four miles, and others five miles. One night he went to fill the [water skins with] water, according to his wont, and as soon as he had bent down over the spring, a devil smote him a blow across his loins as with a stick, and then departed leaving him half dead, and MOSES understood [Page 269] who had done this thing to him. And on the following day one of the brethren came to fill [the water skins with] water, and he saw the blessed man lying there, and he drew nigh to him and asked him, "What hath "happened unto thee?" And when MOSES had told him the story, the brother went and informed RABBÂ ISIDORE, the priest of the church of Scete, who sent brethren immediately and they took him up and brought him to the church; and he was ill for a long time, and he never thoroughly recovered from his illness, and he never again enjoyed the health of body which he had possessed formerly.

And ABBÂ ISIDORE said unto him, "Rest thyself, O "MOSES, and fret not thyself against the devils, and "seek not to make attacks upon them; there is mode- "ration in everything, even in the works of ascetic "life." Then MOSES said unto him, "I believe in God, "in Whom I have placed my hope, that being armed "against the devils I must not cease [to wage war "with them] until they depart from me." And ABBÂ ISIDORE said unto him, "In the Name of Jesus Christ, "from this time forward the devils shall cease from "thee. Draw nigh then, and participate in the Holy "Mysteries, and thou shalt be free from all impurity "both of the flesh and of the spirit, for thou must "not boast within thyself, and say, 'I have overcome "'the devils,' for it was for thy benefit that they have "waxed strong against thee." So MOSES went back again to his cell. And after two months ABBÂ ISIDORE came to him, and asked him [concerning himself], and MOSES said unto him, "I never see now anything which

"is hateful to me." Now he was also held to be worthy of the gift of Divine Grace, and he could chase away the devils from many folk who were vexed therewith, and as flies take to flight before us so did the devils depart from before him. Such were the ascetic labours of the blessed man MOSES, who was himself vexed with great matters. And he also became a priest, and he left behind him seventy disciples who were men of worth. When [Page 270] he was a thief he had [as followers] seventy men who were thieves, and these now became his disciples, and they were perfect in the fear of God.

CHAPTER XI.

OF ABBÂ PÎÔR.[1]

And there was an Egyptian youth whose name was PÎÔR, and he was a holy man; and when he departed from the house of his parents he made a covenant with God with the zeal[2] of excellence that he would never see again any of his kinsfolk. And after fifty years had passed, the sister of this blessed man, who was very old and grey, heard that he was alive, and she greatly desired to see him; now she was unable to come to him to the desert, and she besought the Bishop, who was in that country, to write to the fathers who lived in the desert [telling] them to urge him, and to send him to see his sister. Then when the blessed man saw the pressure which came from them to make him go, he took with him certain of the brethren, and set out to go on the journey, and

[1] Read .

[2] Pîôr = PA-UR (?)

[having arrived] he sent and informed his sister's household, saying, "Behold, PÎÔR thy brother hath come, "and he standeth outside." Now when his sister heard his voice, she went forth in great haste, and when PÎÔR heard the sound of the door, and knew that the aged woman his sister was coming forth to see him, he shut his eyes tightly, and said, "So and so, I am "thy brother; look at me as far as thou canst[1] do so;" and having seen him she was relieved (*or*, gratified) in her mind, and gave thanks unto God, but she was unable to persuade him to enter into her house. And he made a prayer by the side of the door with his eyes closed tightly, and departed to the desert.

And he also wrought the following wonderful thing:—In the place where he lived he dug a hole in the ground, and found water which was bitter [in taste], but until the day wherein he died he endured the bitter taste of the water, in order that he might make known that which he suffered patiently for the sake of God. Now after his death [Page 271] many of the monks wished to abide in that place, but they were not able to do so, even for one year, chiefly because of the terrible nature of the country and the barrenness thereof.

CHAPTER XII.

Of Abbâ Moses the Libyan.

There was also another old man whose name was Moses, who came from the country of the Libyans; he was exceedingly meek and compassionate, and through this was held to be worthy of the gift of healing. And this old man himself related unto us the following story, and said:—When I was a young man and

[1] B حمل ڤيحنا نتمك "as much as thou wishest."

dwelt in the monastery, we dug out a large cistern which was twenty cubits wide, and eighty men were digging it out, and we set seventy men to build [walls round it]; and they dug down according to their knowledge, and they passed[1] the place where they expected [to find water], and went down even one cubit more, but they did not find water, and being greatly distressed at this we wished[2] to abandon the well and go away. But when Abbâ Pîôr came from the desert at the season of noon, now he was an old man and was covered in his head-cloak, he saluted us, and said unto us, "Why hath your spirit lessened, O ye of little "faith? For I observe that your spirit hath diminished "since yesterday because ye have not found water." Then he went down by a ladder to the bottom of the well, and made a prayer with the men, and having prayed, he took up an iron tool and drove it into the earth three times, saying, "O Lord God of the holy "Fathers, make not the weariness [of these men] to be in vain, but send them water in abundance;" and straightway the water sprang up in such quantity that they all were wetted, and having prayed a second time he went forth and departed. And when they urged him to remain with them and eat he would not be persuaded to do so, but said unto them, "The "matter concerning which I was sent hath come to "pass, and to eat I was not sent" [Page 272].

[1] Read ⲙⲁⲣⲉϩϩⲁⲥ.

[2] Adding ⲉϫⲱⲛ.

CHAPTER XIII.

Of a certain distinguished wandering monk.[1]

There was a certain distinguished wandering monk who (as we have heard from the famous monks who dwelt by the side of the country of Antinoë) lived a life of great sanctity in the mountains, and many folk were helped by him both by word and deed. And the Enemy had envy of him, even as he hath of every [good] man, and he cast into his mind thoughts which appeared to be modest, saying, "It is "not seemly for thee to be ministered unto and treated "with honour by others, for thou shouldst minister unto "thyself. Go therefore to the city, and sell thy plaited "baskets thyself, and buy whatsoever thou hast need "of, and lay no burden upon any man." Now the crafty one counselled him in this wise because he was envious of the assistance[2] which [he obtained] from the silent contemplation and constant [prayer], and because[3] he kept God in his mind, and he was laying nets for him, and was trying to snare him by every means in his power. And the monk, being convinced as it were by [a counsellor of] good, for he was not greatly skilled [in the knowledge] of the cunning and of the abundant wickedness of him that was lurking in ambush, went down from the mountain, and the brethren marvelled, because he was a wandering monk who was well-known and famous; and thus, in a short time, through want of care, and also through converse with women, he was caught in the toils and fell.

And he came to the river [Nile] in a desolate

[1] The copyist adds the note:—"We have found [the story of] this wandering monk and recluse following [that of] the recluse John of Lycus."

[2] Read ܕܚܡܝܢܘܬܐ.

[3] Read ܕܒܟ.

place (now there was with him the Enemy who had cast him down, and who rejoiced because of his fall, and because many folk would be made to offend through hearing thereof); and because he had greatly grieved the Spirit of God, and the Angels, and the holy Fathers of the same class as himself, having become unlike any of those who in the cities and everywhere else had overcome [Satan]; and because he had forgotten that great might was nigh unto him [that fighteth] against the Enemy, and who truly hath his hope in the Lord; because, I say, [Page 273] he forgot that this help existed, he fell into error, and knew not how he was to be healed, and wished to throw himself into the river flood and die. And moreover, although his body was brought exceedingly low, through the suffering of his soul, it would have been in vain had not, at length, the mercy of God helped him not to die, (which would have afforded perfect joy to the Enemy), [and it urged him] to depart again with weeping and bitter suffering of heart, and, as was meet, to make supplication to the compassion of God. And thus having returned to his place and blocked up the window of his cell, he wept, as was right, after the manner of one who weepeth in a suitable manner over a dead person, and he reduced his body to emaciation by means of his fasting, and vigil, and grief, for the expectation of his repentance[1] had not as yet come to him.

And on several occasions when the brethren came to comfort him, and knocked at his door, because he had no excuse to make he would say, "Pray ye for "me, O my brethren, for I have made a covenant "to live a life of silent contemplation all my days, "having everything of which I have need." Then they would go away having no hope whatsoever for him;

[1] He did not expect that his repentance would be accepted.

now he was a monk who was very precious in their sight. And from Pentecost, when the brethren were in the habit of relaxing their severe rules of life, and when they ate freely—now because of his fall that monk did not act thus—onwards, throughout the whole year until the feast of unleavened bread, he prayed with tears, and he vexed sorely the life of his flesh, and was crucified with Christ. But on the eve of the [day of] the Resurrection, at the rejoicing of the holy First Day of the week, he took a new lamp, and trimmed it ready for lighting, and he set it in a new vessel likewise, and covered it over, and being unable to stand up in prayer, he said, "O Thou Merciful One, "Who desirest that the Barbarians and all the people "who are without God should have knowledge of thee "and should turn to Thee, and Who alone art the true "Physician of souls, have mercy upon me! for I know "that I have made Thee wroth not a little. I have "obeyed the Enemy even to my death and, behold, I "am a dead man. O Thou Who didst teach [Page 274] "the children of men who were not merciful to shew "mercy[1] to each other, O have mercy upon me! For "unto Thee nothing is impossible, even though I be "brought down as low as the dust in Sheol. But Thou "art the Lord of Thy hosts, and Thou art He Who "is good unto those whom Thou hast fashioned, and "Thou art He Who shall raise up the dead bodies [of "those who] have no being and Who shall make them "to have being in the Day of Resurrection; answer "Thou me because my heart and my body are sick, "for I am overcome by the fear of Thee and am ready "to perish, and I cannot live any longer. And, because "as yet I have no confidence in [my] repentance, a "two-fold destruction have I in my despair. Shew "compassion upon me, O Merciful One, and kindle this "lamp by Thy light, so that I by means thereof may

[1] Read ܪܚܡܐ.

"receive the encouragement of Thy mercy, and may "pass the remainder of my life which Thou wilt bestow[1] "upon me in the way which shall please Thee, and "may never again as long as I live be unmindful of "the fear of Thy commandments."

And he said these things with tears on his face, and he rose up to see if the lamp had been lighted, and he uncovered it, and saw that there was no light in it. Then he fell upon his face as he had done before, and he besought the Lord frequently, saying, "O Lord, Thou knowest that the strife hath "taken place and that it is ended, and Thou wilt not "require especially that I should be disgraced by cry- "ing out with the wicked, and that I should suffer tor- "ture for ever. Have mercy then upon me, and I will "confess Thy goodness; I have been ashamed before "the righteous angels, and if it were not that it would "cause scandal, I would make my confession to the "children of men. Therefore have compassion upon "me, for from this time forward I will teach others "that their hearts must not be outside Thy fear, even "for a moment; and now I make supplication unto Thy "goodness, O make me to live, and I entreat Thee "[so to do], for I am about to die." And the monk prayed in this manner three times, and then he was heard by God, for when he went back the fourth time [to see if the lamp had been lighted] he found it burning brightly; and he was strengthened with hope, and rejoiced, and wept abundantly, and he marvelled at Divine Grace, [Page 275] and he made prayer to the Lord about this also, saying, "Thou didst shew "compassion upon the life of this world of him that is "unworthy, and especially by the great and new sign "[which Thou hast given]; yea, Lord, Thou dost always "shew Thy compassion upon the miserable soul, and "dost spare it." And the monk continued [to give]

[1] The better reading is ⟨illegible⟩.

simple thanks [until] the day dawned, and he rejoiced in the Lord and forgot the food of the body; and he tended the light of the lamp every day, and poured oil therein, and he trimmed it from above, and kept it covered so that it should not be extinguished. And thus that man became like one who had risen in the resurrection of the righteous, and like the chaste man, and like the humble man in the Spirit of God [who obeyeth] readily, and [who giveth] gladly unto the Lord gratitude and thanks. And when he was about to yield up unto the Lord the soul which had been graciously given to him, he related the story gladly unto the brethren who happened to be there, that it might cause them fear, and he said, "Let that lamp be "placed in [my] grave in commemoration of [my] re-"pentance." And we, who heard concerning the grace of God, have written down these things in order that men may be watchful in the Lord.

CHAPTER XIV.

The History of the blessed Evagrius, the solitary and strenuous monk.

It is not meet that we should veil the history of this holy man in silence, for we must set it down plainly in writing, both for the help and edification of those who shall come across it, and for the glory of that God Whose wont is to change bitterness to sweetness; we shall, therefore, make clear the history of the blessed man from the beginning, and tell how he journeyed step by step to the goal of spiritual excellence, and how he was carried onwards to the ascetic life, and how he arrived at purity of heart, and how he departed from this world at the age of fifty-four years.

Now this blessed man came from Pontus, where his family lived, and where his father held the office of visitor; and the [Page 276] blessed man BASIL, Bishop of Caesarea, appointed him to be a reader. And after the death of the blessed man BASIL, GREGORY, Bishop of Nazianzus, seeing his perspicacity, and his great skill in the Divine Books, and that he was free from passions, and was adorned with virtues, brought him nigh to the grade of the priesthood, and he went up to the Synod which was held at Constantinople with the blessed man GREGORY, who loved him greatly. And when the blessed man NECTARIUS, Bishop of Constantinople, met him, he was drawn to love him, because he saw that he was a man of strong character, and he attached him to himself. Now EVAGRIUS was beloved by all men, and he was held in honour by all men, and for this reason Satan was envious of him, and he disturbed his understanding through the vision of his mind, which he set in a blaze through the love of a certain woman; and this woman was the wife of one of the noblemen of the city, according to what he himself related unto us. And when, by the Will of God, he was set free from these thoughts, the woman herself began to love EVAGRIUS; now she was a great lady of high degree. Then EVAGRIUS, setting before his eyes the reproach of fornication, prayed unto God with labour that, in His Grace, He might bring this matter to nought, and that He might extinguish the mad lust of that woman; to chide her himself the blessed man was not able, because he was bridled[1] by the large numbers of gifts [which he had received] from her. And his prayer having been heard when as yet he had not had union with her sinfully, an angel appeared unto him in the form of a soldier of the prefect, who seized him, and cast him into prison, and who loaded his neck and his hands with chains,

[1] Read ذِصفِكِد.

but who did not inform EVAGRIUS for what reason he had to bear this ill treatment; and the thought sprang up in his mind which said, "Perhaps that woman's "husband has laid an accusation against me before the "judge." Then EVAGRIUS found himself in great agony of mind, because he saw that [Page 277] other men, who had been committed to prison for offences similar to his own, were condemned in judgment before his eyes, and the angel changed his form, and appeared unto him in the guise of one of his friends, and he began to say unto him, when he saw that he was loaded with chains and had been placed with the malefactors, "What is this which hath happened unto "thee, O brother?" And EVAGRIUS made answer unto him, saying, "My brother, in truth I know not. I think "that perhaps some prince of the city hath laid [an "accusation] against me before the judge, because of "some vain jealousy (*or*, envy) which hath burst into "flame in him, and I am afraid lest, through a gift of "much money, the judge may issue a decree of death "against me." And the angel said unto him, "If thou "wilt receive the words of thy friend I counsel thee "not to remain in this city;" and the blessed EVAGRIUS said unto him, "Thinkest thou that thou wilt see me "in this city if God will deliver me from this trial? "Thou mightest as well think that I am enduring these "evils righteously!" Then the angel said unto him, "Swear unto me that thou wilt depart [from the city], "and wilt have a care for thy soul, and I will deliver "thee from these trials;" and EVAGRIUS took an oath unto him by the Book of the Gospel, [saying], "I will "not tarry here more than the one day which will be "necessary for me to put my things in the ship."

And when EVAGRIUS woke up from his sleep, he thought within himself and said, "Although the words "of the oaths have been uttered in a dream, it is right "that I should fulfil that which I have promised;" so he put his things in a ship and departed to Jerusalem,

where the blessed woman MELANIA received him gladly; now MELANIA had come from the city of Rome. And, because Satan had made the heart of EVAGRIUS as hard as that of Pharaoh, he failed to call to mind that which he had promised to do, and he went back to his former habits, and returned to his pride and was arrayed in filthy garments. But God, because He is in the habit of bringing to nought on our behalf things of evil, kindled the fire of a great fever in EVAGRIUS, and He cast him into a sickness which lasted for six months, and none of the physicians was able to bring healing unto him [Page 278]. Then the blessed woman MELANIA said unto him, "My son, thy long "illness pleaseth me not; tell me, then, concerning it, "for peradventure there is something hidden in thy "mind; thy illness is not like unto that of every [other] "man." Then EVAGRIUS confessed unto her the whole matter. And MELANIA said unto him, "Promise me, "truthfully, that from this time onward thou wilt take "care of thyself in a habitation of monks, and that "thou wilt work unto God; and, however great a sinner "I[1] may be, I will pray for thee, and relief shall be "given unto thy tribulation." Then he promised [to do] that which she required at his hands, and before a few days had passed by the blessed man was healed, and he rose up [from his bed], and from that day his whole mind was changed. And he departed and went to the mountain which is in Egypt and which is called "Nethrâ (*i. e.*, Nitria), and dwelt there for two years, and in the third year he departed into the inner desert, and dwelt there fourteen years, in the place which is called "The Cells"; and he lived upon one pound [of bread] a day, and a box of oil [every] three months. He had been a man great in pomp, and he had made great his body, and had been ministered unto by slaves, yet he laid down a rule that he should

[1] The better reading seems to be في مبكة لمع.

pray in the course of [each] day one hundred prayers. He lived by the labour of his hands, and he only accepted the bare price of his daily food [for] all the work he did; and his work was to write books. Before, however, the fifteen years had passed by, he had cleansed his heart, and was held to be worthy of the grace of God, and wisdom and understanding were given to him, and he knew the power of spirits. He composed three volumes, and taught us [therein] the cunning of devils, and the snares [laid by the] thoughts.

And the blessed man EVAGRIUS himself related unto us that the devil of fornication [once] made an attack upon him, and that he stood up naked the whole night long in the desert (now it was the season of winter), until his flesh was quite shrivelled and dried up. And the [Page 279] devil of blasphemy [on another occasion] made an attack upon him, and, according to what he told us, he passed forty days under the open sky in winter until his flesh became like that of the beasts of the desert. And he also told us that once three devils came to him in the day time, in the form of three members of a religious body, and they began to discuss the faith with him; one of these declared himself to be an Arian, the second said that he was a Eunomian,[1] and the third confessed himself to be of the sect of APOLLINARIUS,[2] but by the Divine Grace which was with him, he drove them away, having put them to shame.

And again he told [us] that one day he lost the key of his cell, but he made the sign of the Cross over the door, and then put in his hand and opened it, having called Christ to his help. He was beaten with innumerable stripes by the devils, and he learned

[1] *I. e.*, a follower of Eunomius, Bishop of Cyzicus, A.D. 360—364.

[2] Bishop of Laodicea; he died about A.D. 390.

by experience very much concerning their cunning. He made known unto one of his disciples by prophecy that which should happen unto him after [a period of] eighteen years, and what he said actually came to pass. And he said, "From the time when I entered the "desert I have never washed, and I have never eaten "any vegetable, or any fruit, or any grapes." At the end of his life, however, that is to say, in the sixteenth year wherein he departed from the world, he ate, compulsorily, food which was cooked by fire, and he was obliged to do this because of a weakness of the stomach which had overtaken him, and he was compelled to take food which had been cooked because of this.

CHAPTER XV.

The History of Mark [Malchus] the solitary monk.

About three miles from Antioch in Syria there is a certain village which is called MÂRÔNÂ, and in this village was an old monk whose name was Malchus, and he was a wonderful and a holy man. Now at that time I had travelled far away from the house of my fathers, and I went to Evagrius [Page 280] the priest, where I heard concerning the holy man MALCHÂ, and I desired greatly to see him and to be blessed by him; so I went to him, and he received me gladly, and began to tell me about the habits of life and the works of the monks, and how it is right to fear the Lord, and, having rejoiced greatly in the pious words of his doctrine, I besought him to confirm me especially in such things. Then he said unto me, "My son, I will relate unto you concerning the temptations which, in proportion to my presumption and thoughtlessness, have come upon me, in order that they may help you, and also concerning the compassionate grace of the

Lord God Who took me out of and redeemed me from them, and Who permitted them to come upon me for the correction of many, who should learn of me, and should not become disobedient to the exhortation of their spiritual fathers, because disobedience is the cause of death."

Then having said these things he began to narrate to me his history, and he said:—I was born in the village which is called KHSÎBHNÊ,[1] and I was[2] the only child of my parents, who, because I was the only child they ever expected to have, were proud of me; and when I had arrived at manhood's estate they were anxious to marry me to a wife, but when I spake against their [wish], saying, "It is right for me to become a monk and to serve the Lord," and they heard of it, they were exceedingly wroth with me. Now my father urged me to marry and threatened me with penalties if I did not, and my mother was always inciting and counselling me to do so. And seeing that their minds were most firmly set upon this, which would become unto me an impediment to my confession of the faith before God, I forsook them, and treated with contempt all the riches of this world, and took with me only a very small sum of money, which was just sufficient for the expenses of my journey; now I wished to go to the monasteries of the East. And because at that time the Greeks had determined to make war upon the Persians, I changed my intention, and made up my mind to go to the west; [Page 281] and whilst I was pondering this matter I learned that between KENESHRÎN and ALEPPO there was a monastery which was situated in a peaceful spot, so I gave up my former intention, and went thither, and I asked them [to receive me], and I remained with them, and I wrestled with all their ascetic habits and rules of

[1] *I.e.*, Nisibis.

[2] Read ܗܘܝܬ.

chastity according to their godly ways of life, and I made good progress therein in the Lord.

And having remained in that monastery for a certain number of years, and having lived blamelessly the life of spiritual excellence, all the brethren rejoiced at the growth of my asceticism; but because the Calumniator, that jealous and envious being, could not endure [this], he cast into my mind thoughts [which were apparently] correct ones, saying, "Since thy father is dead, return "to thy house, and comfort thy mother so long as she "is alive, and after her death sell thy possessions, and "give some of the price thereof to the poor; and the "remainder keep, and with it build a monastery, and "thou thyself shalt become a father and a governor of "monks." And to tell the truth to thee, my son, the Calumniator cast within me the passion of avarice, saying, "Keep some of the money for thine old age." And when the war which was caused by these thoughts had been [waged] against me daily for some time, I felt obliged to reveal this sickness of my soul to the spiritual father, who, when the holy father had heard thereof, said unto me, "My son, hearken not to thy "feelings, for this is a snare of Satan who, by means of "this cunning device, hath put many monks backward "in their course, even as a dog goeth back to his "vomit, and hath cast them down and hath made them "lose their inheritance, and who, though continually "setting before them the hope of that which is good, "hath, nevertheless, brought them down into Sheol. "For having raised ADAM to a height of error which "resembled this, he brought him down to the bottom "of Sheol; and our Lord commandeth him that hath "laid his hand upon the plough not to turn back."

Now when by means of such testimonies which he brought from the Holy Scriptures he was not able to persuade me [to stay], he thereupon fell down before me and wished me to swear [Page 282] by the Lord that I would not forsake him. And whilst that

merciful and pious father was saying these things for my deliverance, the Enemy was placing in my heart the words, "The father acteth not thus because he "would shew compassion on thee, but he wisheth that "the whole community of the brethren may be glorified "[by thy staying here];" and by saying words of this kind to me, that evil adviser made me to gain a victory of wickedness, and he made me to come forth out of the monastery. And still clinging unto me, as unto one who was lost, the father said unto me, "My "son, I see that thou art consumed by the love of "money; the sheep which goeth forth from his flock "without his shepherd straightway becometh a prey "unto wolves;" and when he had spoken these words unto me I left him.

Then I went from Aleppo to Edessa by the king's highway, and being afraid of the soldiers (*i. e.*, bands of marauding robbers), who had already taken up their abode in the countries round about, I remained in Edessa, hoping to find company for the journey, for so great as this was my watchful fear. And when we had gathered together a company of men and women, [whose] names were seventy in number, and had therefore set out on the road, suddenly a band of Arab soldiers swooped down upon us, and carried us all away; then I called to mind the exhortation of the holy father, and I said to myself, "O my soul, such "are the great riches which I went forth to inherit! "O wretched man that I am, such are the promises of "the Enemy, the deceiver and destroyer of souls! In- "herit [thy wealth] then, O wretched one, and make "thyself happy therewith." And as I was saying these things to myself, one of the Arabs took me and a certain woman, and set the two of us on one camel, and having travelled a short distance in the desert, because we were afraid lest we should fall from the camel, we were compelled to hold tightly to each other; and not only did this shame come upon mine

unconvinceable mind, but I was also obliged to eat with her. And the Arab gave us milk and camel's flesh, and he carried us to his tent, [Page 283] and he commanded me to do homage to his wife and to bow down before her, and he said, "This is thy mistress." Now through these things I, the chaste man and monk, was becoming acquainted with the form of the nakedness of these people, according to the reward which my passion of avarice merited; and the Arab ordered me to gird myself about with woollen garments and to shepherd the sheep, and this [occupation] became unto me a source of consolation for the tribulations which surrounded me, because after a few days I was released from the evil faces of my masters and companions. But this alone did not bring me consolation, for I remembered that ABEL, and the Patriarch JACOB and his sons, and the holy man MOSES, and king DAVID were shepherds of sheep, and I rejoiced in the desert, and I pastured the sheep, and prayed, and sang the Psalms which I learned in the monastery. And I used to eat cheese made of goats' milk, and I drank milk, and I gave praise to God, that I had[1] obtained such a [light] penalty for my disobedience; and remembering that the Apostle said, "Servant, be submissive to your "masters,[2] not only to the good, but also to the wicked," I took care of my master's sheep with the utmost diligence. Now in all these things I kept in mind always the envy of the Calumniator, who hateth that which is good.

And when my master saw that I was acting rightly towards him, he wished to reward me well therefore, and he wanted to marry to me that woman who had been taken captive with me; and when I spake against his proposal, saying, "I am a monk, and I cannot do "this, besides this woman has a husband who was

[1] B has ܟ ܗܘܝܬ ܒܛܝܠ.

[2] Colossians III. 22; Ephesians VI. 5.

"taken captive with us, and who has passed into other "ownership," his wrath went up, and he drew his sword, and he set his gaze upon me, and would have killed me, had it not been that I ran and took hold of his wife's hand. And having married me to the woman, he brought me into a cave with her. When, therefore, I knew that this was indeed the captor [Page 284] of my soul, I cried aloud, and wept, and said, "Woe unto "me, the sinner! What hath happened unto me? For "having grown old in a life of virginity, a terrible "evil now cometh upon me, and I must, forsooth, be- "come the husband of a wife! Where now is my "mother? And where are the possessions and riches "of my fathers? For because I was not persuaded to "[perform] the obedience of the servants of God, and "because I separated myself [therefrom], and because "I forsook the Lord I must endure things of this kind! "Now what wilt thou do, O my wretched soul? For "if thou dost conquer by patient endurance, by the "Grace of God thou wilt be held worthy of help, but "if thou art lax severe punishment is laid up for thee. "Fight then mightily against sin, and turn the sword "against thyself, that there may be kept for thee the "testimony of chastity; hold in contempt the fire of "time, that thou mayest flee from the fire of eternity, "and conquer thou sin in the desert, that thou mayest "be a persecuted and chosen witness."

Then I took the sword in my hands, and saluted that woman, saying, "Mayest thou remain in peace, "O wretched woman, and acquire for thyself rather a "martyr than a husband, for because I would not marry "a wife I fled from and forsook my parents." Now when the woman saw the sword which was shining in the darkness, she fell down before my feet and said unto me, "I will make thee swear by Jesus Christ, the "Lord of praise, that thou wilt not kill thyself for my "sake; and if thou wishest to do this turn the sword "against me. Why shouldst thou wish to kill thyself

"so that thou mayest not take me to wife? Know "thou that I am far more anxious than thou art to "preserve my chastity unto Christ, and must guard it "not only against thee, but also against my lawful "husband, for even if he were to come I would keep "myself chaste. This is what this captivity wherein I "am teacheth me, for this affliction should teach us to "take refuge in the Lord. Take me then to thyself "as a companion[1] of thy [Page 285] chastity, and let "us love each other in spiritual love, so that when our "masters see us they may think that our intercourse "is carnal. Now God, Who knoweth hearts, recognizeth "spiritual brotherhood, and we can easily persuade "these people when they see us together in this wise "that we love each other." Then, whilst marvelling at the understanding of the woman, I received her good advice gladly in Christ, and henceforward I loved her as a spiritual helpmeet, and as a pure and chaste helper. I never saw her body naked, and I never approached her couch, for I was afraid lest, having been victorious in the time of war, I might receive a severe wound through the arrows of the Enemy in the time of peace. In this wise then our masters left us for a long time, and they were not afraid that we were preparing to run away from them, for it happened on several occasions, sometimes for a whole month together, that I was alone [with the woman] in the desert. And my master used to come, and when he saw that I was taking good care of his sheep, he would go back [to his place] rejoicing.

And it came to pass one day when, according to my custom, I was sitting in the desert, that I began to meditate upon the peaceful life of the brethren who were in the monastery, and I saw also the face of our holy father as if it had been an image; and I thought of his perfect and abundant love for me,

[1] Literally, "a daughter of the yoke."

and how anxious he was in every way that I should not be separated from him, and how I would not be persuaded [to stay with him] by the Divine revelation, and how he bore witness beforehand concerning the things which would happen to me—[Whilst, then, I say, I was pondering upon these things in my mind, and was greatly afflicted thereby, I saw an ants' nest, and I saw multitudes of these insects working with the greatest diligence and care in their various ways, and I saw how they were all making their way into the nest through a narrow entrance, without impeding each other. Some of them were bringing seeds for their winter food; and others were bringing loads which were larger than their bodies; and others were carrying in on their backs those which had been wounded; and others were expelling from the nest those which had settled themselves inside, and they were cutting them up into small pieces, lest being drenched in the winter they would have to return to the grass, and should die of hunger and be destroyed; and others were carrying dust, so that when the winter rains fell with violence they might be able to block up the entrance to their nest firmly. Now this sight was in my opinion worthy to wonder at, because everything which these small creatures did was done in perfect order, and I spent the whole of the day in watching them, and so enjoyed some relaxation from my afflictions, and I said, "Well "did Solomon counsel us to be like these creatures, "for he [wished to] stir up our lazy and sluggish under-"standings in this wise [to perform] with a ready mind "the things which befit our redemption"].[1]

[1] The scribe has omitted one paragraph, which is here supplied from Bedjan's edition:—

ܟܕ ܗܘܐ ܒܗܢܘܢ ܡܚܫܒܬܐ ܗܘܬ ܠܝ ܕܐܬܚܙܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܡܠܬܐ ܕܫܠܡܘܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܢ ܠܡܐ ܫܠܡܘܢ ܗܟܢܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܢ ܠܡܗܘ̈ ܕܢܬܥܪ ܠܢ ܠܡܐ ܫܠܡܘܢ ܗܟܢܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܢ ܠܡܗܘ̈ ܕܢܬܥܪ ܠܢ ܠܡܐ ܫܠܡܘܢ ܗܟܢܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܢ ܠܡܗܘ̈ ܕܢܬܥܪ ܠܢ

Whilst then, I say, I was pondering upon these things in my mind, and was greatly afflicted thereby, I began to have sorrow concerning myself, because my lazy and sluggish mind lacked the great sense of order and arrangement which the ants possessed, and also the faculty of not being disturbed by thoughts of laziness, which the brethren possessed in common with the ants, and also because the Calumniator had hunted[1] me down like a child, and had set me in captivity, and had hurled me into such [great] temptations [Page 286]. And I thought of those who were offering their souls with all their hearts to Christ, and who were being guided on their way in all the monasteries by submission and spiritual grace, through the righteous redemption of our Redeemer, and who were anxious to preserve their souls blameless, and who were labour-

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ܗܘܐܐ ܡܒܕܕܝ ܡܐ: ܫܕܬ ܕܝ ܒܟܬܝ ܕܡܘܕܝ ܡܝ ܩܒܬܡܢ
ܗܘܝ ܡܐ: ܘܫܕܬ ܠܐ ܕܐܢ ܕܝܐܘܒܝ ܚܒܝ ܡܒܟܝ ܟܢܡܢ.
ܫܕܬ ܕܝ ܠܐ ܕܐܢ ܗܠܟ ܝܗܕܗܘܝ ܗܟܡ ܡܐ: ܡܕܒܘܐ
ܡܒܡܡ ܡܐ ܟܡ: ܕܗܟܐ ܕܝ ܘܗܕܚܝ ܠܗܘܐ ܟܗܘ ܟܢܡ
ܘܗܘܡ: ܘܒܒܟܐ ܡܡܘܗ. ܫܕܬ ܒܟܐ ܗܟܐ
ܡܐ ܟܢ ܘܗ ܡܒ ܘܐ ܕܐ ܡܐ ܟܢ ܘܗ ܡܒ ܘܐ ܕܐ ܡ
ܡ ܡܒܟܐ ܘܐ ܕܐ ܡ ܟ ܘ ܡ ܒ ܘ ܐ ܕ

ing diligently, and without any hindrance, and with all their strength to do their work, and to minister unto one another; and who were not saying about any possession which was theirs "It is mine", and who had everything in common; and who carried out perfectly the manner of life, which is described in the Acts of the Apostles,[1] according to which no man said about any possession that it was his, and everything was in common; and who, though possessing nothing, yet possessed everything; and who enjoyed sufficiently that which they had for their [daily] needs, with all fear or with all praise, and glorified Him Who richly provided them with everything.

And having made my heart sad and low with such thoughts for many days, I went to that woman, who seeing how greatly my countenance was changed, entreated to be allowed to learn the cause thereof; and having confessed to her that it was because I had remembered the regular life of the brethren, and that I wished to escape and to return to the monastery out of which the Enemy had made me to come, she advised me and besought me to take her [with me] and to place her also in a nunnery. And having together decided upon this plan, we wept and entreated our Lord to help us to carry out what we had determined and to deliver us from that wicked people. Now therefore, having firm hope in God's assistance, we took thought for our return, and I slew two large goats which I had with me, and made their skins into water bottles; and having loaded their flesh upon our shoulders. I took the woman, and we departed. And we travelled the whole night long, and came to an exceedingly great and wide river, and I blew up the water bottles, [Page 287] and I gave one to the woman and kept the other myself, and we laid hold upon them with our hands, and sitting astride of the skins we paddled

[1] Acts IV. 32.

with our feet, and crossed over the river. Then, seeing that we should have to cross a desert wherein there was no water, we drank abundantly of the water of the river, and rose up from that place and went on our way quickly; and we were turning round continually [to look] behind us because of our horrible expectation that there would be men pursuing us, and that even if we could escape from them we should[1] fall [into the hands of] wicked men like unto them.

Now because of our fear lest this should happen, and because of the heat of the sun, we were obliged to travel by night, and urged by this great fear, and also by our great anxiety, we were looking behind us ceaselessly. And after [travelling for] five days, we turned round suddenly, and saw our master and one of his companions, riding upon camels, and holding drawn swords in their hands, and pursuing after us; and by reason of our fear the sun appeared to us to become dark. And whilst we were in this terrible state of fright, and did not know where to escape, through the Providence of Christ, the Hope of the hopeless, and the Help of the helpless, we peered about in that place and found a frightful cave in the ground, wherein had gathered all the numerous kinds of snakes which are found in the desert, serpents, and asps, and vipers, and scorpions, which had gone therein because of the burning heat of the sun. Into this cave we tottered, and we hid ourselves in a corner, on the left hand side thereof, and we said, "If our Lord help us this cave shall be "unto us a house of deliverance; but if He leave us "to the sinners it will be our grave."

Now when our master and his companion following in our footprints had pursued us to the cave, they alighted from [Page 288] their camels, and stood by the mouth thereof, and when we saw our master, such great fear laid hold upon us that we were unable to move

[1] For نخذ read يقع.

our tongue to utter a word; for owing to the greatness of our fear we were already [as] dead men, before the sword-stroke fell upon us. And when our master stood outside the cave and called to us, we were unable to speak to him because of our fear. And he took hold of the camels, and commanded his companion to go in and bring us out, whilst he stood [outside] waiting for us with his sword drawn, so that he might by means thereof quell his brutal madness. Now when the young man had gone into the cave for a distance of five paces he stood [still], and because he had come in from the outside, his eyes had become dazzled by the light of the sun, and he could not see. Now we being quite near him could see him standing [there], but because he was unable to see us he began to terrify us with [his] voice, saying, "Come out, O ye "wicked slaves who deserve death, wherefore do ye "delay? Behold, your master is outside expecting you." And as he was saying these words, we saw a lioness rise up on the right hand side of the cave, and she sprang upon him, and whilst he was yet speaking, she seized him by the throat and strangled him forthwith, and then dragged him in and laid him on her lair, for she had a male cub; and when we saw our enemy lying [there] before our eyes, we glorified God with great joy. Now his master, not knowing what had happened, and thinking that the young man had been overcome by us, and being unable to contain himself for rage, ran forward, holding his drawn sword in his hand, and, standing at the mouth of the cave, cried out in his wrath to the young man, saying, "Quick, quick, bring "forth these [slaves] to me that they may die an evil "death." And whilst he was speaking, the lioness sprang upon him suddenly, and ripped him up, and threw him headlong on the ground.

And we marvelled at all these unspeakable and inexplicable wonders [Page 289] of the Lord, and we gave thanks to Him, and we rejoiced in the glory of

Him Who in this tribulation had risen up, and by Whose command the wild beast had destroyed our enemies. Now when the lioness turned back and passed from one side to the other of the cave where we were, we thought that she would destroy us, but, because of the wonderful thing which had been wrought, we [continued] to praise the Lord, and we said, "Since the Lord hath delivered us from those "wicked men He can, if he willeth, hand us over to "the lions; but nevertheless let us praise Him and give "thanks unto Him." Now whilst we were thus thinking in our minds, the lioness took up the cub in her mouth, and departed from the cave, and left the place to us; but after she had gone, because of the state of fear in which we were, we remained the whole of that day in the cave. And in the morning we went forth and found the camels that were still laden with provisions which our master had brought for himself and his slave; and we ate and drank therefrom, and for all these things we gave thanks unto the Lord, Who had delivered us from our enemies. And we rode upon the camels, and having crossed that desert in ten days, we arrived at a Greek camp, and we drew nigh to the Tribune who was in command of it, and related unto him everything which had happened unto us; then he sent us on to SABINUS, who was at that time Duke of Mesopotamia, and he likewise learned all our affairs and took the camels and gave us their price, and he dismissed us to depart to our country in peace. Now before our return it happened that my spiritual father fell asleep. And the woman who had been [my] helper, and who had given [me] excellent advice, and had counselled good actions, I placed in an abode of virgins, and I returned to my own [Page 290] monastery and to my spiritual brethren, where at the beginning the Lord directed me. And I related unto that blessed brotherhood the story of all the things which had happened to me, and I confessed that it was because

I had not hearkened unto the admonition of that holy father that the Lord left me so that all these trials might come upon me; and He did this for the correction of many.

Now therefore, O my son, all these trials, which came upon me because of my disobedience, and which I have narrated before thee, are [intended] for the edification and the protection of thy soul; get thou possession of them, because, by the help of God, patient endurance and implicit obedience will deliver a man from all temptations. Obedience to the commandments of God is everlasting life, and the patient endurance which is perfect produceth everlasting life in us; for "he who endureth unto the end shall live."[1] These things did the old man MARK [MALCHUS] himself relate unto me whilst I was a young man, and on account of the law of brotherly love I have written them down because they befit the chaste life of holy old men, and tend to [their] edification and admonition; do ye then relate them unto those who are young, so that they may learn that those who have drawn nigh to the venerable estate of pure chastity, and who have preserved the same for Christ's sake even unto the end, and who are protected by His power, shall overcome all the temptations of the Enemy. And neither captivity, nor the sword, nor any temptation, shall be able to overthrow those who have preserved in all purity and holiness the temple of Christ without spot and blemish, even unto death, and they shall became holy temples, and the Spirit of God shall dwell in them, and notwithstanding all the words of the Calumniator, He shall bestow victory upon them, for ever and ever. Amen.

[1] St. Matthew X. 22.

CHAPTER XVI.

Of two of the Fathers who went naked.[1]

Abbâ Macarius, the Egyptian, once came from Scete to the mountain of Nitria to the Offering of Abbâ Pambô, and the fathers said unto him, "Speak "with the brethren, O father." And he said, "I am "not yet a monk, but I have seen monks. For once "when I was sitting in my cell at Scete, my thoughts "said unto me, 'Go forth, get thee gone into the desert, "'and consider intently what thou wilt see there;' and "I remained five years in struggling with my thought, "and trying it, lest it might be from Satan. And since "the thought continued with me, I rose up and journeyed "into the inner desert, and I found there a fountain of "water, with an island in the middle of it, and the "beasts of the desert used to drink therefrom, and I "saw in the midst of the beasts two naked men; then "fear took up its abode in my limbs, and I thought "that they were perhaps spirits. Now when they saw "that I was afraid they spoke unto me and said, "'Fear not, we also are men.' And I said unto them,

[1] The following text is supplied from Bedjan's edition, p. 251sqq.:—

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"'Whence are ye? And how have ye come to this
"'desert?' And they said unto me, 'We were once in
"'a large monastery, and the desire of both of us was
"'the same, and we went forth and came here where
"'we have been for forty years. One of us is an
"'Egyptian, and the other is a Libyan.' And they also
"questioned me, saying, 'What news is there in the
"'world? Do the waters of the river come as usual?
"'And is the world flourishing?' And I said unto them,
"'Yes,' and I also asked them, 'How can I become a
"'monk?' And they said, 'Except a man make him-
"'self to be remote from everything which is in this
"'world he cannot be a monk.' And I said unto them,
"'I am feeble, and I am not able to do as ye do;'
"and they said unto me, 'If thou canst not [do as we
"'do] sit in thy cell, and weep for thy sins.' And I
"asked them, 'When it is winter are ye not frozen?
"'And in the season of the heat are not your bodies
"'consumed?' And they answered me, saying, 'God
"'in His Providence hath made us to be so that in
"'the winter we do not freeze and in the summer we
"'are not burnt up.' And it was because of this that
"I said, 'I am not yet a monk, but I have seen monks.'
"Permit me [to be silent]."

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CHAPTER XVI[A].

Of a certain old man who went naked.

And they used to speak of a certain solitary monk who went out unto the desert carrying his apparel on his shoulder, and having gone a journey of three days, he climbed a rock, and saw below him an old man who was grazing like the beasts, and he came down secretly and gave chase to him. And the old man was naked, and his soul had diminished to such a degree that he could not bear the smell of men, and he was able to remove himself from them and to make his escape by flight. And having taken to flight that brother pursued him, and he cried out to him, and said, "I am following after thee; for God's sake wait "for me." Then the old man answered and said unto him, "And I, for God's sake also, am fleeing from thee;" and finally, casting away from him the garment which was on his shoulder, he pursued him with all his might. Now as soon as the old man saw that he had cast away his garments, he waited for him, and when the brother came up with him, the old man said, "As thou "didst cast away from thee the things of the world I "waited for thee." Then that brother entreated him, saying, "Speak to me a word [of advice] that I may "be redeemed thereby;" and the old man said unto

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him, "Flee from the children of men, and keep silence, "and thou shalt live."

CHAPTER XVI[B].

OF A CERTAIN NAKED OLD MAN WHO FED WITH THE BEASTS.

And a certain brother came to the monks who lived in that spot wherein there were twelve wells of water, and seventy palm trees, where MOSES and the people [of Israel] encamped when they went forth from Egypt, and that brother told them the following story, saying:—I once had it in my mind to go into the inner desert and see if there was any man living therein, and I went a journey of four days and four nights, and found a certain cave; and having approached it I looked inside it and saw a man sitting therein, and I knocked at the door according to the custom of the monks, so that he might come out to me, and I might salute him, but he never moved, for he was dead. Now I did not hesitate or draw back, but I went in and laid my hand upon his shoulders, and he crumbled into dust and became nothing at all; and in

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wonderment I came out of that place and journeyed on again in the desert.

And I saw another cave by the side of which were traces of men, and I plucked up courage, and drew nigh to it, and though I knocked no man answered me; then I went inside and found no man, and I rose up [and came] outside, and said within myself, "The "holy man will soon come here." Now when it was the season of evening, I saw a number of beasts, which are called 'buffaloes,' and the servant of God was in their midst, naked; and his hair had been made into a covering for his shame. And when he saw me, he stood up in prayer, for he thought that I was a spirit, and he was greatly vexed by an evil spirit, as he subsequently told me; and I understood this matter, and said unto him, "I am a man, O holy one. Look "at my footprints, and touch me, for I am flesh and "blood." And after he had prayed, and I had answered "Amen," he looked at me, and took heart, and brought me into his cave, and asked me, "Why didst thou "come here?" Then I said unto him, "That I might "be blessed by the servants of God have I come into "this desert, and He hath not deprived me of my "desire;" and I also asked him, "How didst thou come

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"here? And how dost thou live?" And he began to speak unto me thus:—I was once in a monastery, where my work was [to weave] linen, and the thought came to me that I would leave it and dwell by myself, and [my mind said], "Thou wilt be able to live in "seclusion, and to entertain strangers with the results "of thy labour, and thy wages will be more than "enough for thee;" and I agreed with my thoughts, and I carried them into effect. So I built me a habitation, and took up my abode therein, and men used to come to me and carry away my work. Now whilst I was doing thus, and was giving all my work for the benefit of strangers and the poor, Satan, the Enemy, with his wonted envy, cast his arrows at me, and, instead of the reward of my labours wherewith I expected to be rewarded, he flattered me by causing a certain virgin to come to me, with the excuse that she wished to buy the labour of my hands, and I gave her that which she wanted. And he stirred her up, moreover, and with one excuse or the other she was always coming to me; and when she had become accustomed to come, and had acquired freedom of speech with me, she began to come near me, and she would take hold of my hands, and laugh, and she was so bold as to eat with me; and subsequently we conceived and brought forth iniquity. And having lived with her in this fallen condition for six months I thought

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in my mind that whether it was to-day, or to-morrow, or at some future time, however far off that time might be, I should be delivered over to everlasting torment. The man who taketh out [of her house] the wife of another man, and seduceth her, is delivered over to the punishment of the Law; how much greater then will be the punishment of the man who hath seduced a woman who hath been betrothed to Christ? Then straightway I determined to come to this desert, and leaving everything I had behind me I went forth secretly, and I came and found this cave, and this fountain, and this palm which is in front of it, which produceth twelve clusters of dates each year, and thus yieldeth each month that which is sufficient for me for the whole month. Now after some time the hair of my body grew long, and my clothes wore out, and my hair covered my bodily shame; I have now been here for thirty years, and the air (*or*, climate) always supplieth me in moderation with what is necessary.

And I questioned him further, saying, "Was thy "mind disturbed about anything during the first years "of thy life here?" And he said unto me, "I was greatly "afflicted at first, and I used to throw myself upon "the ground by reason of pain in my liver, and I could "not stand up to say my prayers, but was obliged to "make my supplications unto God lying on the ground. "Now whilst I was in this tribulation I saw a man

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"who came, and stood by my side, and said unto me, "'What is thy pain?' And at these words I gained "a little strength, and I said unto him, 'My liver "'troubleth me and causeth me pain;' and he said "to me, "Shew me where the place is.' And having "shewn him, he spread out the fingers of his hands, "and slit up my body as with a sword, and he took "my liver and shewed me the sore on it; then he "removed the pain, and having made the place whole "again, he said unto me, 'Behold, thou art healed. "'Serve thou Christ, thy Lord, as is meet for Him;' "and I have been healed since that, and have lived "here without any pain. Then I entreated him to "permit me to live in the first cave, wherein I had "seen the dead monk, and he said unto me, 'Thou art "'not able to endure the attack of the devils;' and "knowing that what he had said unto me was right, "I entreated him to pray for me and to dismiss me." I have narrated this story unto you, O my brethren, so that we may be zealous in the spiritual life and its works of excellence, and may attain to everlasting life; may our Lord in His grace and goodness make us worthy to receive it!

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CHAPTER XVI[c].

Of another holy man.

A certain old man, who was held worthy to be the Bishop of a city in Egypt, told the following story (which he tried to make one think he had heard from another man, but he himself had actually done the things which he described), and he said:—Once there came to me the thought that I would go into the inner desert, which is over against Usa (Οὔση), that I might see if I could find therein [any] holy men who worshipped Christ, and taking with me food and water for four days I set out on my journey; and after four days my food came to an end, and I wondered what I should do [for more], and I plucked up courage and committed myself to God. Then I went on for another four days, when I became so weak that I could not stand up any longer, because through hunger and exhaustion I had no strength in me; and I became sick in spirit and threw myself on the ground. And a certain man came and drew his finger across my lips, and forthwith I became so strong that I thought that neither fatigue nor hunger had ever drawn nigh me; and as soon as I perceived the strength which had come to me, I rose up again and continued my journey for four days more. Then once more I became weary, and stretched out my hands to heaven, and behold

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that man, who had given me strength before, drew nigh to my lips and made me strong, and I continued my journey in the desert after this for seven days more, when I found a booth, with a palm tree and water by the side of it; and there was standing [there] a man the hair of whose head was quite white, and he had made clothing for himself, and his face was awesome [to look upon]. Now on seeing me he stood up in prayer, and when he had prayed, and I had answered "Amen," he knew that I was a man. Then he took hold of my hands, and questioned me, and said, "How didst thou come hither? Doth everything "in the world still exist? Are the Christians being "persecuted?" And I said unto him, "By the help of "your prayers, for in truth ye serve God, I have "travelled and come into this desert; and, by the power "of Christ, the persecution of the Christians is at an "end." And, in turn, I said unto him, "Father, tell me "how thou didst come hither." And with sighs and tears he began to say unto me: "I was a bishop, and "during the period of the persecution many sufferings "came upon me, but finally, because I could bear the "tribulations no longer, I sacrificed [unto idols]. And "having come to my senses I recognized the wicked-"ness which I had committed, and I made myself come "to this desert that I might die here. And I have "passed forty-nine years here in making supplication "to God for my folly, and in entreating Him to for-

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ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ: ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲙⲡⲓⲕⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲓⲙⲁϩⲉ ⲉⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲁⲓⲙⲟⲩⲛⲓ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲣⲉ
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"give me the sin which I sinned; now God gave me "life from this palm tree, but I did not receive any "encouragement to hope for the forgiveness of my sins "until the completion of forty-eight years."

And after he had said these things to me, he rose up suddenly and went outside the booth and stood up for many hours in prayer; and when he had finished his prayer, he came to me, and as I looked upon his face fear and wonder fell upon me, for it was a face as of fire. And, seeing that I was afraid, he said unto me, "Fear not, for the Lord hath sent thee to me "that thou mayest bury my body," and as soon as he had finished speaking, he stretched out his hands and his feet, and died. Then I took the garment which I had on me [and tore it in two], and in one half of it I rolled him up and laid him in it in the earth, and the other half formed my apparel. Now as soon as I had buried him the palm tree dried up, and the booth fell down. Then I made many entreaties unto God, and I prayed unto Him to leave me the palm tree, so that I might pass the rest of my life there, but as this did not take place, I perceived that it was

not the will of God that I should remain here; so I prayed, and returned to the habitation of the children of men. And behold, that man who had given me strength before came again to me and gave me courage, and thus I arrived and came to the brethren; and having related unto them these things I encouraged them not to be in despair about their souls, but [to feel] that in patient endurance they would find our Lord.

CHAPTER XVI[D].

Of a certain solitary monk who used to feed on grass by the Jordan.

A certain monk was feeding on grass by the Jordan, and at noontide he went into a cave to rest, and he found there a lion which began to roar; and he said to the lion, "What vexeth thee? There is room enough "here both for thee and for me, and if thou dost not "wish [for a companion], get up and go out;" and because the lion could not bear [him], he rose up, and went out.

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CHAPTER XVI[E].

Of a certain holy virgin.

Once certain of the great sages of Scete were travelling along a road in the desert when they heard a sound, like the groan of a sick person, [rise up] from the ground; and they searched, and found a path which led into a cave, and when they had descended into it they discovered [there] a certain holy virgin. Then they said unto her, "O mother, when didst thou come "here? And who ministereth unto thee?" For they saw nothing in the cave except the holy woman herself who was lying on the earth. And she said unto them, "Behold, I have passed eight and thirty years "in this cave, and I have satisfied my wants with grass, "for I labour for Christ. And I have never seen a "man except this day, and God hath sent you to me "this day to bury my body;" and having said these words, she died. And when the fathers saw [this], they glorified God, and they buried her body, and prayed, and departed from the place.

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ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲙⲟⲩ.

CHAPTER XVI[F].

Of the two young men who were with Macarius.

Abbâ Bytinius said:—The disciple of Macarius once told me following story, and said:—Abbâ Macarius once said to me whilst I was living in Scete, Two young men, who are strangers, have gone down there, and one of them hath a few hairs as a beard, and the other hath the beginning of a beard. And these young men came and said unto me, "Where is the "cell of Abbâ Macarius?" And I said unto them, "What "seek ye with him?" And they said, "We have heard "of his life and deeds, and we have come to see him." And I said unto them, "I am he;" and they offered me repentance,[1] and said unto me, "We wish to "abide here." Now, seeing that they were proud because of [their] riches, I said unto them, "Ye will not "be able to dwell here;" and the elder of them said unto me, "If we are unable to dwell here, we will go "to another place." Then I said to myself, "Why "should I be an occasion of stumbling to them, for the "labour itself will make them flee?" And I said unto them, "Come, make ye a cell for yourselves if ye can;" and they replied to me, "Only shew us how to do it, "and we will do it." So I gave them an axe, and a

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tool for digging up the ground, and a sack of bread and salt, and I shewed them a rock wherefrom they might hew [stone], and I said to them, "Hew your "stone from here, and then bring wood from the forest "and roof over [the place], and then take up your "abode." Now I thought that they would straightway take to flight, but they said unto me, "What is your "work here?" And I said unto them, "The weaving "of palm leaves," and I plucked some leaves from the palms in the grove, and shewed them how to begin to work to plait baskets, and I said unto them, "Give "them to the guardians, and they will give you bread." And from that hour I left them, and everything which I had said unto them they performed with great persistence and diligence, and they remained there for three years and never came to me; and I continued to debate in my thoughts, saying, "What kind of work "is theirs that they never come in to me to ask me "for anything? The people that are afar off come to "me, but these who are close by do not come to me, "and they have gone nowhere else, except to the "church to receive the Offering when they have leisure."

Then I prayed to God and fasted for a whole week that He might shew me their work, and straightway I rose up and went to them that I might see how they were; and when I had knocked, they opened the door to me, and they saluted me, and then held their peace;

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and I prayed, and sat down. Then the elder of the men motioned to the younger, who went outside, and sat down, and he plaited ropes, and said nothing; and at the season of the ninth hour he knocked at the door, and the younger man came and made a sign to him, and he went forth and cooked a little food. And he made another sign to him, and he prepared a table with three bread-cakes upon it, and then stood by in silence. Then I said, "Arise, let us eat;" and they drew nigh and we ate, and one of them brought an earthenware pitcher of water, and we drank. And when the evening had come, they spake to me, and said, "Art thou going "away?" and I said, "No, I am going to pass the night here." Then they laid down a palm-leaf mat for me on one side [of their cell], and they threw themselves down upon the bare earth on the other side of the cell by themselves. And when I had prayed to God to inform me concerning their toil, the roof was opened, and the place became as light as it was in the day time, but they did not see that light. Then, thinking that I was asleep, the elder man smote the younger, and they rose up, and girded up their loins, and spread out their hands to heaven; and I saw them, but they did not know that I could see them. And I saw the devils hovering about over the young man like flies,

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and some of them wished to settle on his eyes, and some on his mouth, and behold, the angel of the Lord was going round him, and was driving away from him the devils with a sword of fire; now the devils did not dare to approach the elder man. And about the time of morning the two men threw themselves on the ground and I made myself to appear like one who had just woke up from sleep, and they likewise feigned to have only then become awake. And the elder man spake unto me these words only: "Dost thou wish "us to recite twelve Psalms only?" And I said unto him, "Yes," and the younger man recited five Psalms out of |each of the| six *Pethgâmê*, and one *Hûlâlâ*;[1] and at every *Pethgâmâ* a lamp of fire came forth from his mouth, and went up into heaven; and similarly, when the elder man stood up and recited the Psalms there went forth from his mouth as it were a rope of fire, which ascended into heaven. Now I could only recite the Psalms little by little. And I came forth and said unto them, "Pray ye for me;" but they excused themselves, and were silent. And I learned that the elder man was perfect, but that the Enemy still waged war against the younger man. And after a few days the elder man died, and three days later the

[1] The whole Psalter was divided into twenty *Hûlâlê*.

other man died also; and whensoever the fathers came to ABBÂ MACARIUS he used to take them to the cell of those brethren, and say unto them, "Behold ye the "martyrium of these little strangers."

CHAPTER XVII.

OF ABBÂ BESSARION.

[Page 291] The disciples of ABBÂ BESSARION used to relate the story of his life and deeds in the following words:—The mode of life of the old man was that of the bird of the heavens, and of the things which are in the waters, and of the creeping things of the earth, and he passed the whole period of his life in peace,[1] and in tranquillity; for no anxiety [as to the condition] of his cell was ever present with him; and his soul was never occupied with the desire to live in certain places; and he never ministered during the whole course of his career to the satisfying of himself with food; and he never gathered together or laid up for himself possessions in clothes or books; but he was free from care about everything which concerned the body, and he rejoiced in the hope of the good things which were to come; and he was firm and immovable in the foundation of his faith, and he followed the ascetic life strenuously. He wandered hither and thither like one possessed, in the season of frost [he went] naked, and he was consumed with heat under the fierce rays of the sun, and at one time he lived among

[1] Literally, without commotion, or disturbance.

the rocks and at another in the desert. And if it fell out and happened that he came to districts which were settled, or to a place where a congregation of monks passed their whole lives together in the fulfilment of the rules of monasticism, he would take his seat contentedly outside the door of the monastery.

Now on one occasion, having arrived at a certain monastery, he sat down outside the door, and he wept and wailed aloud after the manner of one who had been saved from a storm [at sea]; and when one of the brethren had gone forth, he found him [sitting there] like any ordinary poor man or beggar, and having drawn nigh unto him compassionately he said unto him, "Wherefore weepest thou, O man? If thou "hast need of any of the necessaries of life, so far as "in my power lieth, I will give it unto thee. Rise up, "then, and get thee inside the monastery, and comfort "thyself with the blessed companionship of the table "with us." Then the blessed BESSARION made answer unto him, and said, "Until I find [Page 292] the pos-"sessions of my house which I have lost, and the "numerous goods of the house of my fathers which I "have lost in sundry and divers ways, I cannot live "under a roof. For pirates fell upon me at sea, and a "storm rose up against me, and I have been shorn of "my riches, and from being a man of high degree I "have become the object of contempt." Now that brother was astonished at these words, and was grieved thereat, and he went in and brought out some bread, and gave it unto him, saying, "Father, take this, and "the other things which thou hast mentioned, that is "to say, country, and family, and riches, God shall "restore unto thee." But ABBÂ BESSARION cried out the more, and with louder cries, and lifted up his voice and said, "I know not if I shall be able to find "that which I have lost, and that which I seek, for "as far as I can see they will be removed from me "still farther. And I am afflicted daily, and am brought

"nigh unto death, by reason of the violent storm of "wickednesses innumerable which surround me, and I "endure them and [rest] upon hope that, peradventure, "I may be worthy of mercy in the day of judgment."

CHAPTER XVIII.

Of the wonderful things which Abbâ Bessarion wrought.

Abbâ Shâôl,[1] the disciple of Abbâ Bessarion, used to say:—We came once to the bank of a lake and I was athirst, and I said unto Abbâ Bessarion, "I am "thirsty." And the old man prayed, and said unto me, "Take water from the lake, and drink," and I went, and drank, and I found the water to be sweet; and I drew therefrom and filled all the water vessels which I had with me, for I thought that peradventure I should be thirsty again when I continue my journey. Then the old man seeing me do this, said, "Why fillest thou "[these vessels with] water?" And I said unto him, "Forgive me, father, but I did so lest, peradventure, "as we continue our journey, I may become thirsty "again;" and he said to me, "May God forgive thee, "for here, and there, and everywhere God directeth us."

And on another occasion he was travelling along a road, [Page 293] and he came to the river Chrysoroan, and there was nothing wherewith it might be crossed, and he stretched out his hands, and prayed, and crossed over to the other side. Now I was astonished, and I offered unto him repentance, and said, "Father, when "thou wast passing over the river how far up thy legs "didst thou feel the water?" And he said unto me,

[1] Dixit abbas Dulas discipulus abbatis Besarionis; Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 649, col. 1.

"As far as my ankles I felt the water, but all the rest of it was solid beneath my feet."

And on another occasion we were journeying to a certain great sage, and the sun was nigh to set, and the old man prayed, and said, "I beseech Thee, O "Lord, to let the sun abide in his place until I come "to Thy servant;" and it was so.

And on another occasion I came to him in his cell that I might speak with him, and I found him standing up in prayer, with his hands stretched out to heaven, and he remained standing up in this position for four days and four nights; and afterwards he called me, and said unto me, "Come, my son," and we went forth and set out on the road. And being athirst I said unto him, "My father, I am athirst." Then he removed himself from me about the distance of a stone's throw, and prayed and came to me, and he brought with him his garment filled with water from the air, and I drank, and we travelled on our road until we came to LYCUS, to ABBÂ JOHN. And after each had saluted the other, he prayed, and sat down, and he discoursed concerning the vision which he had seen, and ABBÂ BESSARION said, "A decree of judgment hath gone forth "from the Lord, that all the temples of the idols be "blotted out;" and this actually came to pass, for at that time they were all uprooted.

And there was in Egypt a certain man who had a son that was a paralytic, and he took him on his shoulders, and brought him to ABBÂ BESSARION and left him by the door of his cell weeping, and he departed and went to a place some distance off. Now the old man heard the sound of the weeping of the young man, and he looked out, and seeing him, said unto him, "Who art thou that art here?" And the young man said, [Page 294] "My father brought me "here and then went away, and I weep." Then the old man said unto him, "Rise up, hasten after him, "and overtake him;" and straightway the young man

was made whole, and he went to his father, who took him and departed.

And on another occasion there came to the church a man who had a devil, and prayer was made on his behalf in the church, but the devil did not go forth, for he was difficult [to cast out]; and the clergy said, "What shall we do about this devil, for no man can "cast him out except ABBÂ BESSARION? let us entreat "him concerning the man, and even though he cometh "not to the church let us act thus. Behold, the old "man cometh to the church early in the morning before "every one else. Let us make the sick man to occupy "the seat wherein the old man sitteth usually, and when "he cometh in, let us stand up in prayer, and say unto "him, 'O father, make to rise up this man also';" and they did so. And when the old man came [into the church] in the morring, they rose up in prayer, and said unto him, "Father, make to rise up that brother;" and ABBÂ BESSARION went and struck him with his fist, and said, "Rise up, and get thee forth;" and straightway that devil went forth from the man, and he was made whole immediately.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE HISTORY OF A HOLY MAN WHO [POSSESSED] NINE VIRTUES.

The fathers used to say concerning a certain brother who lived in a large monastery that, having contended mightily, and having been helped by God, he had made himself master of nine virtues, and that he was exceedingly desirous of making them ten, but that in spite of many contendings he was unable [to do so]. Then the Enemy, according to his custom, cast his arrows at him, and both by day and by night he vexed him and

troubled him in order that he might depart from the monastery wherein he was, and he advised him, saying, "In another monastery thou wilt be able to complete "the ten [virtues]." Now the brother, not understanding the cunning of the Evil One, was led by his thoughts, which seemed to incite him to [further] spiritual excellence, and he departed [Page 295] and went to another monastery with the expectation that he would find that which he sought. And having been received into the monastery to which he had gone, after a very short time, through the contending of the Calumniator, he lost one virtue. And once again the Calumniator cast into his mind the thought that he would depart from that monastery, although he remembered his promise, and said, "Thou hast not only not "found that which thou didst seek, but thou hast also "lost that which thou hadst." Then the brother, being sad and sorry about that which had happened unto him, departed and went to another monastery, with the expectation that he would be able to acquire the virtue which he had lost, and also that he would be able to add another thereto. And whilst the brother was working and contending to acquire that virtue which he had lost, and that which he coveted, the Calumniator, through his wicked craftiness, made him lose another, and he did the same thing to him on several occasions; and he made him to go out from one monastery, and brought him into another so often that the brother at length lost four virtues. And the brother wandered about hither and thither in a state of great agitation, and coming to a certain monastery he rested himself, and leaned against the door thereof, in dejection of spirit, and he cried over himself, and wept because of what had happened to him. Then, having rested a little, he determined to go into that monastery in order to be received into it. And he told himself of all the things which had happened unto him, and all the trials which had attacked him in the mon-

asteries wherein he had been; and he passed judgment upon his soul, and said, "Art thou able to bear all "the [trials] which are in this monastery?" And his soul made answer, saying, "I place my trust in the "mercy of our Lord that He will give strength to my "weakness, and that I shall endure [them]." Then, having decided these things in his thoughts, the brother wrote them all down on a piece of paper and placed them in his girdle, and he strengthened his thoughts [Page 296] to go into the monastery that he might be received therein.

Now after he had been received, and had lived in the monastery for a short time, he began to have freedom of speech with the brethren, and with the archimandrite, and temptations also began to assail him; then he took out the written paper which was placed in his girdle, and read it, and felt relieved, and this he continued to do whensoever temptation assailed him. And the brethren marvelled because he was not perturbed when they were,[1] for on several occasions, when the brethren of that monastery were in a state of excitement, he had not permitted himself to be agitated with them in the smallest degree, and they wished to know the reason of this. And one day when the monks were agitated and disturbed by a quarrel which was so serious that the matter nearly came to murder, that brother took the paper, and looked at it, and as he was reading it one of the brethren watched him. And when the tumult was over, and the brethren saw that he was not agitated, they marvelled, and said, "What is the meaning of "this thing? And why is not that brother as excited "as we are?" Then the brother who had watched the monk [read his paper] revealed to them the matter, saying, "He hath something in his girdle, and on

[1] *I. e.*, they wondered why he would not take any side in their quarrels.

"account of it he remaineth undisturbed;" and the brethren enquired into the matter, and they found that it was even as the brother had said.

Then they approached the archimandrite, and said unto him, "If thou dost not expel this brother, we will "not remain here, and we will go forth, because he is "a sorcerer, and behold, his sorceries are in his girdle;" and the archimandrite promised to expel him. Now the archimandrite delayed the expulsion of that brother, and one night whilst he was asleep, the archimandrite went to him and took the paper from his girdle, and he read it and rejoiced with a great joy; and having read the paper he put it [back] into the girdle of the brother, who knew not what had been done, and no other man knew. And after a short time the brethren, [Page 297] through the agency of Satan, were greatly disturbed by a very serious quarrel, and that brother was in no wise agitated; and when they saw that he was not disturbed at all, and that he was wholly tranquil, they rose up against the archimandrite, saying, "If thou dost not expel this brother we will all depart "forthwith." Then the archimandrite called the brother, and said unto him, "What is this that thy brethren "are saying against thee? They are bringing an ac-"cusation against thee." And the brother expressed regret, saying, "Yes, father, all [their words] are true; "but permit me to repent." And the archimandrite said unto him, "But they say that thou art a sorcerer;" and the brother said, "Yes, I am even as they say, "but I beseech thy piety, O father, that thou wilt allow "me to repent here." Then the archimandrite said unto him, "But they say that thy sorceries are in thy girdle." And the brother, being unwilling that his spiritual excellence should be revealed, fell upon his face before the archimandrite, and took hold of his feet, and made supplication to him, and wept with groans and sighs, saying, "Expose me not, O father, but forgive me for this once only, and I will repent with all my soul."

Then the archimandrite, who knew that great advantage would accrue to the whole brotherhood, would not be persuaded by him, but he commanded that his girdle should be loosened, and he himself took it and brought out therefrom the paper; and he then ordered that all the brethren should be gathered together, and that the paper should be read in a prominent place, so that all of them might hear. And after the paper had been read, the brethren repented, and fell upon their faces before that brother, and they entreated him, saying, "Forgive us, father, for we have sinned against "thee." Thus that brother benefited the whole brotherhood, and they regarded him as a father.[1]

CHAPTER XX.

Of the blessed woman MÂRÎÂ.[2]

There was a certain worldly man who wished to become a monk, and he had a little daughter who besought him to take her with him to the monastery; now she was a maiden, and he entreated her, saying, "If thou wishest to become a nun let me take thee "to a house for virgins," but she said to him, "I cannot "be separated from thee." And her father, being much distressed about her, because she wept by night and by day, and begged that she might not be separated from him, made up his mind to take her with him, and he changed her name that it might not be known that she was a maiden. Now her name had been "MÂRÎÂ," but her father gave her the name of "MA-"RYÂNÂ," as if she had been a boy; then he committed the matter to God, and took her and went into a

[1] Page 297 ends here.
[2] The text will be found in Bedjan's edition, p. 272ff.

monastery, without anyone perceiving that MARYÂNÂ was a girl, and after several years MARYÂNA's father died performing the excellent works of the monastic life. Now the archimandrite saw that MARYÂNÂ was working [hard], and was excelling in spiritual excellence, and he rejoiced in him, not knowing that he was not a boy, and he commanded that he should not be sent out on the highways [to beg] because he was a child; and the brethren were envious against MARYÂNÂ because he did not go out on the highways with them.

And when the archimandrite saw that the brethren were envious against MARYÂNÂ, because he did not go out on the highways as they did, he called to MARYÂNÂ and said unto him, "Since the brethren are envious "against thee because thou dost not perform the work "on the high roads as do they, I command thee to do "so;" then MARYÂNÂ fell down before the archimandrite and said unto him, "Whatsoever thou commandest me "to do I will do gladly, O father." Now the brethren of the monastery wherein lived MARYÂNÂ, whensoever they went out on the high roads, visited a certain believer, in order to rest a little and to refresh themselves, and since MARYÂNÂ was sent out, even according to what had been ordered by the archimandrite, the believing man whom the brethren visited saw him, (for he knew all the brethren of the monastery because he used to go to their monastery continually); and the believing man saw MARYÂNÂ at the season of evening, and he took him and brought him to his house, so that he might rest there for the night. And the believing man had a daughter, and on the night wherein MARYÂNÂ stayed with him a certain man seduced her, and he who had fallen upon her and seduced her commanded her, saying, "If thy father saith unto "thee, Who is he that hath seduced thee? say thou "unto him, It was MARYÂNÂ the monk." And as soon as MARYÂNÂ had departed from them, the father of the maiden knew that his daughter had been seduced,

and he asked her, saying, "Who hath seduced thee?" And she said unto him, "MARYÂNÂ, the monk, is he "who hath seduced me." Then the father of the maiden rose up straightway, and went to the monastery, and with tears he spake before the archimandrite and the whole brotherhood, and said, "What offence have I "committed against you that ye should seduce my "daughter?" Now when the archimandrite heard this he was greatly moved, and he said to him, "What "sayest thou? Who hath seduced thy daughter? Tell "me who he is that I may expel him from the monastery "forthwith;" and the man said unto him, "It is MARYÂNÂ "who hath seduced my daughter." Then the archimandrite commanded that MARYÂNÂ should be called so that he might go forth from the monastery, but having been sought for throughout all the building MARYÂNÂ could not be found, and then they knew that he was out on a journey for the monastery; and the archimandrite said unto the father of the maiden, "There is "nothing further which I can do except this: when "MARYÂNÂ returneth from the highway I will not allow "him to enter the monastery," and he gave orders to all the brethren of the monastery, saying, "When "MARYÂNÂ returns he is not to be allowed to enter "the monastery."

And when MARYÂNÂ came back from the road they would not allow him to enter the monastery, and he wept at the door thereof, and said, "What is my "offence that I am not permitted to enter the monastery?" Then the doorkeeper said to him, "[Thou art not per-"mitted to enter] because thou hast seduced the daughter "of the believing man whom the monks visit;" and MARYÂNÂ entreated the doorkeeper, saying, "For the "Lord's sake go in and persuade the archimandrite to "permit me to enter the monastery, and whatsoever "he ordereth me to do because of my fall I will do." So the doorkeeper went in and told the archimandrite everything which MARYÂNÂ had said, and the archiman-

drite said to him, "Go and tell MARYÂNÂ, [saying], "'Because thou hast done this thing thou shalt never "'see my face again; get thee gone to whatsoever "'place thou pleasest.'" When MARYÂNÂ heard these things he was greatly afflicted, and he sat by the door of the monastery night and day, and wept because of what had happened to him; and he besought those who went in and those who came out to entreat the archimandrite on his behalf, and although very many folk did so, and begged him to let MARYÂNÂ come into the monastery, the archimandrite would not be persuaded [to do so].

And after that maiden, through whom MARYÂNÂ had been trodden in the dust, had given birth to her child, her father took the boy to whom his daughter had given birth, and brought it to MARYÂNÂ, and said unto him, "Behold, here is thy son, take him and rear "him;" and MARYÂNÂ took the child, saying, "Glory "be to God Who can endure and bear with sinners "like myself." And each day he took the child and went up the mountain to the goats of the monastery, and suckled him with goats' milk, and when the child was suckled MARYÂNÂ returned to the door of the monastery; now he never left the door of the monastery except when he went to give the child milk, and he besought those who went in and those who came out, with tears, to unite with him in making supplication to God to forgive him his sin. And he sat by the door of the monastery for four years, and tears were never absent from his eyes, neither by night nor by day, and everyone who heard the sound of his weeping was grieved for his sake. Now after MARYÂNÂ had suffered affliction by the door of the monastery for four years, and had shewn the child to every man, saying, "Pray ye for me, for I fell into "fornication, and this child is the result thereof," God moved the mind of the archimandrite to bring MARYÂNÂ into the monastery, for His mercy was revealed upon

him, and He commanded the archimandrite to bring MARYÂNÂ in.

And as soon as MARYÂNÂ heard that they were going to bring him into the monastery from the man who told him about it beforehand, he rose up straightway, and fell down before the Lord, and said, "Glory be "to Thee, O Lord, Who hath not been unmindful of "such a [great] sinner as I am! I give thanks unto "thee for all the goodness which thou hast shewn unto "me. What have I to give unto Thee in return "therefor? For Thou hast brought me into the mo- "nastery, by the door of which I had decided in my "mind that I must die." And as soon as those who had been sent to bring MARYÂNÂ into the monastery had done so, MARYÂNÂ fell down before the archimandrite, and before the whole brotherhood of the monastery, now he was carrying the child and was weeping, and sighing, and groaning, and he said unto them, "For- "give ye me, O masters and fathers, for I have angered "God with [my] evil works, and you I have afflicted "greatly; but pray for me, that God may forgive me "the fall wherewith I fell."

And after many years MARYÂNÂ, having prevailed mightily in the great labours of spiritual excellence, delivered his soul to our Lord, and none of the brethren had ever seen him laugh or smile; on the contrary, he mourned all the days of his life. And when he was dead, the brethren drew nigh to anoint him with oil, according to the custom, and then they saw that MARYÂNÂ was a woman. Then the brethren ran quickly and called the man who had made the accusation against MARYÂNÂ, and when he had come and seen her, great wonder laid hold upon him, and he besought God to forgive him the great sin and wrong which he had done to MARYÂNÂ; and all those who heard and saw this glorified God that His saints fight so bravely for His Name's sake.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE HISTORY OF A CERTAIN SAGE AND OF THE WATCHING OF THE MIND.

There was a certain old man who lived in his cell and performed mighty ascetic works, and who, whensoever the brethren of the CELLS were gathered together for the vigil of the First Day of the week, would come to the general assembly, and would act in such a way as to make the brethren despise him, and indeed they regarded him as a man who had gone out of his senses, although he did everything with discretion. Now God, the Good and Compassionate, did not wish the labours of the old man to be hidden, but He revealed and made known some of them for the benefit of the community, and He sent angels, who were in the forms of rich and honourable men, to the priest of the CELLS, and they came and saluted him; and when the priest saw them, he ran forward to meet them, for he thought that they who appeared to him were great and wealthy men, and he rose up immediately and saluted them. And after they had sat down and had held some converse with the old man, they besought him, saying, "O father, we beg of thee to allow "us to go round the CELLS that we may be blessed "by the Fathers;" and he accepted their petition, and permitted them to do whatsoever they wished, and they asked him to send to them one of the brethren. Then the priest called one of the brethren, and commanded him to go with them, and beckoning him aside he said unto him secretly, "Take heed lest thou take "them to the cell of that [mad] old man, for when they "see that he hath lost his reason they will be sorry "they have met him." And when they had come out to go to the CELLS, the honourable men fell down before the priest of the CELLS, and said unto him, "O

"Father, give our brother orders to take us to see all "the fathers," and the priest said unto them, "I have "commanded him to take you to them all." And having gone to the fathers of the CELLS, and visited them, they returned to the priest in his cell, and he said unto them, "Are ye gratified now that ye have seen "the fathers?" And they said unto him, "O father, "we are gratified, but we are sorry about one thing, "that is to say, because thou didst command the brother "who went with us that we should not see all the "fathers." Then the priest called the brother who had gone with them, and said to him in their presence, "Did I not tell thee to take the brethren to all the "cells?" And the brother said, "Yea, father, thou didst "tell me so to do, and I took them to all the cells, and "they have seen all the brethren." Then the honourable men said to the priest, "Forgive us, father, but "there are some of the fathers whom we have not seen, "and we are greatly grieved thereat; but say a prayer "on our behalf so that we may depart."

And after the priest had prayed over them, and they had departed from him, he called the brother who had gone with them, and said unto him, "How did "these men know what I ordered thee [to do]? Didst "thou, perchance, reveal it unto them?" And the brother made repentance,[1] and said, "Forgive me, father, but "I did not reveal [thy orders] unto them." Then the priest knew that the matter was from God, and he rose up straightway and went to that old man whom he thought to be out of his mind, and he fell down on his face before him, and laid hold upon his feet, and besought him to reveal unto him his ascetic works and labours; and he swore to the old man that he would not rise up from the ground, and would not let go his hold upon him until he had done so, saying to the old man likewise, "That I should come to thee

[1] *I. e.*, expressed regret.

"and that thou shouldst reveal thy labours unto me, "are matters from God." Now the old man was unwilling to reveal his works, because he did not wish to be held in honour because of them, nevertheless he was compelled to do so because the priest had told him that the matter was from God, and he promised the priest to reveal unto him one thing; and when the priest heard the promise of the old man, he rose up from the ground, and seeing the old man in a gentle and tranquil frame of mind, he marvelled, because he had never before seen him as he was at that moment. Then the old man said unto the priest, "Depart, O father, I did not know that I did even "one good thing, but of such things which I have the "following is one:—I have by my side two baskets, "one on my right hand, and one on my left; for every "good thought which springeth up in my mind I take "a pebble and throw it into the basket which is on "my right hand; and for every hateful thought which "riseth in me, I also take a pebble and throw it into "the basket which is on my left hand, and this I do "every day. And when the time for the evening meal "hath arrived, I take out the pebbles, and count them, "and if the number of those which are in the basket "of good thoughts on my right hand do not exceed "those in the basket of evil thoughts on my left hand, "I do not take any supper that evening; and if they "do exceed then I eat, and rejoice, for sometimes it "happeneth that several days pass without my eating "at all, because the pebbles of the good deeds do not "exceed in number the pebbles of the bad ones. And "whensoever an abominable thought cometh to me, I "pass judgment on myself, and say, 'Take heed, for "'thou wilt not eat to-day!'" And having heard these things the priest praised God, the Lord of the universe, and he marvelled how the old man could perform such works of righteousness and yet keep them hidden from every man.

CHAPTER XXII.

OF TWO BROTHERS WHO DWELT IN A PERSIAN MONASTERY.

A certain history, which is full of pain and profit, O my beloved, came to me by chance, that is to say, through conversation and speech with the brethren, and I have thought much about it, and have determined that it is right for me to narrate it, and to set it down in writing, so that many from the reading of the same may acquire spiritual profit, and may watch against enmity, and may not have bitter hatred of one another for any reason whatsoever, and that each [of us] may be at peace with the other, and so that each [of us] may forgive the other any cause for murmuring or anger, and may remember the words of our Lord, and God, and Redeemer, Jesus Christ.

There were two brethren who dwelt in one abode in a certain Persian monastery, and it happened that one of them had cause for dispute with the other, and they separated, each from the other, the one leaving the monastery altogether, and the other remaining in the abode wherein they had lived hitherto. And it came to pass that he who remained behind was seized, and bound, and shut up in prison, for [giving] testimony concerning our Lord, and he was brought before the judge, and was questioned by him once, twice, and a third time, and he bore severe stripes and did not deny Christ, and he was again fast bound in the prison house. Now when his companion heard [this] he repented in his soul, and he thought, "It is right that "I should go and be reconciled with my brother, for "perhaps, through this testimony which he persisteth "in giving, he may depart from this world and go "away, each of us keeping wrath against the other, "and through this we both shall suffer no small loss, "and probably I more than he." And when the brother

had meditated thus he came to the prison, and enquired for his companion, who was imprisoned there, and he went into his presence and fell down at his feet, and besought and entreated him to be reconciled to him; but the brother who was in fetters would not be persuaded to do this, and continued in his wrathful condition, and when the brother saw this he left him and departed in sorrow.

And on the following day the judge commanded and they brought in before him the man who was bound and in prison, and he asked him if he would be persuaded to deny his God and to worship the sun, and he would not agree to do either; and the judge gave orders that he was to be laid out and beaten, and to be smitten with rods, and when they had laid him out, and the strokes were being laid on him by two [men] at a time, he denied Christ. Now when the judge saw this, he commanded the men to stop beating him, and he called him to him, and asked him, saying, "What aileth thee? I caused thee to bear "severe stripes on three previous occasions, and thou "wast neither overcome nor didst play the coward's part, "and yet now, whilst they are coming near thee, thou "dost deny [thy God]." And the brother said, "I have "acted thus because I have sinned and treated with "contempt the commandments of the Lord my God, "Who commanded us to forgive each his offences. I "had once a brother in our Lord, and we lived together "in one monastery, and it happened that some cause "for anger rose up between us, and we separated from "each other in enmity. Yesterday he came to me in "prison, and fell down before me and begged for peace "from me, and I would not consent to be reconciled "unto him, and therefore the goodness of God was "cut off from me, and He did not help me this day "as He hath always done before, and I denied [Him]. "During the stripes which I received formerly I used "to see Him spread out about a hand's breadth above

"me, and He did not permit me to suffer, but to-day "He forsook me, and at a small amount of pain I was "terrified and I denied [Him]." Now when the judge had heard these things from him, he commanded that his fetters should be loosed from off him, and that he should be dismissed; and the brother, feeling disgrace and shame at the fall which had come upon him, went forth from the presence of the judge, and directed his way straight to his companion, and he fell down on his face at his feet, and wept and cried out bitterly, and entreated for mercy and peace; and when his companion looked upon him, he also suffered great grief, and he received him, and they were reconciled, and he prayed for him, and though the thing was bitter to him, they separated one from the other.

Then the brother who had denied his God straightway returned to the door of the judge, and he began to cry out and to curse the king, so that they might again bring him before the judge for examination; but the judge did not wish to say anything to him. And when the brother saw this, he departed from thence, and through penitence and grief for what had happened to him, and also through the pain and anguish of his soul, he threw himself, body and soul, into a fire temple; and he began to cast dust and everything else which came to his hands on the fire; and he cursed the king mightily, saying, "God will receive those who "have been tripped up and have fallen, if they repent "and turn unto Him." And he departed from thence also, and he wandered about and went hither and thither, and he threw stones at every magian or pagan whom he met, and he never ceased from reviling the king; and he never ceased or kept silent concerning the compassion of our Lord, which is laid out for those who repent, and he cried out, saying, "Verily, there "is no god except our Lord Jesus Christ, although I, "through my sins, and my negligence of His mercy, "have denied Him." Now when the judge heard these

things, he feared lest he would suffer a penalty and be condemned to death as one who had heard the king reviled, and had been neglectful; and straightway he sent forth a decree concerning him, and ordered that his head should be cut off quickly with the sword. And when they had seized the monk, and had taken him outside the city, he cried out with a loud voice, and said, "Blessed art Thou, O our Lord Jesus Christ, "for ten thousand times ten thousand sins are too few "for Thy mercy to forgive in one hour;" and having said this, they made him kneel down, and he was smitten by the sword and received mercy. Glory be to the Power Who maketh strong His saints to do His Will, and may we have mercy shewn unto us through their prayers, for ever and ever, Amen.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The History of a certain virgin who grew old in the works of the fear of God.

It was related by a certain old man who said:—There was a virgin, who was far advanced in years, and who had grown old in the fear of God, and having been asked by me to tell me the reason why she left the world, she began, with sighs, to speak to me as follows:—Great and marvellous things have happened unto me. When I was a young girl I had a father, who was a pleasant man, and who was modest in his disposition; now he was a delicate man in health, and he was always suffering from some kind of sickness, and he lived entirely to himself, and never interfered in the affairs of other people, and it was with the greatest difficulty that he could be induced to see the people of his village. When he was in good health he devoted his attention unceasingly to the care of

his estate, and he occupied himself at all seasons with the cultivations of his fields; but finally he was obliged to pass many long days of his life laid out on a bed of sickness, and he was so quiet that those who were not acquainted with him would have thought that he was deaf. And I had a mother, who, in all her ways and manners, was the opposite of my father, and she used to do things which were beyond her capacity; her words to every one were many, and she poured out her speech uselessly to every one, and she talked so much that every one imagined that her body must be composed wholly of tongues. Moreover, she had quarrels with her neighbours continually, and she was always in a state of drunkenness, and she drank shamelessly at all times with wanton folk, and she managed the affairs of her house badly, after the manner of a harlot; and at length, although the house was well furnished with goods of every kind, it was with the greatest difficulty that the people could find enough to supply our wants. She was very lax in her care for the things which my father required in his illness, but she displayed the utmost attention in providing for her own body in a disgraceful manner, and the people of the village at length fled before her shameless appearance. No illness ever came upon her, and she had never been ill in the whole course of her life, from the day she was born, and she was healthy in body until her death.

When therefore, I, a wretched girl, had lived for some time in such circumstances as these, it happened that, after struggling against a long illness, that is to say, my father was obliged to pass every day of his life in the infirmity of sickness, at length he departed from the world. Now at the very moment of his death the weather changed, and the rain poured down in torrents, and lightnings and thunders were tearing through the air and disturbing it violently, and it was impossible to tell whether it was day or whether

it was night; for this reason my father lay dead on his bier for three days, for the weather did not permit him to be buried. And, moreover, it made the people of the village to shake their heads, and they wondered, and said, "Perhaps great wickednesses were committed "by this man secretly, and he may have been found to "be such an enemy of God that even the earth will "not permit his burial;" but, in order that his body might not go wholly to corruption, even though the weather was gloomy and threatening, and the rain had not ceased, by some means or other we carried him [to the grave], and laid him therein. Now my mother, as one who had found great relief, forthwith fulfilled unreproved her wanton lusts to the utmost, and she straightway turned my father's house into an abode of harlots, and she lived there in such a state of luxury and lascivious pleasure that soon of all the goods in it only a mere remnant was left, and that remnant she left to me when I was very young. Then with difficulty came Death to my mother, and in my opinion, he was afraid to approach her, for great worms grew in her, and with much trouble she was buried, the weather by its serenity, and the sun by his splendour helping [in the work].

Now after the death of my mother, and whilst I was still a little girl, I left the world. During the period when I was a young woman the lusts of the body were stirred up within me, and they goaded me severely, and I used to rise up in the evening (*or*, night) that I might lie down again and find a little relief from the disturbance in my mind. And a struggle went on in my thoughts, for I, wondered what manner of life I should choose for myself, and how I should end the days of my life, and whether they would be passed in quietness, and happiness, and fair chastity, even as they were during my father's lifetime. Then my thoughts spake unto me thus:—"Behold, in this "world thy father did not enjoy any happiness what-

"soever, but he passed all his life in sickness and "wretchedness, and he departed from this world of "trouble under the same circumstances, and even the "earth was unwilling to receive his body; are [men] "to receive such a life as this from (?) God, and why "did my father deserve such treatment? On the other "hand, supposing I choose to live a life like that of "my mother, will that be any better to deliver my "body over to fornication, and lasciviousness, and the "gratification of [my] lusts? For, behold, my mother "left no kind of abominable wickedness which she "did not commit, and she destroyed her whole life "with her depravity, and yet she departed from this "world having enjoyed health and prosperity every day "[of her life]! What then? Is it not then right for "me to live even as she lived? For it is better that "I should believe with mine own eyes, and that they "should see for themselves the variety and the ending "of such matters, for there is nothing better than to "understand thoroughly whatsoever we see openly before "our eyes."

[3] And I, the wretched girl, vainly imagined that such thoughts were the thoughts of truth, and for this reason I determined to prepare myself to live even as my mother had lived. Now when the night had overtaken me, and immediately sleep had fallen upon me after thinking thoughts of this kind, a certain man, of huge stature, stood up above me; and his appearance was frightful, and his form made me tremble and terrified me, and his face was hard, and in a stern voice he asked me, saying, "Tell me, so and so, what are these "thoughts which are in thy heart?" And, because I was terrified by his appearance and form, I scarcely dared to look upon him, and in a voice which was sterner than before he commanded me to reveal to him the things which I had settled in my own mind to do. And being stupefied with fear I forgot all my thoughts, and I said unto him, "My lord, I know not what thou

"sayest," and having thus denied that I knew, he reminded me of everything which I had thought out in my mind, one after the other. Therefore, having rebuked myself, I turned and begged and entreated him that I might be held worthy of forgiveness, and I related unto him the reason for such thoughts. Then he straightway said unto me, "I am about "to shew thee both thy father and thy mother, "and the [different] manner of life which they lead, "and the things which each doeth, and thou shalt choose which life thou wilt lead." And he took me by my hands, and drew me away, and carried me to an exceedingly great plain, wherein there were many paradises, and thick trees heavily laden with fruits, which for appearance and beauty surpassed description. Now when I had entered into that plain, my father met me, and embraced me, and kissed me, and he held converse with me and called me "my daughter," and whilst I was in his embrace I besought him that I might remain with him, but he said unto me, "At present it "is impossible, but if thou desirest to walk chastely "in my footsteps thou shalt come hither after no great "time."

And as I remained and was making my supplication unto him, he who had brought me to this place drew me on, and I was lifted up in his hands, and he said unto me, "Come and see thy mother also in the "fire which is blazing fiercely, so that thou mayest know "how to choose what is good, and towards which man-"ner of life it will be useful and beneficial for thee to "incline." Then he shewed me a fiery furnace which was burning fiercely, and every kind of thing of cruel wrath surrounded the furnace, and I heard proceeding therefrom the sound of weeping and of gnashing of teeth. And having looked down into the furnace I saw my mother sunk in fire up to her neck, and she was weeping and gnashing her teeth, and she was being consumed in the fire, and she was being gnawed

by a multitude of worms; and when she saw me she cried out with tears in a loud voice and, addressing me with the words, "my daughter," she said, "Woe is "me, O my daughter, for these things have come upon "me because of my evil deeds, and because I held to "be madness the things which were said unto me con- "cerning chastity, and the punishments which were "declared to fall upon those who committed fornication "and adultery. And, behold, in return for my lascivious "pleasure I have to suffer torture, because I did not "think that vengeance was laid up therefor! And, "behold, in return for a little pleasure and the mo- "mentary gratification of my desire, what everlasting "punishment I have to endure, and what penalty is there "which I am not compelled to pay? And consider, "moreover, that in return for the short-lived happiness "which I, O wretched woman, enjoyed, I have to pay "a prolonged penalty. And because I despised God "what evil wages I have to receive! All these things "have overtaken me because I behaved rebelliously, "but, behold, now is the time for helping me, O my "daughter. Remember now with what anxious care "and attention thy bringing up was carried out, and "the helpful things which I brought thee, and to speak "briefly, all the good which I did for thee. Have "mercy upon the woman who burneth in the fire. "Have mercy upon the woman who hath been cast "into such tortures as these. Have pity upon me, O "my daughter, and stretch out thy hand, and lift me "up out of this place." Now I excused myself from doing this on account of him that stood by my side, and again she wept and cried out to me, saying, "O "my daughter, help me. O my daughter, have pity "upon me, and come to me. Neglect not thy mother "who gnasheth her teeth [in pain], and treat not with "indifference her who suffereth torment in Gehenna."

Now as, after the nature of a human being, I felt pain because of her tears and her mournful voice, I

began to cry out loudly, and to sigh and moan bitterly, and then all those who were sleeping in our house awoke, and when they had risen up, they questioned me and I told them the reason of the outcry and disturbance, and I narrated unto them everything which had appeared unto me. These are the things through which, by the rich mercy of God, I chose to follow the life and works of my father, and I was persuaded to be governed, and through Divine Providence I am confirmed in my belief that such punishments are laid up for those who desire to live an evil life.

Such are the things which we heard from the virgin who is worthy of blessing, and from them we may know what delights, according to the things which appeared unto her in the revelation, are laid up for those who wish to live in a state of spiritual excellence, and what punishments are prepared for those who choose to live a wicked and wanton life. And because of these things it is meet that we should strive to the utmost to live a life of virtue, and to excel therein, so that, by the help of God, we may through our life and deeds merit the happiness [of heaven]. Amen.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Of Stephânâ, a man who fell into filthy wantonness.

There was a certain man in Scete whose name was Stephânâ, who had dwelt in the desert for twenty-nine years; his apparel was made of palm leaves, and he lived in such a strict state of self-denial, and persisted to such a degree in ascetic abstinence that he never had the least inclination for the meats which are usually desired, and which are pleasant to the taste; and he greatly condemned those,

who because of sickness, either ate cooked food or drank cream. Now the gift of healing had been given to him to such a degree that he could cast out devils by a word. And it came to pass that on one occasion a man in whom was an unclean spirit came to Scete, and he wished to be healed, and when the monk saw that he was vexed sorely by the devil he made a prayer and healed him. But at length this monk was rejected by Divine Providence because of his immeasurable arrogance and haughtiness, for he imagined himself to be more excellent in his life and works than the other fathers; first of all he separated himself from the brotherhood, and then he went and became archimandrite in one of the Alexandrian monasteries, "For," he said in his pride, "am I to be in subjection "to MACARIUS? And are not my life and works better "than his?" And this man arrived at such a state of madness that he went to Alexandria, and gave himself up to gluttony, and drunkenness, and to the eating of more flesh than rational beings are wont to eat, and finally he fell and settled down into the pit of the lust for women; and he was always going about in the houses of harlots, and in the taverns of ill fame, and he clung closely to the whores, and gratified his lusts in a filthy manner without shame, and he became a laughingstock to all who knew him. But the spirit went forth to those who knew him, saying, "The "law was not made for the perfect," and he himself said, "I do not act [thus] because of passion and for- "nication, neither do I do anything which is abominable, "for it is not a sin to go with women, for male and "female were created by God."

And it fell out that one day I and the blessed man EVAGRIUS went to Alexandria on some business which called us thither. And we had with us four brethren; and as we were passing through the city market that monk met us accidentally, and he was talking with a harlot about his filthy lust; and when

the blessed EVAGRIUS saw him, he wept, and fell down at his feet and made obeisance unto him, but the man did not incline his head in the smallest degree, and with infinite arrogance and haughtiness he made answer to him, saying, "What do hypocrites and deceivers "seek here?" Then the blessed EVAGRIUS entreated him to go with us to the place where we were lodging, but he did not by any means wish to go; and when, with the greatest difficulty, he had been persuaded to go with us, so soon as we had entered in and prayed, the blessed EVAGRIUS fell upon his neck and kissed him, and with tears said unto him, "Verily, O my "beloved, from all that divine service of angels thou "hast been brought down to this depth of wickedness; "and thou hast turned thyself from converse with God "to converse with harlots; and instead of the life and "service of angels thou hast chosen the life of devils! "But I beseech and entreat thee not to cut off the "hope of thy redemption, but arise, and come with us "to the desert, for by my hands God the Merciful is "able to restore thee to thy former grade." Now his understanding had been so blinded by Satan that he did not know how to listen to what was said unto him, nor did he know what he answered. And he said unto EVAGRIUS, "Up to the present I have certainly "been wandering about, but now I have found the path "of truth," and he began to make a mock of the fathers, and to say, "Ye certainly wander about (*i. e.*, err), and "ye dwell in the desert under a false character, for the "sake of men, and not for the sake of God, and ye "are to the spectators as idols whom men decorate, "and to whom they pay worship;" and thus, being full of the pride and boasting of Satan, he spurned the fathers and went forth and departed, and the blessed EVAGRIUS and the brethren wept and groaned over him greatly.

Then that man carried off a certain virgin, who was an orphan and a nun living by herself, with a foul

design to his monastery, and though he did this with the excuse that he was going to help her by means of alms of which she was in need, it was in reality that he might fulfil his wanton desire. And having lived with her in this degraded state for about two years, at length there came to him thieves by night, who first tied him with cords, and then smote him with hard and cruel blows, until he brought out whatsoever he had in his dwelling and laid it before them; and last of all they shut him up with the woman with whom he used to work out his wantonness in a house wherein there was straw, and, both of them being bound with cords, the thieves set fire to the house, and thus the two were consumed, and they died a bitter death. And in them was fulfilled that which was spoken by the teacher of the Gentiles, who said, "Because they did not decide within themselves "to know God, God delivered them over to the know-"ledge of vanity, that they might disgrace their bodies "therewith, and they received the reward which be-"fitted their error in their own persons;"[1] that is to say, "The burning of the fire which is here is a pledge "of that fire which tormenteth all the wicked." Now the things which happened to Stephânâ took place because he separated himself from the brotherhood, and because he was [unduly] exalted in his mind, and because he imagined that he was perfect.

CHAPTER XXV.

Of Eucarpus.

And there was also in the desert a certain man whose name was Eucarpus, who had passed

[1] Romans I. 24.

eighteen years shut up in his cell; and the food which was necessary for his wants was brought by others. He had lived in seclusion for fifteen years, and he never spoke to any man [during that period] except when he was in need of something. He used to write upon paper [what he wished to say], and would give it to those who ministered unto him, and he also did thus when any man asked him a question or spoke to him; his food consisted of vegetables soaked in water, and pounded garden herbs, and he carried out his rule of life with infinite labour. Finally, however, the devils made him a laughingstock also, because of the vain opinion which he had concerning himself. First of all he separated himself from mingling with the brethren and conversing with them, and next he ceased to meditate on the Holy Scriptures, and he did nothing except pray continually; for he was proud and haughty in his mind, and he thought that he was perfect, and that on account of the purity of his heart, forsooth, he was always seeing God in his mind, for he that tempteth tempted him also, even as he had tempted the blessed man Job. And one night Satan appeared unto him in the form of an angel of light, and said unto him, "I am Christ;" and when EUCARPUS saw him, he thought that the appearance was a real person, and he fell down, and worshipped him, and said unto him, "Master, what commandest thou thy "servant [to do]?" And he who had appeared unto him, said unto him, "Since thou hast excelled many in "thy works, and hast kept all my commandments, I "desire greatly to make my abode with thee; but since "thou art perfect, it is not necessary for thee to shut "thyself up, and it is no longer right that thou shouldst "live in seclusion, but thou must teach all the brethren "not to destroy their souls with the reading of the "Scriptures, and the reciting of the Psalms. And they "must not labour in the toil of the body, and they "must not vex their souls with fasting, and hunger,

"and thirst, but they must labour with the labour of "the soul, for by these means they shall be able "speedily to be lifted up to the highest grade, and "they must always look at me with their minds, and "I will shew them my glory. And as for thee, since "thou hast raised thyself above all the monks by thy "works, behold, I make thee this day a chief and a "governor over all the monks who dwell in Scete. "For MACARIUS is not of as much use as a governor as "thou art." Then EUCARPUS was more lifted up in his mind than before, and he was far more proud, and he believed truly the error of the Crafty One, and his understanding was taken away from him, and he was smitten in his mind immediately he had worshipped the Calumniator.

Now on another day there was a congregation in the church, and Satan appeared unto EUCARPUS a second time, and said unto him, "Go thou this day, for all "the brethren are gathered together, and teach them "everything which I commanded thee yesterday in the "night season." Then EUCARPUS opened the door of the house wherein he secluded himself, and departed to go to the church; and it happened that ABBÂ JOHN was sitting by the side of the church, and the brethren were round about him, and were asking him about their thoughts. And when EUCARPUS came, and saw JOHN with the brethren surrounding him, he was filled with envy of him, and he answered and said unto JOHN with haughtiness and wicked wrath, "Why dost "thou adorn thyself and dost sit down, like a whore, "who wisheth to multiply her friends? Or, who com- "manded thee to be a corrector of others, seeing that "it is I who am the governor of the monastery?" Now when the brethren heard [these words], they were greatly moved, and said unto him, "And who made "thee a governor in Scete?" And EUCARPUS said unto them, "Yesterday in the night I was made governor "by Christ, therefore turn ye to me, and I will teach

"you the way, whereby ye shall easily ascend to the "high grade of the vision of glory; and moreover, go "not ye astray after the writings of EVAGRIUS, neither "hearken ye unto the words of JOHN, for ye have "wandered far enough into error already."

Then he began to revile the fathers, and he called MACARIUS a "painted idol" whom those who err worship, for he knoweth not how to lead the brethren on the path towards heavenly things; and EVAGRIUS he called "a hewer of words" who hath led the brethren into error by following his writings, and hath made them to cease from spiritual service. And the devils made a mock of EUCARPUS until they were able to lift him up and to dash him down upon the earth, but all these things which fell upon him took place because he condemned the brethren, and because through his pride and arrogance he held them in contempt, and because he did not desire to meditate upon the Holy Scriptures, and on the doctrine of the fathers. And finally, when the fathers saw that he was smitten in mind, they threw iron fetters on him and bound him therewith, and he lived with them upon him; and the holy fathers offered up prayer on his behalf for eleven whole months, and then his mind returned to him, and he was so thoroughly cured of his pride that he perceived his weakness, and recognized his disease whereby he had been made a mock of by the devils. And in him was fulfilled that which was said, "Old blains (*or*, wounds) "are cured by burnings" and, "Thou who didst exalt "thyself to heaven shalt be brought down even unto "Sheol."[1] Now EUCARPUS lived after he had been cured of his arrogance one year and one month; and the fathers commanded that he should minister unto the sick, and that he should wash the feet of strangers, and thus he died.

[1] Isaiah XIV. 13, 15.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Of a certain famous deacon who dwelt in a coenobium in Egypt.

A certain brother asked an old man and said unto him, "If it should happen that a man fell into temptation, "by the permission of God, for the benefit of his soul, "what is it right for those to do who are made to "stumble by the same temptation?" The old man answered and said unto him, "If he repent in very "truth, and with all his heart, and make confession "unto God in his repentance, [saying,] 'I have been "'rightly humbled,' and shall say unto God, 'It is good "'for me that I have been humbled, so that I might "learn Thy commandments,' God is able to heal the "consciences of those who have already offended Him." And the old man spake and narrated the following:—

There was a certain deacon in a coenobium in Egypt, and a rich man, who had been driven out and had departed from the presence of a governor who had dominion over him, came with his household to that coenobium; and the deacon stumbled and fell into adultery with the wife of one of those who were with him, and he became a laughingstock unto every man. And he went to a certain man who was his friend, and revealed unto him the matter, and he said unto him, "Let no man know where I am;" for he hid himself in a secret part of the cell of him that loved him, and he said unto him, "Here bury thou me during "my lifetime;" and having gone down into the darkness of that hidden place he repented unto God in very truth. And after a certain time, the river, which was nigh unto the place in the region wherein the deacon had hidden himself, did not rise according to its wont, and the people of the country having prayed and made supplication it was revealed unto one of the saints

that, "Unless that deacon who is hidden among us come "forth, the waters will not rise." So they went and brought him out from the place where he was hidden, and when he had come, and had made a prayer, straightway the river rose, and those who had been formerly offended by him were now edified the more, and they profited through him greatly and glorified God.

CHAPTER XXVII.

OF A CERTAIN EXCELLENT BISHOP WHO FELL INTO FORNICATION, AND THE PEOPLE HAVING WALKED UPON HIM HE WAS FORGIVEN.

There was a certain Bishop in one of the cities, who, through the working of the Calumniator fell into fornication; and one day when the congregation was in the church, although no one knew of the Bishop's sin, he voluntarily confessed it before all the assembly, and said, "I have fallen into fornication." Then he took off the vestments which were on him, and laid them upon the altar, and said, "I cannot, henceforward, "be your Bishop." And all the people cried out with tears, saying, "Let this sin be upon us; only remain "thou in thine episcopate." And he answered and said unto them, "If ye wish me to remain in my episcopate, "do ye that which I shall say unto you;" and he commanded, and all the doors of the church were shut with the exception of one, and he threw himself down upon his face, and said, "The man who goeth "out from the church without walking upon me shall "have no portion with God;" and they did according to his word, and when the last man had gone out, a voice was heard which said, "Because of his great "humility I have forgiven to him his sin."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Of a certain brother who was a neighbour of Abbâ Poemen.

When Abbâ Poemen came into the countries of Egypt to dwell there, it happened that he took up his abode by the side of a brother who had a wife, and though the old man knew of this he did not rebuke him. And when the time had come for the woman to bring forth, and this was known to the old man, he cried out to a younger brother, and said unto him, "Arise, take this jar of wine and carry [it] to "our neighbour, for he will have need thereof this day." Now the matter was not known to that brother, but he did as the old man commanded him. And the brother [who had a wife] groaned and repented in his mind, and after a few days he dismissed the woman and gave her whatsoever he happened to have by him; then he came to Abbâ Poemen, and said unto him, "Behold, from this day onwards I repent, O father, "but I entreat thee to pray to God on my behalf so "that He may receive my repentance." And Abbâ Poemen said unto him, "If thou repentest with all thy "heart, I believe that God will bestow forgiveness upon "thee; but do not despair of thy redemption." And the brother went and built for himself a place of retreat, and he made therein an entrance through which he used to come to visit the old man; and he would go to Abbâ Poemen thereby, and the old man would reveal unto him the way of God, and thus he profited spiritually. And the brother laboured in fasting, and in prayer, and he wept and sighed, and grieved sorely for his sin; and [at length] it was revealed unto the old man on behalf of the brother that God had accepted his repentance.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Of a certain brother who denied [Christ] because of the daughter of a heathen priest.

Once a certain brother was engaged in a war against fornication, and he happened to pass through a village in Egypt where he saw the daughter of a heathen priest, and he loved her, and he said to her father, "Give her to me to wife." And the priest answered and said unto him, "I cannot give her to thee before "learning from the god [his will in the matter];" and he went to his devil, and said unto him, "Behold, a certain "monk wisheth to take my daughter to wife; shall I "give her to him or not?" And the devil made him answer, saying, "Seek out and enquire if he will deny "his God, and his baptism, and the vows which he "made before entering the monastic life." And having gone to the brother the priest told him that he would accept him [as his daughter's husband] if he would deny both these things (*sic*), and the priest also said unto him, "Wilt thou deny the baptism wherewith thou "wast baptized? And the brother answered and said, "Yea, I will;" and straightway he saw the Spirit of God go forth from his mouth in the form of a dove, and ascend into heaven. Then the priest went to the devil and told him what the brother had said, "Behold, "he hath promised to deny all three things;" and the devil answered and said unto him, "Thou shalt not "give [him] thy daughter, for his God hath not departed "from him, for He is still helping him, and will accept "him if he repenteth." And the priest came and said to that brother, "I cannot give her to thee, for thy "God is with thee, and He will not leave thee, but "will help thee." Now when the brother heard this he said within himself, "So God keepeth such great "grace as this for thee, and will still help thee!"

Then that brother, having come back to his senses, made strong his mind, and fortified his will, and went forth to a certain old man in the desert, and related the matter unto him. And the old man answered and said unto him, "Sit thou down here with me in [this] "cave, and fast for three weeks, only eating once every "two days, and I will make supplication on thy behalf "unto God;" and the old man laboured with the brother, and he made entreaty and supplication unto God, saying, "I beseech Thee, O Lord God, to grant me the "soul of this brother, and to accept his repentance." And when the first week was fulfilled, the old man came to the brother, and asked him, saying, "Hast "thou seen anything?" and the brother answered and said, "Yes, I have seen a dove flying about in the "heights of heaven, and standing before my head." And the old man said unto him, "Take heed to thy-"self, and pray unto God with groans and sighs;" and the following week he came again to the brother, and asked him the same question, saying, "Hast thou seen "anything?" And the brother made answer, saying, "I saw a dove which came and drew near to my "head," and the old man admonished him, saying, "Rouse up, and pray unto God with abundant suppli-"cation." And when the third week was fulfilled, the old man came to the brother, and said unto him, "What hast thou seen?" And he answered and said unto him, "I saw a dove which came and stood upon "my head, and I stretched out my hand and took hold "of it, but it fled away and entered into my mouth." Then the old man gave thanks unto God, and said unto the brother, "God hath accepted thy repentance; "henceforward watch thyself and take heed to thyself;" and the brother answered and said, "Behold, from this "day onwards I shall live with thee, O father, even "to the day of my death."

CHAPTER XXX.

Of a certain old man in Scete.

There was a certain old man in Scete, who having become very sick indeed, was ministered to by the brethren, and he thought in his mind that they were tired of him, and he said, "I will go to Egypt, so that "the brethren may not have to labour on my account." And Abbâ Moses said unto him, "Thou shalt not go, "for if thou goest, thou wilt fall into fornication;" and the old man was grieved, and said, "My body hath "long been dead, and sayest thou these things unto "me?" So he went up to Egypt, and men heard about him, and they brought many offerings unto him, and a certain believing virgin came in faith to minister unto him. And after a time, when the old man had been healed, the young woman lay with him, and she conceived, and folk asked her, saying, "Whence hadst "thou that which thou hast conceived?" And she said unto them, "From the old man," and they believed her not. Now when the old man heard that they would not believe her, he said, "Yea, I have done this thing; "but protect ye for me the child which shall be born." And when the child had been born, and was weaned, there was a congregation in Scete, and the old man went down carrying the child on his shoulder, and he went into the church before all the people; and when they saw him they all wept. Then the old man said unto the brethren, "Observe ye, O my brethren, this "is the child of disobedience; take heed, then, unto "yourselves, for I have committed this act in my old "age, and pray ye for me;" and the old man went to his cell, and dismissed the things wherewith he had lived, and returned to his former deeds, and after a time he arrived [once more] at his old measure of ascetic excellence.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Of the harlot whom Serapion converted.

Abbâ Serapion once came and passed through a certain village in Egypt, and he saw a harlot standing in his cell; and the old man said unto her, "Remain "here until the evening, for I wish to come with thee, "and to pass this night with thee;" and the harlot said, "It is well, O father." Then she made ready, and prepared her bed, and she awaited the old man with that which he required. Now when it was evening Abbâ Serapion came, but he brought nothing with him, and he went into her cell, and said unto her, "Is "thy bed ready?" And she said unto him, "Yea, "father;" and they shut themselves in. Then the old man answered and said unto her, "Wait a little, because "I must first perform a certain thing which is a law "unto us." And he began to recite the Book of the Psalms of David from the beginning, and with every Psalm he offered up a prayer on her behalf, and he made supplication before God that she might repent and live, and God hearkened unto him. And the harlot stood up in fear by the side of the old man, and prayed also, and when Abbâ Serapion had finished all the Psalms, she fell down upon the ground, and he began to repeat many verses from the [books of the] Apostle. When he had finished his service, God having opened the heart of that woman, she knew that Abbâ Serapion had not come unto her for the purposes of sin, but that he might redeem her, and she fell on her face before him, and said unto him, "Perform an act of grace for me, O father, and take "me to any place whatsoever wherein I can please "God." And he took her to an abode of nuns, and placed her therein, and he said to the mistress of the convent, "Take this sister, O mother, and lay not upon

"her the rules and the yoke like the [other] sisters, "but whatsoever she requireth that give her; and in "proportion as she findeth rest let her submit to be "led." And when the woman had dwelt in the nunnery for a few days, she said, "I am a sinful woman, and "I wish to eat only in the evening;" and after a few days more she said, "Many sins lie to my charge, and "I therefore beg that I may eat once every four days," and she did so; and after a few days more, she besought the mistress of the nunnery, saying, "Do an "act of grace for me. Since I have made God ex- "ceedingly angry, take me into a cell, and wall it up, "and through a small opening therein give me a little "bread, and work for my hands [to do]." And the abbess of the nunnery hearkened unto her, and did thus, and in this wise that woman pleased God all the days of her life.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Of the harlot whom a sub-deacon drove out of the church.

A certain old man said:—There was a harlot who was so beautiful and so rich that all princes flocked unto her. One day she went into the church, and desired to pass inside the gates, but a sub-deacon who was standing at the door would not allow her to do so, and he said, "Thou art not allowed to enter into "the house of God, because thou art an unclean woman." Now whilst they were striving together, the Bishop heard the sound of the noise, and he went out to see [what was the matter]. And the harlot said unto him, "He would not permit me to go into the church," and the Bishop said to her, "Thou art not permitted [to "do so] because thou art unclean." Then, having repented within herself, she said, "I will never play the whore

"again." And the Bishop said unto her, "If thou wilt "strip thyself of all thy possessions, I shall know of a "certainty that thou dost repent;" then she brought her possessions, and the Bishop took them, and divided them in the fear of God among the needy. And the woman went into the church, and wept and said, "If "it hath happened to me thus in this world, what would "have happened to me in the next?" And she repented, and became a chosen vessel.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Of Abbâ Apollo who was in Scete.

They say concerning Abbâ Apollo, who lived in Scete, that he was originally a rude and brutish herdsman, and that he [once] saw in the fields a woman who was with child, and that, through the operation of a devil, he said, "I wish to know the condition of "the child which is in the womb of this woman," and that he ripped her open and saw the child in her belly; then straightway he repented, and he purged his heart, and having repented he went to Scete, and revealed unto the fathers what he had done. And when he heard them singing the Psalms, and saying, "The days of our years are threescore years and ten, "and with difficulty [we come] to fourscore years,"[1] he said to the old men, "I am forty years old this day, "and I have never yet made a prayer; and now, if I "live for forty years more, I will never rest, nor cease, "nor refrain from praying to God continually that He "may forgive me my sins." And from that time onwards he did even as he had said, for he never toiled in the work of his hands, but he was always supplicating God,

[1] Psalm XC. 10.

and saying, "I, O my Lord, like a man, have sinned, "and do Thou, like God, forgive me," and he prayed this prayer both by night and by day instead of reciting Psalms. And a certain brother who used to dwell with him once heard him say in his prayer, now as he spake he wept, and groaned from the bottom of his heart, and sighed in grief of heart, "O my Lord, "I have vexed Thee, have pity upon me, and forgive "me so that I may enjoy a little rest." Then a voice came to him, which said, "Thy sins have been forgiven "thee, and also the murder of the woman; but the "murder of the child is not yet forgiven thee." And one of the old men said, "The murder of the child also "was forgiven to him, but God left him to work be-"cause this would prove beneficial to his soul."

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Of Ḳôsmâ [Cosmas] who was in Mount Sinai.

A certain brother asked an old man, and said unto him, "How is it that Satan bringeth temptations upon "holy men?" And the old man said, "I have heard that there was a holy man whose name was Ḳôzmâ [Cosmas], who used to dwell in Mount Sinai. And behold, a certain man went to the tabernacle (*or*, tent) of a husbandman, and finding his daughter by herself, he lay with her, and then said to her, When thy father cometh say unto him, Abbâ Ḳôzmâ, the monk, hath lain with me;" and when her father came, she told him [thus]. Then he took his sword, and came against the old man, and when he had knocked at the door, and the old man had gone forth, he lifted up his sword to slay him, but his hand withered straightway; and he went to the church and told the people there what the old man had done. And the

fathers sent after him and brought him there, and having upbraided him, and beaten him with many stripes they wished to drive him out of the monastery; but he entreated them, saying, "Allow me [to stay] "here that I may repent, for God's sake," and they separated him [from the brotherhood] for three years, and they laid down the command that no man was to go to him. And he passed three years in coming [to the church] Sunday by Sunday, and in repenting, and he besought [the fathers] always to pray for him, and at length the devil entered into him that had committed the act of which the old man had been accused, and, being urged by him, he said, "I committed the "act." Then all the people were gathered together, and they went to the old man and expressed their penitence, and said unto him, "Forgive us, O father;" and he said unto them, "I have indeed forgiven you, "but it is impossible for me to remain with you hence-"forth, because I have not found in any one of you "discretion sufficient to make him to sympathize with "me." And so he departed from them. Behold, how temptations come upon holy men.

CHAPTER XXXV.

OF ABBÂ MACARIUS WHO WAS ACCUSED OF COMMITTING FORNICATION.

ABBÂ MACARIUS used to tell a story about himself, and to say that when he was a boy he dwelt in a certain cell in Egypt, and that the people came and made him the priest in the village, and that as he did not wish to receive [the office of priest] he fled to another place, and took up his abode in a cell which was not very far from the habitations of men. And a certain young man who feared God, used to come

and take away the work of the hands of the blessed man, and to minister unto him. And it came to pass that, as a result of temptation, a certain virgin in the village fell into iniquity (?), and conceived a child, and the folk said unto her, "By whom art thou with child?" And she said, "By that monk who liveth in the desert;" and they went out, and brought him into their village, and smote him sorely, and they hung round his neck black pots, and the ears (handles) of empty pans, and they made him to go round about through the markets of their village, and they mocked at him and buffeted him, and said, "This is the monk who hath seduced "our daughter! Let him be hanged! Let him be "hanged!" And they beat him [nearly] to death.

Then came one of the old men of the village and said [unto them], "How long will ye go on beating "this monk who is a stranger?" And the man who ministered unto him came after him, and he was ashamed and pained because of his disgrace, and the people fastened their gaze upon him, and said, "Behold "the monk concerning whom thou didst bear witness "and say that he was 'a holy man.'" "Consider "what he hath done," said the parents of the young woman, "and unless he giveth us a surety who will "provide for her food we will not release him." Then he said unto the man who ministered unto him, "Give "a pledge on my behalf, saying, 'I will provide for "'that';" and he gave a pledge for him, and then the monk went to his cell and gave him all the palm-leaf mats thereof, and said to him, "Sell these and give "[the money] to my wife that she may eat." For MACARIUS said in his mind, "Behold, thou hast found "for thyself a wife, and it is necessary for thee to "work little or much that thou mayest feed her;" so he worked by night and by day, and sent [the proceeds of his toil] to her.

And it came to pass that, when the time for the woman to bring forth her child had arrived, she suf-

fered very severely for many days, and [although] she was in great tribulation she did not give birth to the child; and when her parents saw this they said unto her, "What is this which hath happened unto thee?" Then the woman, by reason of her pains and sufferings, said, "This has happened because I told a lie and "falsely accused a monk who never touched me;" now it was such and such a youth who had done this thing to her. And when the man who ministered unto MACARIUS learned this, he came to him with gladness, and he rejoiced and said unto him, "The virgin was "not able to bring forth until she confessed and said, "'The monk never touched me, and what I have said "'about him is a falsehood,' and behold, all the village "is preparing to come to thee with repentance so that "thou mayest forgive them." And MACARIUS, in order that he might not be troubled by them, rose up straightway, and fled and departed to the place wherein he had his abode at that time, and this is the reason why he came to Scete; and he said, "I hate the love "of praise of young men who toil, and who have no "reward, because they expect the adulation of the "children of men." Then another well-known old man said unto him, "And it is not greatly acceptable unto "me, but it is better that they should work for praise "rather than they should despise [it], for it always "constraineth those who love praise to lead lives of "abstinence, and to keep vigil, and to live in nakedness "for the sake of vain glory, and to bear afflictions for "the sake of praise." Then after these things the Grace of God came to them and spake, saying, "Wherefore "do ye not toil for My sake? And why do ye toil for "the sake of children of men?" And they were convinced that they must not expect the praise of men but that of God, and when the brethren heard [this] they said, "Verily the matter is indeed thus."

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Of a certain old man who, in his simplicity, said that Melchisedek was the son of God.

And Abbâ Daniel told a story of another old man who used to live in the lower countries of Egypt, and who said, in his simplicity, that Melchisedek was the son of God. Now when this became known unto the blessed man Theophilus, the Archbishop of Alexandria, he sent a message that [the monks] should bring the old man to him, and when he saw him, he perceived that he was a seer of visions, and that everything which he asked God for He gave him, and that he spake these words in his simplicity. And the Archbishop dealt with him wisely in the following manner, saying, "Father, entreat thou God [for me], because "my thoughts tell me that Melchisedek was the son "of God." And he said to him likewise, "It cannot "be thus, for the high priest of God was a man. And "now, because I had doubts in my mind concerning "this, I sent for thee that thou mightest make supplication unto God that He may reveal to thee the "matter." Then, because the old man had confidence in his labours, he spake unto him boldly, saying, "Wait three days, and I will enquire of God, and then "I shall be able to inform thee who Melchisedek was." So the old man departed, and came [again] after three days, and said unto the blessed Archbishop Theophilus, "Melchisedek was a man;" and the Archbishop said unto him, "How knowest thou, father?" And the old man said, "God showed me all the Patriarchs, one by "one, and they passed before me one after the other, "from Adam to Melchisedek, and an angel said to me, "'This is Melchisedek;' know then that of a truth the "matter is as it hath appeared unto me." And the old man departed, and he himself proclaimed that

Melchisedek was a man, and the blessed Theophilus rejoiced greatly.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Of Abbâ Macarius the Egyptian, the disciple of Mâr Anthony.

Abbâ Macarius used to dwell by himself in the desert, and there was below him another desert wherein many brethren dwelt; and the old man was himself watching the road one day, and saw Satan travelling on it in the form of a man, and he came along with the intention of passing him; and he was arrayed in a garment, which was full of holes, and various fruits were hanging about him. And the old man Macarius said unto him, "Whither goest thou?" And he said, "I am going to visit the brethren, and to make them mindful [of their work]." And the old man said to him, "For what purpose are the various fruits which are on thee required?" and Satan answered and said, "I am carrying them to the brethren for food." And the old man said, "All these?" and Satan said, "Yea. For if one pleaseth not a brother I hand him "over another; and if that pleaseth him not, I give "him another, and one or other of these must certainly "please him." And having said these things Satan went on his way.

Then the old man continued to watch the road until Satan came along to return, and when he saw him, he said unto him, "Hast thou been successful?" And Satan said, "Whence am I to obtain help?" And the old man said, "For what purpose?" Then Satan said, "They have all forsaken me, and have rebelled "against me, and not one of them will allow himself "to be overpersuaded by me." And the old man said, "Hast thou not then one friend left there?" and Satan

said to him, "Yea, I have one brother, but one only "who will be persuaded by me, although whensoever "he seeth me he turneth away his face as from that "of an adversary." The old man saith to him, "What "is the name of this brother?" and Satan saith, THÊÔMPIṬÔS [THEOPEMPTUS];" and having said these things he departed and went on his way.

Then ABBÂ MACARIUS rose up and went down to the lower desert, and the brethren heard [of his coming], and they brought palm leaves, and went out to meet him, and every monk prepared and made ready his abode, thinking that he would come and dwell there; but the old man [only] asked for the brother whose name was THÊÔMPIṬÔS [THEOPEMPTUS], and he received him joyfully. Now when the brethren began to speak among themselves, the old man said unto him, "What hast thou to say, O my brother, and how "are thine own affairs?" And THÊÔMPIṬÔS said to him, "At the present moment matters are well with me," for he was ashamed to speak. The old man said unto him, "Behold, I have now lived a life of stern asceti- "cism for many years, and I am held in honour by "every man, nevertheless, even though I am an old "man, the spirit of fornication disturbeth me." And THÊÔMPIṬÔS answered and said, "Believe me, father, "[it disturbeth] me also;" and the old man, like one who was vexed by many thoughts, made a reason for talking, and at length he led the brother to confess the matter. And afterwards he said unto him, "How long dost "thou fast?" And the brother said unto MACARIUS, "Until the ninth hour." And the old man saith, "Fast "until the evening, and continue to do so, and thou "shalt repeat passages from the Book of the Gospels, "and from the other Scriptures. If a thought riseth in "thy mind let not thy mind look downwards, but always "upwards, and the Lord shall help thee." Thus having made the brother reveal his thoughts, and having given him encouragement, he departed to go to his own

desert, and he travelled along the road and watched according to his custom.

And he saw the devil again, and said unto him, "Whither goest thou?" And he answered and said unto him, "I go to remind the brethren [of their work]." And having departed and come back again, the holy man said unto him, "How are the brethren?" and the devil said, "They are in evil case." And the old man said, "Why?" and the devil said, "Because "they are all [like] savage animals, and they are rebel- "lious. But the worst thing of all is that even the one "brother who used to be obedient to me hath turned, "through what cause I know not, and he will not be "in any way persuaded by me, and he is the most "savage of them all against me; I have on this ac- "count taken an oath that I will never again go to "that place, at least, only after a very long time."

Now this ABBÂ MACARIUS was marvellous in his life and deeds. Once as he was travelling along in the inner desert, he looked and, behold, there was an old man coming towards him, and he was arrayed in apparel which was very old, and over his whole body there were hung very many things which were like unto pots, each one being provided with rings, and he was covering them over as it were with a covering. And he drove his staff into the ground, and though he was as timid and as terrified as a fugitive slave, he pretended to be bold, and stood up like a brave man, and spake to the blessed MACARIUS, face to face, saying, "What dost thou in this wilderness, "and why art thou wandering hither and thither herein?" And the blessed MACARIUS answered and said unto him, "I wish to find God, for I am fleeing from error. But "who art thou, O old man? Tell me, for I observe "that thy raiment is very different from that of the "children of men. Tell me, now, what are these things "which thou hast upon thee?" Then the old man, though unwilling, confessed and said, "I am he whom

"thou callest by the name of 'Calumniator,' and these "things which thou seest upon me are those wherewith "I draw towards myself the children of men, and with "each one of these, according as it befitteth and is "suitable for a man, I take care to fulfil the work of "error; and by means of their lusts, as with wings, I "make to turn backwards those who are obedient unto "me, and I have great happiness in those who, through "my crafts and wiles, stumble and fall."

And when the blessed MACARIUS had heard these things, he plucked up courage, and said unto Satan, "By Christ, Who caused thee to make a mockery of "the holy angels, explain to me, one by one, each and "all of the things which thou carriest, for by this thou "shalt be revealed, so that a man may see the insidi-"ousness of thy arts and wiles, and may learn thy "hidden snares, and may recognize the multitude of "the burning arrows of thine error, and may flee from "the perfomance of thy will." Then the Calumniator answered and said, "I must reveal unto thee my crafti-"ness, even though I be unwilling so to do, for it is "impossible for me to hide from thee any of the things "which thou seest; learn thou the use (*or*, reason) of "each pot. If I find a man who meditateth continually "on the Law of God, I pour out upon him from the "pot which is on my head dizziness and headache, and "I restrain him [from this work] thereby. On the man "who hath chosen to watch by means of [the recital "of] prayers and psalms I pour out from the pot which "is on my eyelids a disposition to sleep, and I lead "and drive him along by main force into slumber. "These which thou seest that I have on my ears are "prepared for disobedience and the transgression of "the Commandments, and by their means I trap those "who wish to lead a good life to disobey the word "of truth. From those which hang from my nose I "sprinkle on the young the sweet smell of happiness, "and I lead them into fornication. From those which

"are on my mouth I throw out flowers(?), and I incite "the ascetic by means of blandishments, and I make "to sin those who live a life of abstinence and self-"denial by means of such dainty meats and foods "according to my desire; and by means of those which "are on my mouth I also draw many into the utterance "of calumnies, and into filthy talk, and to speak briefly, "in each one of these pots is the seed which is most "useful for increasing the fruits which are worthy of "me, and which may be gathered from the labours of "the husbandmen who labour in my vineyard. And "from the pots which are hung about my neck I pour "out pride, and I enclose with my nets those who are "haughty in their minds, and so by means of all these "I possess in the world multitudes of subjects who love "the things which are mine, that is to say, worldly "praise, and wealth, which are the things that, by "those who are remote from God, are believed to be "good things in the world.

"And the pots which thou seest hanging from my "breasts are full of my imaginings, and with some of "these I water the hearts of the children of men, and "by means of the drunkenness of the passions I dissi-"pate and destroy the mind which feareth God; and "through my error I confound the memory of those "men who wish to meditate upon and to think about "the things which concern the world to come. And "those which hang upon my body are full of want of "feeling and perception, and by their means I prepare "those who are without understanding to live in a "savage and animal manner a life which is characterized "by various kinds of brutish habits. And in the pots "which I carry below my body will be found all things "which are useful and suitable for union with women "in fornication, and for filthy wantonness. Those which "are on my hands are useful in the committal of "murders, and by their means, as by hands, is carried "out and performed the work of those who are subject

"unto me voluntarily. And the pots which thou seest "hanging from my neck and back have in them the "thick darkness of my temptations, wherewith I am "able to vanquish those who are so bold as to contend "against me; and I lay ambushes behind me, and I "rush out to overthrow those who depend upon and "who boast in their own strength. And the pots which "thou seest hanging on my loins and thighs, and which "are arranged downwards to my feet, are full of the "snares and nets which I pour out, and with which I make "crooked and confound the ways of those who wish "to journey in the narrow path of the fear of God; "and I impede thereby the goings of those who culti- "vate ascetic excellence, and I make them to journey "on my way which is easy to travel. For I take my "seat between the two ways of life and death, and "whilst I confound and lead astray those who wish to "journey in the way of life, I lead and help on their "way those who are travelling on the road of death, "and I strengthen them also, and I make them valiant "so that they may go forward easily in my paths. "And when they are bowed down and labour under "my yoke I sow evil and abominable vices among "them like thorns and brambles, and having gathered "in from seed of this kind the fruit of such crops "which they believe to be pleasant, they deny the "way of truth, because evil men are taken in the "snares of the filthiness of abominable things. But "thou, O MACARIUS, hast never once inclined thyself "to obey me, so that by thine obedience I might "be able to find even a little consolation; but thou "burnest me up wholly by means of the mighty armour "of the humility which thou bearest, and for this reason "I haste to depart to mine own subjects. For thou "possessest a good Lord, and thou hast mighty com- "panions, who tranquilly and happily serve God, and "who protect thee as a beloved son."

And when the chosen athlete had heard these

things, he made the sign of the Cross over himself, and said, "Blessed be God, Who hath made those who "have put their hopes in Him to make thee a mockery "and a laughingstock, and Who hath preserved me "wholly and completely from thy error, so that whilst "turning aside from the same I was able to advance in "the good fight; and having fought and conquered I "shall receive a crown from the good Lord Whom I "possess. Flee then, and get thee afar off, O thou "who art envious of the things which are good, for "Christ will make an end of thee, so that thou mayest "not dare to attack any of those who worship Him. "For sufficient for thee are those whom thou hast "drawn unto thyself by flattery, through thy evil wiles "and their own sluggish will, and made to travel on "the flat, wide road of destruction. Thou shalt not "then dare to draw nigh unto those who of their own "will have elected to travel in the narrow, and strait, "and troubled, and vexatious way of life, but have "fear, and depart from those who dwell in waste places "and in deserts." Now when the blessed man had said these things, straightway the Calumniator disappeared, and the holy man MACARIUS bowed the knee, and prayed, saying, "Glory be unto Thee, O Christ, "Thou Who art the Refuge of those who are over-"taken by storms, Thou Who art the straight way of "those who err, Thou Who art the Redeemer of those "who flee unto Thee for refuge, now, always, and for "ever and ever! Amen."

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

OF ABBÂ MARK THE LESS, THE DISCIPLE OF ABBÂ SYLVANUS.

[Page 298]. They used to say concerning ABBÂ SYLVANUS that he wished to depart to Syria, and his

disciple MARK said unto him, "Not only do I not wish "thee to depart from this place, O father, but I will "not permit thee to go [now]; wait then here for three "days more;" and on the third day MARK died in peace.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

OF ABBÂ PAULE THE SIMPLE, THE DISCIPLE OF MÂR ANTHONY.

The blessed man, PAUL THE SIMPLE, the disciple of the holy man ANTHONY, used to relate to the fathers the following matter:—I once went to a certain monastery that I might visit the brethren for profit spiritually, and after some conversation on the matter, and the customary talk, they went into the holy church that they might form a congregation as usual, and perform the service of the Holy Mysteries. And the blessed PAULE looked at and scrutinized carefully each one of them, so that he might see in what frame of mind he was going in, for he had the gift, which had been given unto him by God, of looking into the soul of every man, and of knowing what his soul was like, even as we have the power of looking upon the faces of each other. And he saw that every man was going in with a glorious aspect of soul, and with faces full of light, and that the angel of each man was rejoicing in him, with the exception of one whose face was sick and afflicted, and whose whole body was in darkness, and devils had hold upon each of his hands, and they were lifting him up and dragging him towards them, and they had put a ring in his nose; and he saw also that the holy angel of this man was a long way from him, and that he followed after him sadly and sorrowfully [Page 299].

And when the blessed PAULE saw these things he

wept, and smote himself upon the breast many times, and he sat down before the church, and he cried unceasingly for the man who had appeared unto him in this state. Now those who saw the old man became greatly astonished suddenly, and especially at his swift change [from happiness] to weeping and tears, and they asked him and entreated him, and begged him to tell them what he had seen, for they thought that, though blaming them, he would do so, and they besought him also, with one voice, to go into the congregation with them. But PAULE drove them away from him, and he would not let himself be persuaded to do this, so he sat down outside the church and held his peace, and he cried aloud and groaned loudly concerning that which had appeared to him.

And after a short time, when the service was ended, and all the fathers were coming out, PAULE scrutinized carefully each one of them, so that he might see in what manner would come out those whom he had seen go in, and whether it would be with the same countenance as that wherewith they had gone in, or otherwise. And he saw again that man whom he had seen go in, and whose body before he had entered into the church was in darkness, and behold, he came forth from the church with his face full of light, and his body was white, and the devils followed after him at a great distance, and his guardian angel was quite close to him, and walked with him; and he was glad and rejoiced greatly over that man. Then the holy man PAULE leaped up, and stood there glad and rejoicing, and he cried out and blessed God, saying, "Hail to the overflowing mercy of God! Hail to "the immeasurable goodness! Hail to His rich treasuries! "Hail to His pleasure, which is beyond measure." And he ran and went up and stood upon a lofty platform, and cried out with a loud voice, saying, "Come ye, "[Page 300] and see how awful are the works of God, "and how greatly they are worthy of admiration! Come

"ye, and see Him Who wisheth that all the children "of men should live, and should turn to the knowledge "of the truth! Come, let us kneel and worship Him, "and say, 'Thou art He Who alone is able to forgive "'sins.'" Therefore all the fathers ran diligently so that they might hear what he was saying. And when they had all gathered together, the holy man Paul related unto them the things which he had seen both when they went into the church, and when each one of them came out; and they entreated that brother [to tell them] what was the reason of that complete change, and of the gladness which God bestowed upon him [so] quickly.

And the man, being afraid lest he might be rebuked by the blessed PAULE, related the following things concerning himself before them all, without any concealment whatsoever, and said, "I am a sinful man, and "for a long time past, even unto the present day, I "lived in fornication. When I went into the church, "I heard the [Book of] the Prophet Isaiah read, that "is to say, I heard God speaking through him, and "saying, Wash, and be clean, and remove your evil "deeds from before mine eyes. Hate the things which "are evil, and learn to do good, seek out judgment, "and pass [righteous] sentences upon those who are "afflicted. And if your sins be red like crimson they "shall become white as snow. And if ye are willing "to hearken unto me, ye shall eat of the good things "of the earth."

"Now when I had heard read [these] words from "the Prophet, that is to say, had heard God Who was "speaking by him, I forthwith repented in my soul "sincerely, and sighing in my heart I said unto God, "Thou art the God Who didst come into the world "to make sinners to live, do Thou then make manifest "in me the things which Thou hast promised in Thy "Prophet, and fulfil them in me, even though I be un- "worthy of the same, for I am a sinner. For, behold, "I promise, and I enter into a covenant with Thee,

"and I will thrust this promise down into my soul, "and will acknowledge [it], that from now and hence-"forth I will never again commit such wickedness as "this, [Page 301] but I will keep myself remote from "all iniquity, and I will serve thee from this day on-"wards with a clean conscience. Therefore, O Master, "from this day, and from this hour, accept me, for I "am penitent; and I will make supplication unto Thee, "and will remove myself forthwith from all sin. There-"fore with such promises and covenants as these I came "forth from the church, and I determined in my soul "that I would never again do anything which would "injure [my] fear of Him;" and when all the fathers heard [this], they all cried out with a loud voice, and said unto God, "O Lord, how great are thy works! "Thou hast created all of them in wisdom."

Now therefore, O Christians, since we know from the Holy Scriptures and from divine revelations how great is the grace which God dispenseth to those who truly run to Him for refuge, and who blot out their former sins by means of repentance, and also how, according to His promise, He rewardeth with good things, and doth neither take vengeance according to what is just, nor bring upon men a punishment for their former sins, let us not be in despair of our lives. For, even as He promised by the hand of Isaiah the Prophet, He will make clean those who have toiled in sin, and will make them bright and white like clean wool and snow, and will make them to be happy with the blessings of heaven. And moreover, God asserteth with oaths, by the hand of the Prophet Ezekiel that He doth not desire their destruction, for He saith, "As "I live, saith the Lord, I do not desire the death of a "sinner, but that he should turn from his evil way, "and live."[1]

[1] Ezekiel XXXIII. 11.

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER I.

BY THE MIGHT OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST WE BEGIN TO WRITE THE "ESḲIṬÎḲÎN",[1] THAT IS TO SAY, THE HISTORY OF THE MONKS OF TABENNA, WHO WERE FOLLOWERS OF ABBÂ PACHOMIUS.

In my opinion, the things which I am now about to write are able to assist [us] greatly [Page 302] if we indeed follow after them, and they will, moreover, make the hearer more vigilant in respect of the contemplation of the things which have been said. And if we were to excuse ourselves through negligence from writing them down, this act would bring danger upon him that made such an excuse, and therefore, although we can only advance from the beginning but a very little way with the living word, we will declare a few of the earlier things.

It was a custom with the God-loving brother, the holy man ABBÂ PACHOMIUS, to gather together the brethren every evening in a duly appointed place in the monastery that they might hear his doctrine, and once, when they were all assembled, according to their wont, in order to hear RABBÂ, he commanded THEODORE, a man who had lived in the monastery for twenty years, to speak to the brethren, and straightway he spake unto them concerning the things which were to be employed as helpers, but made no mention of not stumbling. And some of the aged sages who saw

[1] *I. e.*, ἀσκητικόν.

what had taken place did not wish to listen to him, and they said within themselves, "What he is teaching "us is for novices, and we [need not] listen unto him," and they left the congregation of the brethren, and departing from that place went to their cells.

And when the brethren had been dismissed from the hearing [of the sermon] RABBÂ sent and called those who had departed, and who did not wish to hear THEODORE, and when they had come into the presence of the holy man he asked them, "Why did "ye leave us and depart to your cells?" And they said, "Because thou hast made a young man our teacher, "and although all the old men were standing [there], and "other brethren who were much older [than he], thou "didst command a young man to speak unto us." Now when RABBÂ had heard these things, he groaned, and said, "Do ye know by what means wickedness first "began to take hold in the world?" And they said unto him, "What were they?" And he answered and said unto them, "By pride, and it began when that "bright star which used to shine (*or*, rise) in the morn-"ing fell [from heaven], and was dashed in pieces on "the earth. Or, have ye never heard that which is "written, 'The man who is haughty in heart is an "'abominable thing before the Lord?' [Page 303] For "whosoever exalteth himself shall be abased, but he "that abaseth himself shall be exalted. Therefore "deliver ye yourselves from your false superiority, for "do ye not know that the mother of the beginning of "wickednesses is pride? Ye did not only leave THEO-"DORE and depart from him, but ye fled and departed "from the Word of God, [and] ye fell away from the "Holy Spirit. O ye truly wretched men, who deserve "sorrow of every kind, how is it that ye cannot under-"stand that it was Satan who was working in you, "and that, because of this, ye made yourselves to be "remote from God? O what a great and wonderful "thing it is that God humbled Himself, and took upon

"Himself the form of a servant, and put on his body, "and dwelt in him, and became obedient even unto "death for our sakes! And yet we who are by nature "low puff ourselves up with pride! He Who is high "above all things, and exceeding great, turned from "the ordinary course [of His greatness], and in humility "fashioned the world, although He was able to destroy "everything which existeth by a glance! And yet we "who are nothing make ourselves proud, being ignorant "that in thus doing we are sinking ourselves into the "depths of the earth! Do ye not observe that I stand "and incline my ear to the teaching [of Theodore]? "Verily I say unto you, that I have been greatly "helped by him. For I did not ask him to address "you because I thought lightly of him, but because I "expected to be helped myself by his words; how "very much more, then, is it right that ye should "hearken unto his words with a ready mind and ab- "solute humility? Verily I, who am your father in the "Lord, am as one who knoweth not his right hand "from his left, and therefore I listen unto him with "all my soul. Therefore before God I say unto you "that, if ye shew great repentance for this folly which "ye have committed, and if ye weep and mourn for "yourselves because thereof in such wise that ye be edi- "fied thereby, that which hath happened shall be for- "given you, and if not, then ye will go to perdition."

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER II.

Of Sylvanus.

[Page 304] Once there was a man among the brethren whose name was Sylvanus, who for a period of twenty years had worn the garb of a monk; now he was originally an actor, and at the beginning

of his life as a monk he was exceedingly anxious about his soul, but after a short time had elapsed he began to be so negligent about his redemption, that he wanted to make merry and to enjoy himself, and besides this he used to sing fearlessly among the brethren snatches of the lude and ribald songs which he used to hear in the theatre.[1] Then ABBÂ PACHOMIUS, the holy man, called this brother before the brethren, and commanded him to strip off the garb of a monk, and, having received such apparel as was worn in the world, to go forth from among the brethren, and from the monastery. And that brother fell down at the feet of PACHOMIUS, and entreated him, saying, "O father, if "thou wilt forgive me this once, and wilt not cast me "forth, thou hast it from me that from this time for- "ward I will repent of those things wherein I have "hitherto shown negligence, in such a manner that thou "shalt be able to see the change which hath taken "place in my soul." And the holy man answered and said unto him, "Dost thou know how much I have "borne from thee, and how many times I have ad- "monished thee, and how many times I have beaten "thee? I am a man who hath no wish to stretch out "my hands in a matter of this kind, because when, of "necessity, I was obliged to act thus in respect of "thee, [my] soul suffered far more by the mention of "association with passion than thou didst, although "the stripes were laid upon thee. I beat thee for "the sake of thy salvation in God, so that by that "means I might be able to correct thee of thy folly; "but since, even though I admonished thee, thou didst "not change [thy course of life], and didst not follow "after spiritual excellence, even though I entreated "thee so to do, and since, even when beaten thou

[1] ܬܡܠܐ from the Greek Θυμέλη. Sylvanus was probably a member of the orchestra in the theatre.

"wast not afraid, how is it possible for me to forgive "thee any more?"

But when SYLVANUS multiplied his entreaties, and begged for his forgiveness long and earnestly, and promised that he would amend his life henceforward, RABBÂ demanded a surety from him [Page 305] that after he was forgiven he would no more continue his evil behaviour; and when the venerable man PETRONIUS had made himself a surety for him concerning the things which SYLVANUS had promised the blessed man forgave him. Then SYLVANUS, having been held worthy of forgiveness, contended with all his soul, and to such good purpose, that he became the pattern of all excellence of the fear of God, both among all the younger and all the elder brethren. Now the virtue which surpassed all the other virtues which he possessed was that of absolute humility, and tears flowed from his eyes so unceasingly that even when he was eating with the brethren he was not able to restrain his weeping, and his tears were mingled with his food. And when the brethren told him that he should not behave thus before the face of strangers (*i. e.*, visitors), or before any people he took an oath, saying, "I have sought many times "to restrain [my] tears for this reason, but I have never been able [to do so]." Then the brethren said, "Is it "not possible for him that repenteth to seek to be "alone? And would it not be better for him to act "thus when he was praying with the brethren, than "when he was eating at the table with them? And "is it not possible for the soul to weep continually "with tears other than those which are visible?" [Then, turning to him, they said,] "We wish to know what "thou hast to say on the matter. For thou art so "overwhelmed with [thy] tears that many of us who "see thee in this state are ashamed to eat and take "our fill."

Then SYLVANUS said unto those who had asked him [those questions], "Do ye not wish me to weep

"when I see holy men waiting upon me, men, the dust "of whose feet I am unworthy [to sweep away]? Is "it not proper that I should weep over myself? I weep "then, O my brethren, because a man from the theatre "is ministered unto by such holy men as these, and I "am afraid lest I be smitten even as were DATHAN "and ABIRAM. And I weep especially because, being "in ignorance, I cared so little at the beginning about "the redemption (*or*, salvation) of my soul, that I came [Page 306] into danger of being expelled by the "brethren from the monastery, and I was obliged to "give surety [for my better behaviour], and to take "awful oaths that I would never again treat my life "with contempt. For this reason I am not ashamed "[to weep], and I have turned away from such things; "for I know my sins and that if I was obliged to "deliver up my soul I should find no happiness [in heaven]."

And as this man strove nobly in this manner RABBÂ himself bore testimony before all the brethren, and spake thus: "Behold, I bear testimony before "God that, from the time when this monastery came "into existence, among all the brethren who have lived "with me therein, there hath been none who hath re-"sembled completely the example [which I have con-"ceived in my mind] with the exception of one." Now when the brethren heard these things some of them thought that the one man of whom he spake was THEODORE, and others thought he was PETRONIUS, and others thought he was ARSENIUS, and at length THEODORE asked the holy man of which monk he had spoken when he said this thing; but RABBÂ did not wish to say. But because THEODORE and the other great fathers continued to entreat him [to tell them], for they wished to learn who he was, RABBÂ answered and said, "If I knew that vain glory would come to "him of whom I am about to speak, and that he would "be greatly praised, I would not shew [you] who he

"is; but, because I know that the more he is praised, "the more humble he will become, and the more he "will think scorn of himself, and because [I wish] you "to emulate his example, I will, before you all, fear- "lessly ascribe blessing to him. Thou, O THEODORE, "and all those, who like thee, strive in the fight, have "bound the Calumniator with fetters like a kid of the "goats, and have placed him under your feet, and "daily ye trample upon him as ye trample upon dust; "but if ye are the least unmindful of yourselves, the "Calumniator, who hath been cast under your feet, will "rise up again, and will set himself against you like "an armed man. But this young man SYLVANUS, who "but a short time since was about to be [Page 307] "expelled from the monastery, hath, by his strenuous- "ness,[1] so completely subjugated the Calumniator, and "slain him, that he will never again be able to approach "him, for he hath vanquished him utterly by his ex- "ceedingly great humility. Ye have humbled yourselves "as if ye possessed works of righteousness, and the "addition which ye would make to your spiritual ex- "cellence is reduced, for ye rely upon the things which "have already been performed by you; but this young "man, however much he striveth, never sheweth himself "to the gaze [of his fellows], and he thinketh with all "his mind and soul that he is a useless and contempt- "ible being. And tears are always nigh unto him "because he is always belittling himself, and because "he saith that he is unworthy of the things which are "visible. Ye, in your knowledge, and in your patient "endurance, and in your strivings against the Calumni- "ator, which cannot be measured, are better than he "is, but he hath surpassed you in humility, because he, "in this manner, cutteth off for the Calumniator nothing "but humility, and the power of action which ariseth "from the whole soul." Now therefore when SYLVANUS

[1] Read ܥܙܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܝܡܘܬܐ ܠܐ.

had striven in this manner for eight years, he completed his fight, and laid down his life in such wise that his servant, a mighty man of God, testified concerning his departure, and said that an endless throng of holy angels, with great rejoicing and singing, received his soul as a choice sacrifice, and that they offered it up unto God like the marvellous incense which is found among the children of men.

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER III.

Of a certain sinner who died.

And it came to pass once that Abbâ Pachomius went to another monastery to visit the brethren who were there, and as he was on his journey he met the funeral of a certain brother of the monastery who was dead, and [the monks] were going to the funeral and were singing as they went; [Page 308] and there were also among them the parents of the man who had died. Now the brethren saw from a distance the holy man coming along towards them, and they set down the bier upon the ground so that he might come and pray over him. And when the blessed man had come, and had said a prayer, he commanded the brethren not to sing any more psalms and hymns over him; and he also commanded them to bring the garments of him that had died, and they brought them, and in the presence of them all he ordered the men to burn them; then, when they had been burned he commanded that the dead body should be taken and buried without any further singing. Then the brethren, and the parents, and kinsfolk of him that was dead threw themselves down at his feet and entreated him to permit them to sing over him, but he remained unmoved; and the parents of the dead man

said unto ABBÂ PACHOMIUS, "What hast thou done, O "father? This is a new thing, and thou art sending "away our son in an unlawful fashion. It befitteth not "thy holiness to display such a want of compassion "unto this dead man, and moreover, this savage cruelty "is like to bring about sorrow. Even an enemy who "seeth the dead body of his adversary knoweth how "to shew pity many times over, although his dis- "position be unutterable and immovable. We have "seen a new sight with you, O Christians, the like "of which had never been seen, even among the bar- "barians. Through this want of compassion [on thy "part] thou hast made to cling to the family [of the "dead man] a disgrace which shall never be blotted "out. Would that we had never seen thee this day! "For then our house, which hath ever possessed an "untarnished name, would not have inherited disgrace. "Would that our poor son had never come into thy "savage hands! For then he would not have bequeathed "unto us this everlasting sorrow. We beseech thee "now, since thou hast caused even his clothes to be "burned, to allow a Psalm to be said over him."

Then ABBÂ PACHOMIUS answered and said unto them, "O my brethren, in very truth I have more compassion "upon him that lieth here than ye have, and because, "like a father, I am shewing exceedingly great care "on his behalf, I have commanded [Page 309] these "things to be done. Ye would take care of the body "which is visible, but I strive for his soul [which is "invisible]; for if ye sing Psalms over him he will "receive the greater torments, and a reckoning will "be demanded from him because of the Psalms which "have been sung, for he departeth not with the power "of the Psalms upon him. If then ye wish to make "an addition to his everlasting sufferings, sing Psalms; "but I tell you, of a truth, that if ye do indeed sing "Psalms over him, he will certainly suffer more pain "because of them, and he will curse you. And because

"I know what will benefit his soul I take no care for "his dead body whatsoever; for if I permit ye to sing "Psalms, I shall be found to be in the sight of God "as one who [striveth to] please the children of men, "because for the sake of gratifying men I have treated "with contempt that which will benefit the soul which "is about to be punished in judgment. For because "God is a fountain of grace He seeketh excuses upon "which He can lay hold in order to pour out upon us "the abundant streams of His grace; if then, we, who "have been held to be worthy by God to become "acquainted with the art of divine healing, do not "apply the binding up which is suitable to the wound, "we shall, like those who despise [God], hear that "which is written, 'Those who despised [God] saw, "'and marvelled at the wonderful thing, and were "'destroyed.' For this reason then, that is to say, "that we may lighten his punishment, I entreat you to "bury the dead man without any singing of Psalms; "for the Good God knoweth that in return for this "slight which hath come upon him, we are giving him "rest and are calling him to life. Had he listened "unto me on the several occasions on which I admonished "him, he would never have come to this pass."

And when the blessed man had said these things they carried him to the mountain without the singing of Psalms, and he was buried. And the holy man passed several days in that monastery in admonishing and teaching each one of the brethren the fear [Page 310] of God, and the way to strive rightly against the Calumniator, and against his arts, and wiles, and guile, and how in a short time, by the might of the Lord, we shall be able to bring to nought beforehand the things which are cared for by him.

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER IV.

Of the funeral of a certain holy man who died.

Now whilst Abbâ Pachomius was still there he heard that a certain brother from the monastery of Bêth Râʿyâ, which is called in Greek .....[1] was sick, [and it was said to him], "He wisheth to see thee and to "be blessed by thee before he dieth." And when the man of God heard these things he rose up, and departed on the journey, but when he was about two miles from the monastery, the holy man heard a holy voice in the air, and he lifted up his eyes and saw the soul of the sick brother with the holy angels, singing hymns, and being borne aloft to a blessed and divine life; now the brethren who were accompanying him neither heard nor saw anything. And when the holy man had stood there and gazed for a long time towards the East, they said unto him, "Why standest "thou [here], O father? Let us hurry on so that we "may reach him whilst he is still alive." And he said unto them, "We shall not reach him there, for I have "just seen him ascending to everlasting life; depart ye "then, O my children, to your monastery." And when those brethren entreated him [to tell them] in what [form] he had seen the soul of the brother who had died, he said unto them, "In a certain form;" and when they had heard this they departed to their monastery. And they [enquired], and ascertained exactly from the brethren who were in the monastery, concerning the hour whereof Rabbâ had spoken to them, and then they recognized that the things which had been said unto them about the brother who had died were true [Page 311].

[1] The text is corrupt here.

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER V.

Of the things which Abbâ Pachomius heard said in the air by the devils as he was journeying in the desert to his monastery.

Now when the holy old man was journeying to his monastery, and was by the side of the desert which is called "Ammon," certain legions of devils rose up against him, and thronged him, both on his right hand and on his left, and others ran in front of him, saying, "Behold the blessed man of God;" and they acted in this wise because they were plotting to sow the seeds of vain glory in him. Now he knew the evil character of their cunning, and as they cried out these things he cried out to God, and made confession of his sins; then, having brought to nought the evil cunning of these wicked devils, he answered and said unto them, "Ye are not able to persuade me to [indulge in] vain "glory. O ye wicked ones, well do I know mine "iniquities, and well do I know that it is right for me "to weep concerning them continually, and concerning "the punishment which is for ever. I have no need "of fluent words and cunning error from you, for your "work is the destruction of souls. I am not to be "carried away therefore by your praisings, for I know "well your cunning minds, O evil ones." And though the holy man Pachomius spake these words unto them their audacious acts did not cease, for they clung round and about the blessed man until he drew nigh unto his monastery.

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER VI.

Of the things which Abbâ Pachomius did when he arrived at his monastery.

And when the brethren went forth to meet the holy man and to salute him, a certain young man also went out with them to salute Abbâ Pachomius, and he began to make a complaint to him, saying, "Verily, "O father, from the time when thou didst depart to "visit the brethren until this present [Page 312] they "have not cooked either vegetables or crushed peas;" and the old man answered and said unto him readily and pleasantly, "My son, grieve not, for from this time "forward I will make them to cook these things for "thee." And having gone round about through the monastery Abbâ Pachomius went to the place where the food was [kept], and he found him that did the cooking plaiting a mat of palm leaves, and he said unto him, "How long is it since thou hast cooked "vegetables for the brethren?" And he answered, "Two months." And Rabbâ said unto him, "Hast thou "acted thus in spite of the command and ordinances "of the holy fathers which enjoin that vegetables shall "be cooked for the brethren every Saturday and every "Sunday?" And the cook answered and said unto him, "Truly, O father, I wanted to cook some vege- "tables on each of these days, but because I saw that "when they were cooked they were not eaten (for all "the brethren, so to speak, were restraining them- "selves, and were not eating cooked food), except by "the young men who usually ate them, and when I "saw that when they were not eaten they were thrown "away, [I cooked] no more so that all the expense "and all the trouble might be avoided. Now we pour "into the cooked food of the brethren forty boxes of "oil daily. And when I saw that the food was not

"eaten I did not cook it, for I did not consider it to "be right that we should throw away and waste such "costly things. And moreover, because I could not sit "idle I began to plait a mat, with the brethren, for I "thought that one man would be sufficient in the kitchen "to prepare the less important meals for the brethren, "that is to say, chopped garlic, and mountain herbs "[mixed with] vinegar and olive oil, and herbs from "the garden."

And when the holy man had heard these things he said unto the cook, "How many mats have ye "made? Ye who belong to the kitchen must have "been continually at this work;" and the cook said, "Five hundred." And ABBÂ PACHOMIUS said unto him, "Bring them here, for I wish to count them;" and having brought the mats he ordered them [Page 313] to be thrown into the fire. Then, when they had all been consumed, ABBÂ PACHOMIUS said unto them, "Why have "ye forsaken the ordinance which hath been given "unto you for the government of the brethren through "[your] Satanic minds? I have destroyed pitilessly the "labour of your hands, and have burned it in the fire, "so that ye may learn what it is for a man to treat "lightly the laws of the Fathers, which have been given "for the benefit of souls. How great is the help which "ye have removed from the brethren through your not "having cooked food for them! Have ye forgotten "that a man hath power over desire for food, and "that he who restraineth himself from such and such a "food, for God's sake, shall obtain from God wages "which are not small? while he who hath not received "authority, and who denieth himself by force or neces- "sity will seek for wages in return for this in vain? "And do ye not know that, if cooked meat be placed "upon the table, and the brethren eat it not because "they restrain themselves therefrom for God's sake, "they shall receive abundant wages? But if cooked "meats be not given unto them, because they have

"not seen them abstinence and self-denial can never "be reckoned unto them. For the sake of eighty boxes "of oil, for such is the excuse [which ye have made], "ye have cut off all the preparation of all the brethren; "I would rather that all the world should be wasted "than that one small spiritual virtue should be cut off "from [their] soul[s]. I therefore truly wish to have "food in abundance cooked daily and set before the "brethren, so that in practising abstinence every day, "and in restraining themselves from partaking of what "hath been given to them, they may make an addition "daily to their spiritual excellence. For if a man should "happen to fall sick, and did not desire to go to the "hospital, if he should come to the common table in "order to partake of the vegetables which are usually "given to the brethren, and should not find any there, "what would happen to me? Would not a brother be "offended in not finding at the common table that of "which he was in need? And do ye not know that "[Page 314] young men especially [cannot] continue "in spiritual excellence unless they enjoy some small "gratification or a little consolation from their food?"

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER VII.

Of the revelation which Abbâ Pachomius received from God concerning certain heretics who happened to visit him.

And it came to pass that when the old man had said these things to the brethren, the doorkeeper came to him, and said, "Certain travellers, who are men of "importance, have come hither, and they wish to meet "thee;" and he said, "Call them hither," and when they had entered into the monastery he saluted them with the brethren. And after they had seen all the brother-

hood, and had gone round about among all the cells of the brethren, they wanted to hold converse with him by themselves. Now when they had taken their seats in a secluded chamber, there came unto the old man a strong smell of uncleanness, but he knew not whence came such uncleanness, though he thought that it must arise from them because he was speaking with them face to face; and he was not able to learn the cause of the same by the supplication which [he made] to God, for he perceived that their speech was fruitful [of thought], and that their minds were familiar with the Scriptures, but he was not acquainted with their intellectual uncleanness. Then, after he had spoken unto them many things out of the Divine Books, and the season of the ninth hour had drawn nigh meanwhile, they rose up that they might come to their own place, and RABBÂ entreated them to partake of some food there, but they did not accept [his petitions, saying,] that they were in duty bound to arrive home before sunset; so they prayed, and they saluted us, and then they departed.

And RABBÂ, in order to learn the cause of the uncleanness of those men, went into his cell, and prayed to God, and he knew straightway that [Page 315] it was the doctrine of wickedness which arose from their souls that sent forth such an unclean smell. Thereupon he went forth from his cell immediately and pursued those men, and having overtaken them, he said unto them, "I beg of you to allow me to ask you one "question;" and they said unto him, "Speak." And he said unto them, "Do ye call that which is written in "the works of ORIGEN heresy?" And when they had heard this question they denied and said that they did not. Then the holy man said unto them, "Behold, I "take you to witness before God, that every man who "readeth and accepteth the work of ORIGEN, shall "certainly arrive in the fire of Sheol, and his inheritance "shall be everlasting darkness. That which I know

"from God I have made you to be witnesses of, and "I am therefore not to be condemned by God on this "account, and ye yourselves know about it. Behold, I "have made you to hear the truth. And if ye believe "me, and if ye wish truly to gratify God, take all the "writings of Origen and cast them into the fire; and "never seek to read them again." And when Abbâ PACHOMIUS had said these things he left them.

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE REVELATION WHICH HE RECEIVED ABOUT THE SETTLEMENT OF THE BRETHREN.

And when ABBÂ PACHOMIUS had gone into the monastery, he found the brethren gathered together for prayer, and he drew nigh unto them, and said all the prayers; but when the brethren went forth to eat he remained in that chamber by himself, in order that he might recite to the end therein the prayers of the congregation according to custom. And he shut the door and prayed unto God that he might have information about the settlements which were to come subsequently to the brethren. Then having prolonged [his] prayer from the tenth hour until the time when the brethren beat [the boards to summon the brethren] to the service of the night, for he was praying until midnight [Page 316], there suddenly appeared unto him a vision which made known to him concerning the settlements of the brethren subsequently, and shewed him that they would live rightly in Christ, and the increase which was about to take place in the religious houses. And he saw a congregation of brethren which was endless, and the men were making their way along a deep and gloomy valley, and many of them came with the intention of going up out of that valley, but were

unable to do so, and many of them met each other face to face, but because of the great density of the darkness, they did not recognize each other; and many fell down through exhaustion, and others were crying out with the doleful voice of lamentation. Now a very few of them, with the greatest difficulty, and with much toil, were able to go up out of that valley, and immediately they had done so the light met them; and when they had come to the light, they gave thanks unto God mightily. Then did the blessed man know the things which were going to happen to the brethren in later times, and the absolute supineness which was to exist in those times, and the blindness of error, and the removal of the shepherds which was about to happen to them, and he knew that the wicked were to have dominion over the good, whom they were to vanquish through their great numbers, and that those who were to come afterwards would be mere imitations of monks. Now we set down in writing the memorial of these things lest the wicked shall be governors over the brethren, and those who are without knowledge shall have authority over the monasteries, and shall strive for the mastery, and the good shall be persecuted by the wicked, and they shall not have freedom of speech in the monasteries, and the divine things which have been said shall be turned to the things of men.

Now therefore, when the blessed man knew these things, he cried out to God with tears, and said, "O "Lord God, Who dost maintain the universe, if it is "indeed to be thus why didst Thou permit these monas- "teries to come into being? And if in those times "those who are to be governors over the brethren be "wicked men, what is to become of those who [Page "317] are to be governed by them? For when the "blind leadeth the blind both fall into the ditch. I have "toiled absolutely in vain! Remember, O Lord, my "works, and those of these brethren, who submit to be "governed with all their souls. Remember that Thou

"didst promise me, saying, 'Until the end of the world
"'I will allow this spiritual seed to exist.' Thou knowest,
"O my Lord, that from the time when I put on the
"garb of the monks, I have never satisfied myself with
"whatsoever groweth upon the earth, not even with
"water."

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER IX.

ANOTHER REVELATION ON THIS MATTER WHICH [BROUGHT] CONSOLATION.

And it came to pass that when he had said these things, ABBÂ PACHOMIUS heard a voice, saying, "Thou "boastest thyself, O PACHOMIUS. Thou art a man. Ask "mercy for thyself, because everything standeth by com-"passion." Now when the blessed man heard these things, he straightway threw himself on his face upon the ground, and he asked God for mercy, saying, "O Lord, "Who dost sustain the universe, send Thy mercies to "me, and take Thou them never away from me, for I "know that without Thy mercy nothing can possibly "exist." And having said these words straightway there stood by his side two angels of God, and there was with them a Young Man, who had a face which is unspeakable, and an appearance which cannot be described, and on His head was a crown of thorns. Then the angels made PACHOMIUS to stand up, and they said unto him, "Because thou hast asked God to "send thee His mercy, behold, this is His mercy, the "Lord of glory, Jesus Christ, the Only One, His Son, "Whom He sent into the world, and Whom ye cru-"cified; and ye set a crown of thorns upon His head." And PACHOMIUS said unto the Young Man, "I entreat "Thee, O my Lord, and Thy holy Nature, [Page 318] "[to remember] that I did not crucify Thee." Then the Young Man relaxed his face a little in a smile,

and said unto him, "I know that thou didst not crucify "Me, but thy fathers did; be of good courage, however, "for the root of thy seed shall never come to an end, "and thy seed shall be preserved upon the earth even "unto the end of the world. And the seeds which "shall burst into life in those times, through the abun- "dance of darkness shall be found to be more excellent "than those of this present time, and they shall be "more completely subject to rule; for at this present, "because thou art unto them as a light which is before "the eyes, they lead lives of great excellence and "according to rule, and they lean upon thy light. But "those who shall come after them, and who shall live "in a region of darkness, if with a good intent and "from the mind voluntarily they run towards the truth, "even though no man directeth them, they shall from "out of the darkness draw nigh unto the truth, verily, "I say unto thee, that they shall be free and shall be "with those who now lead a blameless life of the "highest character, and they shall be held to be worthy "of forgiveness."

Then having said these things straightway the Young Man went [up into] the heavens, and the heavens were opened, and the air shone so brightly that it is impossible for us to describe with human words the splendour of that light. And when RABBÂ had marvelled at the things which he had heard, straightway they beat [the board to summon] the brethren to the service of the night.

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER X.

Of the words of doctrine which Abbâ Pachomius spake to the brethren when they were gathered together.

Now when the brethren had come to the congregation of the night, and the service for the night also was ended, they sat down to hearken unto his words; and he opened his mouth, and said unto them, "O my "brethren, so long as ye have breath in your bodies "strive for your redemption; and before there cometh "the hour wherein we shall have to weep for our "souls let us cultivate spiritual excellence with a ready "mind. And I say unto you [Page 319] that, if ye knew "what good things were in heaven, and the glory which "is laid up for the saints, and how those who have fallen "are punished by God, and the tortures which are laid up "for those who have been neglectful, and especially for "those who having known the truth have not, as was right, "guided themselves thereby, instead of inheriting the "blessedness which is reserved for the saints, [ye would do "so]. Flee ye then from the punishments which are in "[these] tortures! And consider the graves, and consider "the resurrection of the children of men, who are nothing! "Why then doth man, who is dust, vaunt himself with vain "glory? When then doth he, who is altogether stink-"ingness, exalt himself? Let us weep for ourselves "whilst we still have the time, so that when our de-"parture cometh nigh we may not be found asking "God for more time wherein to repent. A wretched "thing is that soul, and greatly to be blamed, which "hath left the world, but which had not dedicated itself "to God, and which had not lived worthily of its promise. "Let us not then, O my brethren, allow this world, "which is a small and a contemptible thing, and which "resembleth a fleeting shadow, to steal away from us "blessed and immortal life.

"Verily I fear lest your fathers in the flesh, who lived "in the world, and who were carried away by the "anxious cares and afflictions of the world, and who "imagined about you that ye were nigh unto the Lord, "whereby ye received a pledge that ye would enter "into a life of blessedness, will be more worthy than "ye are of assistance in the world which is to come. "And at that time they will be found loving you, and "saying that which is written, 'How hath He disgraced "'you, and put you greatly to shame: the fire hath "'blazed out upon you, and your branches have been "'destroyed, and therefore have ye become a thing "'of spoil [*or*, prey], over which the lions roar and "'send out their voices.' Therefore, O my beloved, "be ye like unto those who are good, and let the "crown of your head be exalted. The cities which "are towards [Page 320] the South, how are they to "be taken? There is none who will open unto you. "For the sinner shall be carried off because he seeth "not the glory of the Lord. Behold, ye have heard. "Therefore, O my brethren, let us strive with all our "souls, and let us set death before our eyes, and fasten "our gaze upon the terrible tortures [of Sheol], so "that by means of them the mind may arrive at the "understanding, which beareth away the soul from care; "and when it weepeth [the mind] maketh it to be a "spectator, and with earthly things it enricheth it with- "out wandering to God. And not this only, for when "it doeth these things in humility, it persuadeth it to "action which is free from every kind of worldly mind, "and to contempt instead of vain glory.

"Let the soul then, O my brethren, practise philo- "sophy each day in respect of this solid body [of ours], "and when we come to our beds in the evening let "it say unto each one of the members of the body, "'O legs, how much power have ye to stand up, and "'to move yourselves before ye die and become "'things without motion? Will ye not stand up with

"'good will for your Lord.' And let it say unto the "other members, 'O hands, there cometh an hour when "'ye shall be dissolved and motionless, and when ye "'shall never be clasped in each other again, and "'when ye shall not have any movement whatsoever; "'why then before ye fall into that hour and are cut "'off do ye not stretch yourselves out to the Lord?' "And unto the whole body shall the soul speak thus:— "'O body, before we are separated and are removed "'far away from each other, and before I descend into "'Sheol, and receive everlasting fetters under darkness, "'and before thou art changed into the primal matter "'of which thou art made, and art cast out upon the "'earth to become filthiness and corruption, and to "decay, rise up boldly to worship the Lord without "'dislike, and take my intelligence, by means of tears, and "'make known to thy lordship thy free will servitude; "'and bear me on that, with a good will [Page 321] I "'may give thanks unto God before thou art crushed "'under the weight of other things, and dost seek to "'lie down, and to take thy rest, and dost condemn "'me to everlasting torment. For there are times "'when that heavy sleep is about to confuse thee. And "'if thou wilt hearken unto me, we shall enjoy happi- "'ness together in the inheritance of blessing, but if "'thou wilt not hearken unto me, then woe is me "'that I have ever been fettered by thee, for on thy "'account I, the wretched thing, shall be condemned.'

"Now, if ye act thus daily, and if ye consecrate "yourselves, verily ye shall become real temples of "God, and since God dwelleth in you the cunning and "wiles of Satan shall not be able to do you injury; "for instead of having a myriad of teachers, the word "of God shall dwell in you, and it shall teach you "more [than they], and it shall make you exceedingly "wise by its own knowledge; and it is unable to speak "all the things which belong to human speech, but "these the Spirit, holy, and divine, and pure, and

"spotless shall teach you, even as the Apostle[1] saith, "'For we know not what we should pray for as we "'ought, but the Spirit itself prayeth for us with "'groanings which cannot be uttered,' etc. And there "are many other helpful things which it would be "possible for us to say unto you by God's grace, yet "because our mind doth not urge us to these same "things we must direct our discourse to other matters.

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER XI.

OF HOW, NOT EVEN IN THE TIME OF FAMINE, WAS ABBÂ PACHOMIUS INDUCED TO TAKE WHEAT FOR NOTHING FOR THE USE OF HIS MONASTERY.

When a famine took place in the days of PACHOMIUS, and the brethren had no wheat, that is to say, when, so to speak, no wheat could be found in all Egypt, the holy old man sent to call one of the brethren that he might go round about in the cities and villages and seek for wheat to buy; and he gave him a sum of money [Page 322] for the purchase of the wheat, that is to say, one hundred *dînârs*. And having gone round about in very many places, the man who had been entrusted with this work came to a city which is called ARMÛTÎN, and by the Providence of God he found there a certain governor of the state, who was an exceedingly reverent man and a fearer of God, and who had heard of the rule of the holy man PACHOMIUS and of the brethren; now this governor was in charge of the wheat which belonged to the community, and the brother approached him, and entreated him to sell him wheat to the value of one hundred *dînârs*. Then the governor said unto him,

[1] Romans VIII. 26.

"Of a truth, O my brother, if I had wheat of my own, "or even some [belonging to] my own children, I would "take it and give it to you, for I have heard con- "cerning your godly and spiritual rule of life; but "hearken unto what I am going to say unto thee. "The wheat which hath been placed under my charge "belongeth to the community, and as it will not be "required this year by the prefect, if thou wishest to "take it I have the power over the wheat of the "community, and I will keep it back until the time "cometh for it to be laid up in the granary; and if thou "knowest that thou art able to return it by that time, "take as much of it as thou wishest."

Then the brother said unto him, "I do not wish "thee to act thus for me, for I am unable to return "so large a quantity as that which I wish to take; "but if thou wilt sell me wheat to the value of one "hundred *dînârs*, at the price which thou wishest, [good "and well], and if thou art not in any way able to "keep back the wheat which belongeth to the com- "munity until the time [for storing it] in the granary, "thou actest rightly [in refusing me]." And the governor said unto him, "Yea, I have power to keep "back the wheat, and not only wheat to the value of "one hundred *dînârs*, but, if thou wishest, another "like quantity. If thou wilt take the wheat thou "wilt do me an act of grace, only pray for me." And when the brother said, "We have only this amount of "money," the governor hearkened, and said, "Have no "care [Page 323] about this matter, for whensoever ye "are able to bring me the price of the wheat, do so, "at the rate of [thirteen] *ardebs* a *dînâr*, and in no "other place in Egypt wilt thou obtain more than "five *ardebs* a *dînâr*." And the brother journeyed by water to the monastery with great joy [bringing the wheat with him].

And when RABBÂ heard that a boat full of wheat was about to arrive, and the manner in which it had been

bought, he sent immediately to the boat, and said, "Ye shall not bring one grain of the wheat into the "monastery, neither shall he who hath bought the wheat "come into my presence until he hath returned it to "its place; he who hath acted thus hath committed "great wickedness. And not only this hath he done, "but he hath also taken wheat to the value of one "hundred *darics* more than [the hundred *dînârs* which "I gave him], and I never ordered him to do this; "but in carrying out his own desires, he wished to "have a superabundance, and having become inflamed "by love of gain, he hath brought us into subjection, "and laid us under condemnation. And moreover, he "did not approach the generosity of the seller of the "wheat satisfactorily, for he acted in a greedy manner, "and he hath brought more wheat than he needed, "and on his own responsibility he undertook to pay "back that which we could never return. And not this "only, for supposing that from some human cause an "accident had happened, and the boat had sunk in the "river, what could we have done [to make good the "loss]? Should we not all have become slaves? "Therefore let him sell all the wheat which he hath "brought to the laity who are in this district at the "rate at which he hath taken it from him that entrusted "it to him, that is to say, at thirteen *ardebs* a *dînâr*, "and after he hath sold them, let him take the gold "and carry it to him that gave him credit. And with "the one hundred *dînârs* which are mine, let him buy "wheat at the rate at which it is sold everywhere and "bring it [to me]." And the brother did even as RABBÂ said unto him, and he brought the wheat which he bought at a rate of five and a half *ardebs* a *dînâr*. And from that time RABBÂ did not allow that [Page 324] brother to go outside the monastery on business for the brethren, and having made him to remain inside he appointed other brethren to render service of the kind.

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER XII.

OF HOW WHEN THE WORK OF THE BRETHREN WAS SOLD RABBÂ WAS UNWILLING EVEN THAT THEY SHOULD ACCEPT THE FULL PRICE OF THE SAME.

And that same brother [who hath been mentioned above] took away from the shoemaker to sell a large number of shoes (*or*, sandals) and other kinds of objects, and having received as their price a larger sum of money than the shoemaker had mentioned brought to him the *oboli*; and when the shoemaker had received the *oboli*, he reckoned up the price of the leather, and of the labour of his hands, and the value of the work of the days wherein he had made the various kinds of [leather] objects, and found that it amounted to fifty *oboli*, whilst the money [which he had received] was three times that amount. Then straightway the shoemaker went to RABBÂ, and said unto him, "Verily, O "father, this brother will never prosper by such acts "as these, for he still hath in him a worldly mind." And when RABBÂ said, "What is this matter in which "he hath behaved so badly?" the shoemaker answered and said, "I gave him sandals and other kinds of "[leather] things to sell, and I said unto him, 'Their "'prices are so much,' but he hath sold them for a "great deal more, and he hath brought unto me a price "which is three times as large as that which I men-"tioned to him." When RABBÂ had heard these things, he called the brother, and said unto him, "Why hast "thou done thus?" And the brother said unto him, "Father, I told to the people who bought the "sandals and the other things the price which this "shoemaker told me to take, but they said to me, "'Brother, if these things had been stolen they would "'be worth a far higher price than what thou askest;' "and I, feeling ashamed, said to them, 'They have not

"'been stolen, and I have been commanded to sell "'them at the price which I have named; but whatso-"'ever ye wish to give [me] for them, that give;' and "they gave me what it pleased [Page 325] them to "give me, and I never counted the oboli which were "given unto me by them." When RABBÂ had heard [these things], he said, "Thou hast sinned greatly in "loving excess, but run quickly, and give back the excess "in price to those who gave it to thee, and come, and "repent because of this offence, and sit in the monastery, "and perform the work of thy hands, for it is not good "that thou, O my son, shouldst do again work of this "kind;" and the brother did even as the old man had said unto him. Then RABBÂ appointed the holy man ZAKKAI, a good man, who overcame all the praises of the children of men by the manifestation of good deeds, and he administered all the affairs of the monastery.

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER XIII.

OF A CERTAIN ASCETIC BROTHER WHO WAS IN THE MONASTERY, AND WHO DESIRED A CROWN OF MARTYRDOM UNSEASONABLY.

And there was also [there] among those who were very famous a certain brother, who cultivated the ascetic life by himself, and when he heard of the divine rule of our holy father PACHOMIUS he entreated him to receive him in the monastery; and when RABBÂ had received him, and he had passed a little [time] with the brethren, he desired greatly to bear witness (*i. e.*, to become a martyr), although the world was in a state of peace, and the Church was flourishing, and was, by the Grace of God, at peace, and the blessed CONSTANTINE, who had put on Christ, was at that time reigning. And this brother was con-

tinually entreating the blessed man PACHOMIUS, and saying, "Pray for me, O father, that I may become a martyr;" but RABBÂ admonished him that he should not permit this thought to enter his mind again, and said unto him, "Brother, endure the strife of the monks "mightily and blamelessly, and make straight thy life "in the way which will please Christ, and thou shalt "have companionship with the martyrs [Page 326] in "heaven."

As, however, the brother made his desire for this thing stronger each day, and he was wearying the holy man therewith, RABBÂ, wishing to drive away this kind of desire from him, said unto him, "I will pray "[for thee], but if thou seekest for this thing thou wilt "be vanquished. And put armour on thy soul, lest, "when the hour cometh wherein thou hast to bear "witness, thou shalt deny Christ. Verily thou wilt "certainly commit sin, because of thine own will thou "drawest nigh unto temptation, although our Lord Jesus "commanded us, saying, 'Pray that ye fall not into "'temptation.'"[1] And having said these things unto him, he admonished him to take good heed unto himself, and not to meditate upon martyrdom.

And it came to pass that two years later, certain of the brethren were sent by RABBÂ to a village which was above them[2] to collect reeds [to make] mats for the monastery; now this village was nigh unto the barbarians who are called "BLEMMYES." And whilst the brethren were there, and were on an island where there were large numbers of reeds, the blessed man PACHOMIUS sent the brother who was wishing to suffer martyrdom to carry a little money to them for their expenses, and he commanded him to take good heed to himself. And he said unto him, "The words which

[1] St. Matthew XXVI. 41; St. Mark XIV. 38; St. Luke XXII. 40, 46.

[2] *I. e.*, a village further to the south.

"are written, 'Behold, now is the acceptable[1] time, be-
"hold, now is the day of redemption,' have a mystical
"signification [for thee], and ye shall not commit an
"offence against any man, so that there may be no
"blemish in our ministration;" so the brother took an ass to carry the money and departed to the brethren.

Now when he had arrived at the place which is opposite the desert, the barbarians came down [to the river] to draw water, and they came upon the brother, and made him to come down from off the ass, and they bound his hands, and took the ass and that which was thereon, and they led him up to a neighbouring mountain where there were other barbarians. Now when the barbarians saw that he came with an ass, they began to make a mock of him, and to say, "O monk, come "and worship our gods," and they slew some beasts and poured out libations to their gods, [Page 327] and they brought the monk and urged the monk to pour out libations with them. And when he did not want to do this, they rose up in wrath, and came towards him with their drawn swords in their hands in a threatening manner, and said, "If he be unwilling to "sacrifice to our gods and to pour out libations to "them we will kill him." Then seeing the drawn swords, and the savage disposition of the people, straightway the brother took wine and poured out a libation to their gods, and because he was afraid of dying the death of the body, he slew his immortal soul by denying God, the Lord of all; now when he had done these things the BLEMMYES sent him away.

Then having descended from the mountain, when he had come to himself he knew his iniquity, that is to say, the wickedness which he had committed, and he rent his garments, and having beaten himself upon his face severely he came to the monastery; and the blessed man knew what had happened to him, and he went

[1] 2 Corinthians VI. 2.

forth to meet him in sore affliction. And when the brother saw that he was coming to him, he threw himself on his face upon the ground, and shedding tears, cried out and said, "I have sinned against God "and against thee, O father, and I would neither listen "to thy promise nor to thine admonition, and had I "but hearkened unto thee I should not have had to "bear what I have suffered." And having heard these words RABBÂ said unto him, "Rise up, O wretched "man, thou hast snatched thyself away from the good "things which were awaiting thee, for in very truth "there was laid up for thee a crown which thou hast "cast away from thee; thou wast ready to be reckoned "with the holy martyrs, but thou hast cut thyself off "from their blessed companionship. Our Lord Jesus "Christ was near with His holy angels, and He wished "to lay the crown upon thy head. Through thy momen- "tary turning back thou hast refused [*or*, denied] this, "and in being afraid of that death which thou wast "about to endure, a death which thou didst not seek, "thou hast fallen away from God and destroyed thine "everlasting life. Where are the words which [thou "didst speak] before this [happened]? [Page 328] "Where is thy desire [for martyrdom]?" And the brother said, "I have sinned in all these [respects], O "father, and I am no longer able to lift up my face "to heaven. I am lost, O father, I have no position "wherefrom I may contemplate what I shall do, O father; "I never expected that the matter would happen thus."

Then having said these words with tears RABBÂ spake unto him, saying, "Thou, O wretched man, hast "made thyself altogether an alien to the Lord, but the "Lord is good, and He never keepeth His anger for a "testimony, for He is a lover of mercy, and He is "able to sink our sins in the depths of the sea. As "far as are the heavens from the earth so far hath "He put away our iniquity and sins. For He desireth "not the death of the sinner, but his repentance, and

"He wisheth not that a man who hath fallen should "remain in his fallen condition, but that he should rise "up; and He desireth not that he who hath turned "back should keep afar off from Him but that he "should return quickly to Him. Therefore despair not, "for there is still a hope of [thy] redemption. For it "is said, 'If thou cuttest down a tree it shall renew "'itself.'"[1] If then thou wishest to obey me in every-"thing which I shall say unto thee, thou shalt obtain "forgiveness from God." And with tears the brother said, "From this time forward I will obey thee in "everything, O father." Then RABBÂ commanded him to depart and to seclude himself in a cell alone, and never to hold converse with any man until death, and to eat one meal daily, of bread and salt only, and to drink water only for the whole period of his life, and to plait two palm leaf mats daily, and to keep vigil as long as possible, and never to cease from crying. So that brother departed, even as the blessed man had commanded him, and he carried out everything which he had told him to do. And he held converse with no man except RABBÂ, and THEODORE, and with a [Page 329] few of the other great sages; and he passed ten years in striving in this manner, and died in the grace of the Lord, and RABBÂ bore witness nobly concerning his tranquil state.

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER XIV.

OF THE PHANTOM WHICH THEY SAW BY NIGHT WHEN THEY WERE GOING THROUGH THE MONASTERY.

And it came to pass once when RABBÂ, and THEODORE whom he loved, were walking through the monas-

[1] Job XIV. 7.

tery by night, that they saw suddenly a great phantom, which was full of the greatest deceit; now that which appeared was in the form of a woman, and its beauty was of so indescribable a character that no man was able to tell the beauty, or the form, or the appearance, which belonged to that phantom, and even THEODORE, who looked at that phantom, was exceedingly perturbed, and his face changed colour. And when the blessed man saw that he was afraid, he said unto him, "Be of "good cheer in the Lord, O THEODORE, and fear not," and the holy man, having said these things unto him, commanded him to pray with him, that the phantom which was striking wonder into them might be driven away. And as they were praying the phantom came nearer and nearer and took a solid form, and when it, and the company of devils which ran before it, drew nigh, for their prayer did not drive it back, it came forward and said unto them, "Why do ye labour "in vain? Ye are unable at this present to do any- "thing whatsoever against me, for I have received "power from God, Who sustaineth the universe, to "tempt whomsoever I please; and I have abundance "of time in which to do this, for this I have asked from "God." Then PACHOMIUS asked her, saying, "Whence "comest thou? And who art thou? And whom dost "thou wish to tempt?" And the phantom answered and said, "I am the daughter of the Calumniator, "[Page 330] whose great power cannot[1] be described, "and unto me the whole company of the devils is "subject. It was I who brought down the holy stars "to the earth, and it was I who snatched Judas from "the Apostolic Power, I have received authority [*or*, "power] to make war against thee, O PACHOMIUS, for "I am not able to endure the reproach of the devils, "and no man hath made me as weak as thou. Thou "hast made me to be trampled under foot by youths,

[1] Read ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܥܐ.

"and by old men, and by young men, and thou hast "gathered together against me a congregation such as "thou hast, and hast set for them [as] a wall which "shall never fall the fear of God, so that my ministers "are not able to approach with boldness and freedom "unto any one of you.

"Now all these things have happened unto me be- "cause of the Word of God Who was made man, "for it is He Who hath given you power to trample "upon all our might, and to hold us in derision." And when the holy man PACHOMIUS asked her, "Hast thou "come to tempt me alone according to what thou "sayest?" she said unto him, "I have come to tempt "thee, and all those who are like thee." PACHOMIUS said unto her, "So then thou wilt tempt THEODORE "also?" and she said, "I have received power over "thee, and over THEODORE, but I am never able to "come nigh unto thee." And when PACHOMIUS had said unto her, "Why?" she said unto them, "If I were "to make war with you [two], you would have an "occasion for help and not for injury, and especially "would it be so in thy case, O PACHOMIUS, who with "the eyes of thy body art worthy to be a spectator "of the glory of God; but ye will not live for ever "for those for whom at present ye make yourselves a "wall through your prayers, and whom ye help; and "the time will come after your death when I shall have "dominion over those whom thou now protectest against "me, for ye have made me to be trodden under foot "by this multitude of monks."

[Page 331] Then RABBÂ said unto her, "How "knowest thou that those who shall come after us will "not serve the Lord more truly than do we, and that "they will not be able to confirm and strengthen those "who come after us in the fear of God more than do "we?" And the phantom said unto him, "I do know "this." And RABBÂ said unto her, "Thou liest by thy "wicked head, because thou hast no knowledge what-

"soever beforehand of the things which are going to "take place, for unto God alone belongeth fore-know- "ledge; thou art then the chief of falsehood." And the phantom answered and said unto him, "True, I "have no knowledge whatsoever of anything by [the "faculty] of fore-knowledge, even as thou sayest, for it "belongeth to God alone to know what is going to "happen beforehand, but I told thee that I had know- "ledge because [I judged] by analogy." And the blessed man said unto her, "How canst thou judge by analogy?" And she said unto him, "By the things which have "already taken place I am able to judge of what will "take place in the future." Then RABBÂ said unto her, "How?" and she said unto him, "I know that the "beginning of every matter is in love and knowledge, "and it receiveth confirmation from the things which "are provided, and especially through the divine care "and the calling of heaven, and by the Will of God, "it becometh confirmed by wonderful things and signs, "and it is confirmed also by various powers which are "exercised therein; but when that beginning waxeth "old and becometh gray, it falleth away from growth, "and when growth hath fallen away [*i. e.*, ceased], it "perisheth of old age, or languisheth through sickness, "or decayeth through neglect."

And afterwards RABBÂ asked her, saying, "Why "hast thou come, according as thou sayest, to tempt "these great [saints] and not all the brethren? If it "be as thou sayest, the destruction of souls resteth "with thee to work, and thou surpassest in power all "the devils, and thou must have all this power so that "thou mightest be able [Page 332] to strive against "men like these." And the phantom answered and said unto him, "I have already told thee that when "the strength of the Sustainer of creation, the Redeemer "Christ, appeared upon the earth, we were brought so "low that, like a sparrow, we were mocked and laughed "at by men such as these who are clothed with the

"Spirit, and who seek to learn the Lord; but although "we have become feeble through Him, we do not cease "to work as much as we possibly can [against you], "and we never cease from opposing you by every "means in our power. And we sow the seed of our "wickedness near the soul of him that striveth with "us, and this we do especially when we see that he "receiveth [it], and if we see that he really permitteth "us to embrace him, then do we inflame him with "fierce lusts, and we encompass him like mighty ones "and cruel devils, whom it is exceedingly difficult to "defeat. But if he is not willing to receive our seed, "and will not, through his faith in God, and the watch-"fulness of his mind, accept with pleasure the things "which are offered unto him by us, we dissolve away "even as smoke is dissipated in the air. This is the "reason why I am not permitted to wage war with all "the monks, and I do not do so because all possess "not perfection. For if it were permitted to me to "wage war against them all, I should be enabled to "lead astray many of those who lean upon thee."

And the blessed man said unto her, "Fie upon "your wickedness which never sleepeth! Ye will never "cease to stir yourselves up against the race of the "children of men until the divine and unpolluted grace "of God descendeth from heaven and destroyeth you." Then, having said these things, RABBÂ commanded the phantom to depart unto the place whither it had been commanded to go, and never again to approach with her feet his monastery. And when the morning was come, he cried out unto all the great brethren, and related unto them all the things which he had seen and heard from the destroying devils, and unto the other brethren who were living in the [Page 333] other great monasteries he sent letters, and informed them, in the fear of God, by means of these concerning the vision [which he had seen].

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER XV.

Of the gift of tongues which Pachomius received.

And it came to pass that, when the blessed Pachomius was visiting the brethren in their cells, and was correcting the thoughts of each one of them, he was obliged to visit a certain Roman, who was a nobleman of high rank, and who knew the Greek language very well. Now therefore, having come to this great man, so that he might exhort him with words which would be beneficial to him, and might learn the motions of his heart, the blessed man spake unto him in the Egyptian tongue, but the brother did not know what the blessed man said. And because the blessed man did not know how to speak Greek, Rabbâ was obliged to call some brother who would be able to interpret to each of them the things which were said by the other. Now when the brother came to interpret the Greek did not wish to declare to Rabbâ through others the defects of his heart,[1] and he spoke unto him thus:—"After God, I wish thee, and thee alone, "to know the wickednesses of my heart, and I do not "desire to declare them unto thee through others, for "I do not wish that any man except thee should hear "them." And when Rabbâ heard these words he commanded the brother who had come to interpret to depart, and because Rabbâ was unable to speak to the Greek brother the words which he wished to say to him about help and redemption, for he knew nothing whatsoever of the Greek language, he made a sign to him with his hand to remain until he came [back] to him. Then Rabbâ left him, and went to pray by himself, and he stretched out his hands towards heaven, and prayed to God, saying, "O Lord, Thou Mighty

[1] Read ⲙⲡⲉϥϩⲏⲧ.

"One, Who sustainest the universe, if I am not able "[Page 334] to benefit the children of men whom Thou "dost send unto me from the ends of the earth, be- "cause I am not acquainted with their languages, what "need is there for them to come? But if Thou wishest "them to be saved here through me, give me, O Lord, "Thou Star of all creation, the power to know their "languages, so that I may be able to set their souls in "the straight way." And when he had prayed for more than three hours and had entreated God to grant him this knowledge, suddenly there was sent from heaven into his right hand something which was like unto a letter written on paper, and when he had read it, he learned immediately how to speak all tongues, and he sent up praise to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost. And he came with great joy to that brother, and began to talk to him both Greek and Latin with such fluency that when the brother heard him, he saith that RABBÂ'S skill in speaking [Greek] surpassed that of all the learned men [of the day]. Then RABBÂ corrected him, as was right, and appointed to him the penance which was suitable to his defects, and he committed him to the Lord, and went forth from him.

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER XV.

OF A CERTAIN HOLY MAN WHOSE NAME WAS YÂWNÂN, WHO WAS THE GARDENER OF ONE OF THE MONASTERIES, AND OF THE WONDERFUL THING WHICH RABBÂ PACHOMIUS WROUGHT IN HIS MONASTERY.

And it came to pass on the morrow that the blessed man departed to visit the other monasteries, and he arrived at the monastery which is called "DEMESKENYÂNÔS," and entered therein; now there was in that monastery a fine, large fig tree, which one of the

youths was in the habit of climbing up secretly, and he plucked the fruit thereof and ate it. And when RABBÂ had gone in, and had drawn nigh that fig tree, he saw an unclean spirit sitting in it, and he knew straightway that it was the devil of the love of the belly; and the holy man, knowing that it was he who led astray [Page 335] the youths, called to the gardener, and said unto him, "Brother, cut down this fig tree, "for it is a stumblingblock to those who possess not "a well established mind, and it is not a seemly thing "for this tree to be in the middle of the monastery." Now when the gardener, who was called YÂWNÂN, heard these words, he was sorely grieved, for he had passed eighty-five years in the monastery, and he had lived therein a pure and honourable life, and by himself he had cared for all the fruit [trees] therein, and he had planted all the trees that were in the monastery [garden]. Now, until the day of his death he never tasted any of the fruit whatsoever, though all the brethren, and the strangers, and those who dwelt round about them used to eat their fill in the fruit season. And this brother dressed in this fashion: he joined three skins [of goats] together to form a covering for his body, and these were sufficient [clothing] for him; he did not lay down for himself one kind of bed in the winter season, and another in the time of summer. What rest of the body was he knew not, because of the press of his labours, for, with a ready mind, he toiled always; he never ate any cooked food whatsoever, neither did he partake of lentiles, or of any other food [of the same kind], but he lived all the years of his life on plantains only, which he ate with vinegar. And the brethren used to declare positively about him, and say, that he did not even know where the hospital was, and that still less did he know what the sick folk ate.

And besides all these things, he never, so far as we have heard concerning him, lay upon his back

until the day of his death, but he worked all day long in the garden, and towards sunset he used to take his food and go into his cell, and sitting upon a chair which he had in the midst thereof, he would plait ropes until [the time for the recital of] the service of the night [Page 336], and in this way it might happen that he was able to snatch a little sleep through the absolute need of his corporeal nature, and that he slept whilst he was plaiting the ropes which were in his hands. Now he did not plait these ropes by the light of a lamp, but whilst he was sitting in darkness and reciting the Scriptures. And he had only one garment of linen, which he used to put on when he was about to partake of the Holy and Divine Mysteries of Christ, and immediately [he had done this] he would take it off and lay it aside, so that he might keep it clean, and it lasted him for eighty-five years. And that blessed old man performed very many other works which deserve praise, but we have not set them down in the book of this history, lest our discourse might become either too long or too full for those faithful ones who believe, and we should cause those who read it to become weary.

Now we found out concerning this man of whom we have written these things when he was dead, and he died in an unusual manner, that is to say, he was sitting upon a chair and plaiting ropes, according to his custom, and the ropes were found in his hands when he was dead. And this blessed man did not die suddenly, and so lose any portion of his healthy happiness,[1] but he fell ill, like all other men, and he would not be persuaded to go into the hospital, because he did not wish to be ministered to by any man, as are other sick folk; and he did not want to eat any of the meat which the brethren who were sick were wont

[1] Literally, "that there might not be hidden any portion of his healthy pleasures."

to eat. And he would not lie upon his back even when he was sick, and he would not permit any one to place a cushion for him when he was sitting up, or anything whatsoever which was a little soft, and was able to afford him relief. And no man was standing by him when he died, and he went to his rest grasping his rope work [in his hands]. It was, moreover, a wonderful thing [Page 337] to hear how they buried him; for it was impossible to stretch out his legs, because they had become [stiff] like logs of wood, and it was impossible to make one hand lie by the side of his body. It was impossible to strip off him the skin garment wherewith he was clothed, and we were therefore obliged to roll him up in cloth like a bundle and to bury him in that state.

To this man came the blessed PACHOMIUS, and told him to cut down this fig tree, and when YÂWNÂN heard this, he said unto RABBÂ, "Nay, O father, for we are "accustomed to gather a large crop of fruit from this "fig tree for the brethren;" now although RABBÂ was greatly grieved because of this matter, he did not wish to urge the old gardener any further, and he was the more grieved because he knew that YÂWNÂN lived a great and marvellous life, and that he was held to be wonderful by many, and by great and small alike. And it came to pass on the day following that the fig-tree was found to have become withered so completely that not one soft leaf or fruit was found upon it. Now when the blessed man saw these things, he was greatly grieved, not for the sake of the fig tree, but because of his own disobedience, when RABBÂ told him to cut down the fig tree, and he did not act according to his word.

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER XVI.

Of how Abbâ Pachomius would not keep beautiful buildings.

The blessed man Pachomius built an oratory in his monastery, and he made pillars [for it], and covered the faces thereof with tiles, and he furnished it beautifully, and he was exceedingly pleased with the work because he had built it well; and when he had come to himself he declared, through the agency of Satan, that the beauty of the oratory was a thing which would compel a man to admire it, and that the building thereof would be praised. Then suddenly he rose up, and took ropes, and fastened them round the pillars, and he made a prayer within himself, and commanded the brethren to help him, and they bowed their bodies, and the pillars and the whole construction fell [to the ground]; and he said to the brethren, [Page 338] "Take "heed lest ye strive to ornament the work of your "hands overmuch, and take ye the greatest possible "care that the grace of God and His gift may be in "the work of each one of you, so that the mind may "not stumble towards the praises of cunning wicked-"ness, and the Calumniator may not obtain [his] prey."

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER XVII.

Of how when on a certain occasion the heretics came to him he did not yield to them, and of how he let them receive an experience of him by the sign which they asked at his hand.

And it came to pass on a certain occasion that certain heretical monks, who were in the habit of

wearing garments made of hair, and who had heard concerning the blessed PACHOMIUS, rose up and came to his monastery; and they said unto certain monks of RABBÂ, "Our father hath sent us to your RABBÂ "with a message, saying, 'If thou art in truth a man "'of God, and if thou art confident that God will "'hearken unto you, come hither, and let us walk "'together across the river on our feet, so that every "'man may know which of us hath more freedom of "'speech before God than the other'." And when the brethren informed RABBÂ concerning these things, he was exceedingly angry with them, and said unto them, "Why did ye undertake to listen to those who have "said these things? Know ye not that requests of this "kind are things which are foreign to God, and are "wholly alien to our rule? And besides this, they are "not even things which are thought well of by men "who live in the world. For what law of God teacheth "us to do these things? And moreover, our Redeemer "commandeth us to the contrary in the Holy Gospel, "saying,[1] 'Let not thy left hand know what thy right "'hand doeth.' For thou [thinkest] of something which "is more wretched than the want of mind [*i. e.*, foolish-"ness] in imagining that I should give up mourning "for my sins, [*or*, cease to think] how I may flee from "everlasting punishment, or that, even if I were a boy "in my thoughts I could ever come to [make] such a "demand as that."

And the brethren answered and said unto him, "How is it then that this man, who is a heretic and "alien to God [Page 339] should be so bold as to call "upon thee to do this [thing]?" And RABBÂ answered and said unto them, "He is able to pass over the "river as one who travelleth over dry land through "the neglect of God, and the Calumniator helpeth "him, so that his wicked heresy may not be brought

[1] St. Matthew VI. 3.

"to nought, and so that the faith of those who have "gone astray may be more finally established by means "of works of audacity which he performeth through him. "Get ye out then, and say unto those who have brought "such a message as this. Thus saith the man of God, "PACHOMIUS, I devote all my strivings, and all my "anxious care, not that I may pass over the river by "walking on the waters thereof, but in trying to flee "from the judgment of God, and to escape, by the "might of the Lord, from such Satanic wiles as these." Then having said these things to the brethren he strictly forbade them to think greatly of their integrity, and to lust after the sight [of him walking across the river on the water] and to go with those who pry into such matters as these; [and he said], "We "must not voluntarily follow after such matters as these, "and we must not put God to the test by such ques- "tions, for concerning the knowledge of events before "they happen He hath commanded us by His Holy "Scriptures,[1] saying, 'Thou shalt not tempt the Lord "'thy God, saith the Lord'."

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER XVIII.

OF THE QUESTION WHICH A CERTAIN BROTHER BROUGHT TO HIM, AND ITS ANSWER.

RABBÂ was on one occasion asked by a certain brother, who said, "Why is it that, before the coming "of that devil who vexeth[2] us, we possess the under- "standing of the mind in a healthy state, and are able "to make use of philosophy for the sake of self-denial, "and humility, and the other virtues, but that when it

[1] Deuteronomy VI. 16.
[2] Read جَفَكِ.

"cometh to us to make manifest in very deed the "virtues of philosophy, that is to say, longsuffering in "the hour of wrath, and the keeping of the temper in "the season of anger, and a frame of mind from which "vain glory is absent, and when there are praises "[ascribed to us], and many other things which are "akin thereto, the mind [*or*, understanding] languisheth "and becometh destroyed?"

And RABBÂ answered and said unto him, "It is "because [Page 340] we are not perfectly skilled in "the performance [of these things], and because we are "not so thoroughly acquainted with all the mind and "vague thoughts of the devils that we are able, through "the power of the sight of the soul, to recognize in "quiet contemplation the advent of him who causeth "us vexation, and who watcheth that he may be able "to gather together the outpouring of such like thoughts. "Therefore, every day and every hour it is the por-"tion of the soul to watch, and we must pour out "upon it, like oil, the fear of God, that is to say, the "efficacious performance of work, and the lamp which "will enable us to see the things which are falling "upon us in the healing of the mind. Whosoever "then will not be strenuous [will come] to anger, and "wrath, and ill-temper, and to each of the passions "which lead us on to wickedness. And the soul will "see, and will depart to that incorporeal country, "and it will make the mind to hold in contempt the "things which are wrought by the devils, and will "compel it to trample under foot serpents and scor-"pions, and all the power of the Enemy."

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER XIX.

Of how unclean and contemptible in the sight of Rabbâ was the man who toiled with the labour of his hands for the sake of vain glory.

On one occasion when Rabbâ was sitting with a number of the other great brethren in a certain place in the monastery, [he was told that] one of the monks in the monastery used to make two mats of plaited palm leaves daily, and that day he placed them in front of his cell, opposite the place where Rabbâ was then sitting with the brethren. Now he did this because he was [unduly] exalted with the thought of vain glory, and he believed that he would be praised for such assiduity, because the rule [of the fathers] was that each monk should make one mat daily. And Rabbâ perceived that the monk did this for the purpose of making a display, and he understood the intention which was stirring in the man and moving him; and he sighed heavily and said unto the brethren who were sitting with him, "See ye this man who toileth "[Page 341] from morning to evening? He hath "endowed Satan with all his labour, and hath left "nothing whatsoever of his work for the comfort of "his own soul. He hath toiled overmuch for the praise "of the children of men, and he hath not worn out "his body with all this work for the sake of God, and "his soul is empty of work through the pleasure of "him that doeth it, for he hath loved the praise of "men more than the praise of God." Then he called that brother, and rebuked him, and charged him to stand up behind the brethren when they were praying, and to hold the two mats, and to say to them, "O "my brethren, I beseech you to pray for my degraded "soul, in order that through your prayers God may "shew abundant mercy to it, for I have held these

"mats in greater honour than His kingdom." And he also commanded that the man should stand up with the mats among the brethren when they were sitting at meat until they rose up from the table; and he commanded likewise that after this he should be confined to his cell for a period of five months, and should make two mats daily, and should eat bread and salt only, and that no man should visit him.

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER XX.

OF A CERTAIN MONK WHO BELONGED TO THE MONASTERY.

Now before we bring this history to a close we are obliged to mention, in addition to those of whom we have already spoken, another holy monk who was thoroughly trained in the spiritual excellence of the brethren, so that we may narrate a few of the things which were wrought by him for edification. This brother, of blessed memory, because he was afflicted in his body had a cell separate from the brethren; he lived upon bread and salt only, and he used to make one mat of plaited palm leaves each day, and it would happen often, when he was plaiting the ropes which were being used in making the mats, that his hands would become covered with blood, and they were so full of wounds caused by the reeds,[1] that [Page 342] the very mats which he was making were wetted with blood. But although he suffered from such a weakness as this, he never turned away from the congregation of the brethren, and he never lay down to sleep in the day time until the end of his life. And it was his habit every night before he lay down to sleep to repeat some portion of the Scriptures, and then he would go

[1] Read ܩܨܒܐ, *i. e.*, reedy grass.

to sleep until they beat the board to summon the congregation to the service of the night.

Now on one occasion a certain brother went to him, and seeing that his hands were covered with blood through plaiting mats, he said unto him, "Why "dost thou work and toil in this manner seeing that "thou art so seriously ill? Thinkest thou that thou "wouldst not obtain permission not to work and to be "idle from God? God knoweth that thou art sick, "and no man who hath thy complaint hath ever worked. "We feed and take care of strangers and poor folk, "and are we not in duty bound to minister unto thy "wants, thou who art one of us, and art so holy a "man, with all our soul and with the greatest joy and "gladness?" And the monk said unto him, "It is im-"possible for me not to work," and the brother replied, "If it pleaseth thee to act thus, at least anoint thy "hands with oil at eventide, for thou wilt not become "as weary as thou art now, and thou wilt not become "covered with blood." And the monk hearkened unto that brother, and anointed his hands with oil, even as he had told him to do, yet because they were tender they were grievously chafed, and cut, and torn by the sharp reeds (*or*, palm-grass). Then RABBÂ himself went to visit him in his cell, and he said unto him, "Thinkest "thou, O THEODORE, that the oil had any beneficial "effect upon thee? Who forced thee to work? Didst "thou not place thy hope of being healed rather upon "the operation of the oil than upon God? Peradven-"ture was not thy God able to heal thee? Yet when "He saw that thou wast ordering help for thyself He "left thee [to fall into] this pain." Then the monk answered and said unto Rabbâ, "O father, I have "sinned against God, and I give thanks [*or*, confess], "and I entreat [Page 343] thee that God may forgive "me this sin."

And, according to what those fathers who were with him said, he passed a full year in mourning for

this act of folly; and he ate once every two days. And at the beginning of the period wherein this man began to gain strength considerably, RABBÂ was in the habit of sending him to every monastery that he might be both the foundation and the type of all the brethren, because he endured the cruel weakness of that disease with such patience.

HERE ENDETH THE HISTORY OF THE FOLLOWERS OF PACHOMIUS, WHICH IS CALLED IN GREEK, THE ESḴÎṬÎÔN OF THE FOLLOWERS OF PACHOMIUS.

FURTHER REMARKS BY THE WRITER PALLADIUS.[1]

Now therefore, though I must here add a few remarks about my beloved brother, who hath lived with me from my youth up until this day, I will make an end to my discourse in the haven of silence. It is indeed a very long time since I first knew this man, who is worthy of blessings; and I never knew him either to eat or to fast with desire; and, in my opinion, he overcame also the lust for possessions, and especially the passion for empty praise, and that which was his own was sufficient for him. He never arrayed himself in fine and costly apparel, and being made contemptible he received [acts of] grace, and in return for God's true mercy he continued thus even unto death. And this man accepted the temptation of devils a thousand times when they rose up against him, and at length one day a certain devil pressed him, and said unto him, "Agree thou with me for one day only, "and commit sin only once, and any woman that thou "shalt mention in this world I will bring unto thee."

[1] Bedjan's text, which omits the whole of the ASKÊTIKON of Pachomius, begins again here (p. 326).

And on another occasion that devil [Page 344] strove with him for fourteen nights, even as he himself told me, and he used to kick him with his feet in the night-season, and say unto him, "Do not worship "Christ, and I will never come near thee again." And he answered and said unto him, "It is for this very "reason that I worship Him, and I confess Him and "glorify Him ten thousand times because thou art vexed "thereby, and thou reelest away and dost tremble be-"fore Him." In his coming in and going out he walked through one hundred and six cities (*or*, provinces) several times, and in the greater number of them he tarried for some time. By the grace and mercy of Christ he never knew the temptation of a woman, not even in a dream, except in [his] warfare [against fornication]. I know that he received food from an angel thrice:—One day he was in a parched desert, and had not upon him a morsel of bread, and he found three cakes of bread in his cloak. Another time, when he lacked [food], an angel appeared unto him in a vision and said unto him, "Go and take wheat and oil from such and such "a man;" and thereupon there came to him the man from whom the angel had commanded him to take [wheat and oil], and said unto him, "Art thou such "and such a man?" and he said unto him, "Yea, I am;" and the man said, "A certain One hath told thee to "take thirty bushels of wheat from me, and twelve "boxes of oil." Now over a matter of this kind, for such was his nature, he would boast. And I know that on very many occasions he used to weep over people who were in straits, and difficulties, and who were living in poverty, and he would give them whatsoever he possessed, with the exception of his body only, which he was unable to give. Now I have seen him very many times weeping over a man who had been caught in a snare, and had fallen into sin, but through his tears he made him to become penitent, and to repent of his sin. This brother swore unto me once, saying,

"I made supplication unto God that I would never "make myself pleasing to any man, especially the rich "folk of the world, and the liars, lest [Page 345] they "might give me whatsoever I had need of."

Now it is sufficient for me that I have been held worthy to set down completely in writing, and to make mention of the man who, by the grace of God, was able to make perfect all these things. Behold the summary [of the contents] of the book hath been written above.

HERE ENDETH THE SECOND PART OF THE HISTORIES OF THE HOLY FATHERS, WHICH WERE COMPILED BY THE BLESSED BISHOP PALLADIUS, [AND DEDICATED] TO LAUSUS THE PREFECT. GLORY BE TO THE FATHER, AND TO THE SON, AND TO THE HOLY GHOST, FOR EVER! AMEN.

SECTION III.

THE HISTORIES OF THE MONKS WHO LIVED IN THE DESERT OF EGYPT, WHICH WERE COMPILED BY HIERONYMUS.

AND MOREOVER, IN THE MIGHT OF AND WITH CONFIDENCE IN CHRIST, WE BEGIN TO WRITE THE HISTORIES OF THE SOLITARY MONKS WHO LIVED IN THE DESERT OF EGYPT, WHICH WERE COMPOSED BY THE BLESSED HIERONYMUS.

CHAPTER I.

THE APOLOGY, AND THE REASON FOR [WRITING] THE BOOK, [WHICH ARE ADDRESSED] TO THOSE WHO REQUIRED [THEM] FROM HIM.

Blessed be God Who desireth the welfare of all the children of men, Who wisheth that they may live and come to the knowledge of the truth, Who hath led us also into Egypt, and hath shewed us the great and marvellous things which are worthy to be remembered at all times, and to be written down in a book, Who hath given us the Cause of our salvation and of every one who wisheth to be helped further, and Who hath given unto us a demonstration of the good life and the doctrine which is able to rouse up the soul to the excellent rule of the ascetic life. Now therefore, I am not worthy to begin this history, for inferior men are not capable of approaching the histories of great men, since they are unable to narrate them as they really are, and still less are they able to set them down in writing in a book, and they ought not to be so bold as to attempt to explain matters which are difficult in mean and halting words; and it must appear to be great presumption, [Page 346] which will bring

danger in its train, for incapable men to undertake such things, and to be so bold as to write in a book sublime histories. But inasmuch as I have been requested, earnestly and frequently, on several occasions, by the brotherhood of blessed men who had their habitation in the MOUNT OF OLIVES, to write an account of the lives and deeds of the blessed men, and of the solitary dwellers who were in Egypt, according to what I myself have seen of their abundant love, and their patient endurance, and their vexatious toil for God's sake, I have then put my trust in their prayers, and have been so bold as to narrate the following history, and to set it down in writing, so that I myself may gain a fair and abundant reward, and so that those who hearken unto the same may be benefited [thereby], and may emulate such beautiful deeds, and may depart from the world in a state of perfection, and may enjoy peace and rest through the excellent longsuffering of their toil. For in very truth I have observed and seen the treasure of Christ which is hidden under human garments, and I have not buried it for the advantage of many, but have brought it forward that it may be for the good of everyone. And I am sure that for me to give this benefit to the blessed brethren will be noble merchandize for me, for they will pray for the redemption of my soul.

At the beginning of this book then I make [mention] first of all of the coming of our Redeemer Jesus Christ, by Whose doctrine the blessed and holy brethren who are in Egypt are led, for I have seen many fathers there who were living the lives of angels, and were fashioning their lives into the similitude of that of the Redeemer. And I have also seen others, who were young men, and who were like unto the Prophets; and they had work which was divine and marvellous, and they were men who were indeed servants of Christ, and they had no care of this earth and nothing belonging to time vexed their minds. Verily these men, although

they appeared to be living upon earth, had their habitation in heaven; for some of them were not even conscious that it was the world [Page 347] [wherein they lived], and did not even know that there were wickednesses committed in the world. And verily [it was with them] even as it is written in the Psalm, "Great is the peace of those who love Thy Law;"[1] and again it is written, "I will be to them a father, "and they shall be unto me sons and daughters, saith "the Lord,"[2] the Stay of all creation.

And, moreover, many of them when they heard of what was spoken in the world [found it] to be strange unto them, and all the good things and all the cares of this world were forgotten by them; for a man saw them sown in the desert, and they were, like true sons, expecting their father Christ, and like husbandmen of the truth and honourable servants they waited for Christ their companion. They had care neither for houses, nor meats, nor raiment, for the coming of Christ their hope was the one thing for which their thoughts waited. Therefore, whensoever any of them lacked the things which were necessary, they sought neither city, nor village, nor brother, nor friend, nor parents, nor children, nor servants that the things which they lacked might be supplied by them, but their desire and their faith were sufficient for them, [and they only needed] to spread out their hand in supplication, and to offer up the confession of their lips to God, and immediately their prayers were ended everything [they needed] was found before them. Why is it necessary to speak at length concerning their faith in Christ, which was able to remove mountains? And, moreover, many of them restrained fountains and streams of running water, and walked upon the floods of the river Nile, and destroyed serpents, and worked cures,

[1] Psalm CXIX. 165.
[2] 2 Corinthians VI. 18.

and wonders, and mighty deeds, even like unto those of the holy Prophets, and the blessed Apostles, by the might of their Lord. And it is a well known and evident thing to every inhabitant of that country that the world standeth through their prayers, and that through them the life of the children of men is held to be precious by God [Page 348].

And I have also seen [in Egypt] a numerous nation of monks who could neither be defined nor counted, and among them were men of every sort and condition, and they lived both in the desert and in the villages, and no earthly king hath ever been able to gather together so great a number of men into his service; for there is neither village nor city in Egypt or in the Thebaïd which is not surrounded by monasteries as by walls, and many multitudes of people rest upon their prayers as they do upon God. Some of the monks live quite close [to the towns and villages] in caves and on the waste land, and many of them afar off, and they all in every place make manifest their labour in a marvellous manner as if they were envious of each other. The object of the zeal of those who [live] afar off is that none of their fellows shall surpass them in the labours of the fear of God, and the greatest anxiety of those who [live] near is to vanquish by their life and deeds those who [live] at a distance and are famous, even though the things of evil (*or*, wickednesses) vex them from every place. Therefore, as one who hath obtained great benefit from them, and as one who hath examined carefully the labours of the life and deeds, whereby I have also obtained benefit, I now approach this history with the view of making the successful monks [more] zealous by the memorials which I hand on [to them], and for the edification and profit of those who are beginning to emulate strenuously their rules of life. First of all then, by the grace of God, I will write at the beginning of this history the narratives of the lives and deeds of the

great and holy fathers, by whose hands our Lord hath wrought at this present time the same kind of things as He wrought by the hands of His Prophets and Apostles; for it is our Lord Himself, Who then, as now, worked, as He still worketh, every thing in every man [Page 349].

CHAPTER II.

The triumphs of Mâr John the recluse, the prophet of the Thebaïd who lived in Lycus.

I saw then on the borders of the city of Lycus, in the Thebaïd, the great and blessed man John, a man who was truly holy and excellent, and by his works it was known unto every man that he possessed the gift of prophecy. And he made known unto the believing Emperor Theodosius, before they took place, the things which God was about to do unto the children of men, and he revealed [to him] what manner of ending they would take, and the arrogance of the kings who would rise up against him, and how they would speedily be destroyed, and how the nations which would gather together to make war upon him would perish, [and his ability to read the future was] so [great] that even a general came to enquire of him, if he should be able to conquer the Ḳûshâyê peoples (*i. e.*, the Nubians), who at that time had boldly invaded Syene, which is the beginning of the Thebaïd, and who had overrun the city and laid it waste. And the blessed John said unto him, "Thou shalt go up against "them, and shalt overtake them, and thou shalt conquer "them, and shalt be victorious [*or*, triumphant] before "the Emperor;" and these things were actually done. Now this blessed man possessed the power of prophecy to an extraordinary degree, according to what I have

heard from the fathers who were constantly with him, and as the lives of these men were well known to the inhabitants of that country, and were carefully scrutinized by them, it is impossible to think that their stories about him were in any way hypocritical, on the contrary, their language was incapable of describing his honourable life and deeds.

There was a certain tribune who came to him, and who begged and entreated him to allow his wife to come to him, for she was exceedingly anxious [Page 350] to see him; she was about to go up [the river] to the district of SYENE, and before she went up, she wished to see him, that he might offer up prayer on her behalf, and bless her, and then send her away [on her journey]. And because the blessed man had taken a vow not to see women, and because he was ninety years of age, now he had been in a cave for forty years, and he had lived therein the whole time, and had never departed from it, and because he never allowed any man to come into his abode, he excused himself from seeing the noble lady; and he was in the habit of saluting folk through his window only, and of blessing those who came to him therefrom, and he spake with every man only concerning the care which it was necessary to take in the matter of the life and works of ascetic excellence. And, although the tribune multiplied greatly his supplications and entreated him to allow his wife to come to him, now the dwelling of the blessed man was situated in the mountainous desert about five miles distant from the city, the holy man would not be persuaded to do so, but[1] said, "This thing is impossible;" and he dismissed the tribune in grief and in sorrow. And the woman tormented her husband by day and by night, and she took an oath, saying, "I cannot go to any "other place until I have seen the holy prophet." And

[1] Read ܐܡܪ.

when the oaths of the woman were revealed to the blessed man by her husband, he discerned the faith of the woman, and said unto her husband, "I will appear "unto her in a dream this night, but she must never "[try] in addition to see my face in the body;"[1] and the tribune made known to his wife the words of the blessed man. And as she was lying in her bed at night she saw the prophet himself come to her, and he said unto her, "What have I to do with thee, O "woman? Why dost thou so eagerly desire to see "my face? Am I a prophet or a righteous man? I "am a sinner [Page 351] and a man of passions even "as ye are, but behold, I have prayed for thee and "for thy husband, and for thy dwelling, that even as "ye have believed, so may it be unto you. Therefore "get ye gone in peace;" and having said these words he departed from her. And when the woman woke up she related to her husband the words of the prophet and described his form and appearance, and she offered her thanks to the prophet through her husband. Now when the holy man JOHN saw that her husband had come, before he could speak he said unto him, "Behold, thy request is completed, for I have seen thy "wife, and I have fulfilled her petition, and thou must "never see my face again; but depart ye in peace."

Now the wife of another prefect was with child, and she was nigh unto [her time] for bringing forth; and her husband was away at a distance, and on the day in which the blessed man JOHN met her husband she was afflicted, even unto death, with the pains of her bringing forth. And the holy man JOHN gave the news to her husband, and said unto him, "If thou didst "only know the grace of God, for behold, a son hath "been born unto thee this day, thou wouldst praise "God, for his mother hath suffered in no small degree. "Behold, thou shalt go and shalt find the boy to be

[1] Strike out حقيقة before كفنوهى.

"seven days old on thine arrival, and thou shalt give "him the name of JOHN, and when he hath grown "up, and hath been instructed, and is seven years of "age, thou shalt send him to the solitary monks in the "desert."

And the blessed JOHN also made manifest wonderful things like these to stranger folk who used to come to him, and he very frequently made known to the people of the city who used to come to him beforehand concerning their affairs, and shewed them the things which were about to happen. And he told each one of them that which was done by him in secret, and he foretold concerning the rise of the river Nile, and the good crop which there would be as the result thereof, and described it unto them; and he declared and pointed out the time when the anger of God was about to come [Page 352] upon them, and rebuked those who were the cause of the same. Now the blessed man JOHN did not himself work his cures openly, but he used to consecrate the oil and give [it] to those who were afflicted, and they were healed. Thus the wife of a certain nobleman had the light of her eyes taken away through the cataract[1] which obstructed the sight thereof, and she begged and entreated her husband to take her to him, and when he said unto her, "The blessed man hath never met a woman," she besought him to have a message sent to the holy man asking him to offer up a prayer on her behalf; and this the blessed man did, and he also sent her some oil over which he had said a blessing and made the sign of the Cross, and when she had smeared[2] her eyes therewith three times, after three days she was able to see. Then she praised God the Lord of all, and openly gave thanks unto Him always.

And what shall we say about his other deeds?

[1] The better reading is سفوفا.

[2] The better reading is ܫܚܠ.

[Nothing]. We can only tell of the things which we saw with our own eyes. Now there were of us seven brethren who were strangers, and who went to him all together, and having given us the salutation of peace with his glorious face, and shewn his gladness [at seeing us] to each one of us, we asked him before anything else to offer up a prayer on our behalf, for it is the custom with all our fathers in Egypt to do this. Then he asked me if there was, perchance, a man among us who was a priest or deacon, and although we said there was none such among us all, he well knew that there was one among us who was hiding his honourable rank. Now there was among us one who had received the hand of deaconship, but only one of the brethren, and he was with us, knew of this, and the deacon, by reason of his humility, prohibited him from making this known to any one, "For," said he, "in comparison with these holy men I "am not worthy to be called even Christian; permit "me then not to make use of the honour of deaconship." Then the blessed man [Page 353] pointed out to us all with his hand the deacon, and said, "This "brother is a deacon;" whereupon the deacon denied this repeatedly, thinking to lead us astray, but the blessed man grasped the hand of the deacon through the window, and kissed it, and begged him, rebuking him at the same time, saying, "Wrong not the grace "of God, O my son, and lie not concerning the gift "of Christ with the denial of an alien; for falsehood, "whether it be uttered concerning a small matter, or "a great one, or some thing which is convenient is "still falsehood, and is not to be praised. For our "Redeemer said,[1] 'All falsehood is of the Evil One'." And the deacon being thus rebuked accepted the reproof of the old man pleasantly.

And when we had prayed and made an end of

[1] St. Matthew v. 33, 37; St. John VIII. 44.

our supplications, one of us became afflicted with shiverings and strong fever, and he begged the[1] blessed JOHN that he might be healed. Then the blessed man said unto him, "This sickness is for thy benefit, be-"cause a diminution of faith hath come upon thee;" but he gave him some oil, and let him anoint himself therewith, and when the man had rubbed the oil upon his body, every evil thing which was inside him he cast forth through his mouth, and he was completely cured of his sickness, and departed on his own feet with us to the place where travellers rested.

Now the blessed man appears to have been about ninety years old, and his whole body was emaciated[2] and frail as if by the severity of his rule of life, and no hair whatsoever remained upon his cheeks; and he ate nothing whatsoever except dried vegetables (*or*, fruits), and in the period of his old age he did this at sunset. In the early part of his career he suffered severely, because he would neither eat bread, nor anything which had been cooked by fire. And he commanded us, and we sat down with him, and we gave thanks unto God that we were esteemed worthy to see him; and he rejoiced [in us] as if we had been beloved children of his who were meeting their father [Page 354] after a long absence, and with a joyful countenance he held converse with us, saying, "Where "do ye come from, my sons, and from what country? "Ye have come to a miserable and wretched man." And when we had told him [the name of] the country, and that we had come to him from JERUSALEM for the benefit of our souls, and that that which we had received with our ears we might see with our own eyes, for the hearing of the ears is less trustworthy than the sight of the eyes, and frequently error maketh its way into what is heard by the ears, whilst the

[1] Strike out ܕܩܕܫܐ.

[2] Read ܫܚܝܬ.

remembrance of what a man hath seen can never be blotted out from the heart, and the description of the same will be permanently fixed in the mind, the blessed man JOHN answered and said unto us, "What great "thing did ye think ye would see, O beloved sons, "that ye have come all this way, and have toiled all "this great toil? Did ye desire to come and see miser- "able and wretched men? We possess nothing whatsoever "which is worth looking or wondering at. There are, "however, in every place men who are wonderful and who "are worthy of admiration, that is to say, men who are "called in the church the Prophets and Apostles of God, and "of these it is meet that we should emulate their example."

"But I marvel greatly at the indefatigable zeal "which made you treat the tribulations of the journey "with contempt in order that ye might come hither, "for your welfare, to those men who, because of their "sluggishness, are unwilling to go out of their caves. "And I say that, although that which ye have now done "meriteth praise, ye must not allow the thought to "come into your minds that ye have fulfilled completely "every duty, but ye must make yourselves to be like "unto your fathers in respect of the glorious rules of "life by which they were guided and the works which "they did. For although ye possess all the virtues, "which is a difficult matter to accomplish, ye must not "even so be [over] confident in yourselves, for the men "who have become puffed up with pride, and who "thought that they had arrived at the stage of [being "worthy of] praise, have subsequently fallen from their "high estate. But examine yourselves carefully and "see whether your consciences are pure, so that purity "may not be driven out from your minds; and let "not your thoughts [Page 355] wander about at the "season when ye stand up in prayer before God, and "let not any other thought enter into your mind and "turn it away from that glorious sight of God which "riseth upon the pure heart at the season of prayer,

"and which enlighteneth and maketh the understanding "to shine; and let not the remembrance of evil thoughts "disturb your minds. And examine yourselves and see "whether ye have truly made a covenant with God, "and whether ye have not, after the manner of men, "entered in that ye may attain the freedom which is "in Christ, and whether ye do not desire to possess "the vain glory of ascetic deeds, and whether ye do "not, after the manner of men who boast themselves "before men, [possess only] the similitude of our ascetic "deeds. And take heed lest any passion whatsoever "vex you, or any longing for honour or glory from "the children of men, or any deceitful desire of "priesthood, or of self-love. And do not think that "ye are righteous men only, but be ye diligent and "zealous in very truth [that ye may neither be boastful][1] "nor unduly exalted by applause.

"And let not there be any anxiety about family in "the mind of him that prayeth unto God in very truth, "neither shall there be to him any remembrance of the "fair things which have been done by him, nor love "for other folk, nor any memory whatsoever of the "world; for if the man who holdeth converse with his "Lord be reduced, or drawn aside, or led away by "any other mind [than this] his labour is emptiness. "Now this falling away happeneth to the mind of man "after man who doth not deny the world absolutely, "and who hunteth after the approbation of the children "of men; for he devoteth[2] himself unto every thing in "multitudes of ways, and his mind is divided among "many kinds of thoughts, both of the body and of "the earth, and thereupon he is obliged to strive against "his own passions and is not able to see God. It is "therefore not seemly for a man to think that he hath

[1] Adding, from Bedjan's edition, after ܒܟ, ܠܐ ܡܬܚܡܝܢ ܐܠܐ ܒܟ ܒܥܕܬ ܫܘܪܝܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܚܒ

[2] Read ܡܦܕܝܢ.

"found knowledge with absolute certainty, [lest, per-
"adventure being unworthy of knowledge],[1] and having
"only acquired a small portion thereof, he imagine that
"he hath found the whole of it, and so he devote[2]
"himself wholly to destruction. But it is right that we
"should always draw nigh unto God with moderate
"ideas and in faith, [Page 356] so far as it is possible
"to approach Him in the mind, and so far as the
"children of men are able to attain unto Him. It is
"right therefore that the mind of every man who loveth
"God should be remote from all these things, for he
"who in truth seeketh after God with all his heart
"will remove his mind far away from every earthly
"thing, and he will direct the gaze of his understanding
"towards God, for it is written, 'Turn ye and know
"'that I, even I, am God.[3]' [He therefore who is worthy
"of a little of the knowledge of God][4] for man is not
"able to receive the whole of it, is able to acquire the
"knowledge of many things, and to see those mysteries
"which the knowledge of God will shew him. And
"he will see the things which are about to happen
"beforehand, and glorious revelations will be made
"known to him as [unto] the saints, and he will do
"mighty works, and everything which he asketh from
"God he shall receive."

And having said these things unto us, and many others which also concerned the rules of the life of ascetic excellence, he added the following:—"It is right "that everyone who is a man of discernment should "wait for his departure from this world as if he were "going to approach a life of happiness, and that he "should not set before his eyes the humiliation of the "body, and should not fill his belly with that which he

[1] Adding, ܕܠܐ ܡܬܚܙܐ ܠܗ ܒܝܩܝܢܘܬܐ ܡܫܠܡܬܐ.

[2] Read ܢܬܒܕܐ.

[3] Psalm XLVI. 10.

[4] Adding ܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܠܗ ܒܝܩܝܢܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܟܠ ܗܘ.

"hath; for the thoughts of him that filleth himself full "of meats resemble those of men who are fed upon "delicate meats. But strive ye in your life and deeds "to acquire the power of endurings lusts and appetites "patiently, and let no man seek after the things which "are fine, and those which are gratifying to the body, "but let him constrain himself in the short time [which "we have] here so that he may inherit rest and re-"laxation in the kingdom of God, for it is said, 'Through "'abundant tribulation it is meet for us to enter into "'the kingdom of God.'[1] And in this manner also PAUL "the Apostle admonished us, and he spake that which "he had learned from our Redeemer, Who said, 'How "'strait and narrow is the way which leadeth to life, "'and few there be who find it;[2] and how broad is the "'gate, and wide [Page 357] the way which leadeth to "'destruction, and many there be who travel upon it.' "And let us not be in despair in this country, for in a "very little while we shall depart unto the world of "rest; and let not any man be [unduly] exalted through "the fair deeds which he performeth, but let him be "always in a state of penitence. And let him betake "himself away far into the desert whensoever he feeleth "within himself that he is becoming [unduly] exalted, "for on several occasions the monastic dwelling which "is nigh unto villages hath harmed those who were "perfect. Therefore, as one unto whom this happened, "said in his Psalm,[3] 'Behold, I fled away to a remote "'place, and I took up mine abode in the desert,'[4] and "I waited for God to deliver me from littleness of soul, "and from the spirit of the world. And this very "thing hath happened unto many of our own brethren, "and because of their pride they fell away from the "mark which they had set for themselves.

[1] Acts XIV. 22.
[2] St. Matthew VII. 14.
[3] Psalm LV. 6, 7.
[4] The better reading is ܕܘܫܐ ܕܣܥܪܐ "whirlwind."

"Now there was a certain brother who dwelt in "a cave which was in the desert nigh unto SHAINÂ, "and he followed the ascetic life with the utmost stren- "uousness, and he used to provide himself with bread "day by day by the labour of his hands; and because he "was constantly in prayer, and excelled greatly in praise- "worthy actions, and had confidence in himself, and "was proud of his fair life and deeds, the Tempter, "having asked God for him as he asked Him for JOB, "shewed him the form of a beautiful woman who was "wandering about in the desert in the evening. Now "this woman, finding the door of the cave open, leaped "up, and passed through the door, and fell upon the "knees of the man, beseeching him to let her rest "there because the night had overtaken her, and he, "having compassion upon her, [did] what was not right, "and received her into the cave, and he wished to "learn from her how she had come to lose her way. "Then she spake unto him, and sowed words of sin "and of incitement to lust in his ears, and she prolonged "her conversation with him so that by means of her "lascivious flattery [Page 358] she might excite him "to the hateful lust; and there being much speech "between them, together with laughter and jesting, she "led him astray little by little by means of much speak- "ing until at length she took hold of his hand, and "then of his beard, and then of his neck, and finally "she made the valiant man her captive. Meanwhile "as thoughts of these things were chasing each other "through his mind, and he believed that the matter "was in his own hands, he waited for the moment and "the opportunity when he would be able to fulfil his "lust; and having delivered himself over to his wicked "imagination, he strove diligently to work it out, and "to be united to the woman like a man who hath lost "his mind, and like a horse mad with desire, [and as "he was about to fulfil his lust] the woman cried out "several times, and suddenly escaped from out of his

"hands, and flew away like a shadow. Then straightway "there were heard in the air the great shouts of laughter "of the multitudes of devils who had overthrown him "and made him to fall into error, and they cried out "with a loud voice, saying, 'Whosoever exalteth him-"'self shall be humbled; and as for thee, O thou who "'didst exalt thyself unto the heavens, behold, thou hast "'been brought down into the deepest depth."

"And it came to pass after these things that the "man rose up in the morning having been clothed with "grief the [whole] night, and he beat his breast and "cried over himself the whole day through; and having "given up all hope of his redemption, he did that "which was unseemly and went back to the world "again. For it is of the cunning of the Evil One "that, having vanquished a man in the strife, he bringeth "him to a senseless state of despair, and he is never "able to stand up again. Therefore, O my sons, it "helpeth not us to dwell in caves near to the villages, "and the meeting with women is not beneficial to us, "for we keep in our minds a remembrance which "cannot be blotted out from the mind, both of their "words and appearance, and moreover it is not right "that we should reduce ourselves to despair; for behold, "very many men have been in despair about them-"selves, but the compassion of God hath not forsaken "them."

"For there was a young man in a certain city who "had committed multitudes of sins [Page 359] and "great wickednesses, with a most evil intent, yet at a "sign from God he repented of his sins, and departed "to the place of the tombs, where he wept over his "former sins; and he cast himself upon the earth, face "downwards, and did not dare to lift up his voice and "to make mention of the Name of God in his mouth, "or to make entreaty to Him, and he thought that he "was not worthy to live, and before his death he shut "himself up in the place of the tombs, groaning from

"the depth of his heart, because he had lost all hope "of his life. Now when he had passed a whole week "of days in this manner, those devils who had formerly "injured his life rose up against him by night, and "cried out, saying, 'Where is that corrupt and filthy "'man who, having filled himself as full as he could with "'pollution and corruption, doth now unseasonably and "'suddenly appear to be both chaste and good, and "'because he is not able to do so he wisheth to "'become a Christian, and a man of well ordered life? "'What then is the beautiful thing which thou expectest "'to acquire now that thou hast sated thyself with "'every kind of wickedness? Wilt thou not stand away "'from where thou art, and come with us and [enjoy] "'the things which thou usually hast? Behold, whores "'and tavern companions are waiting for thee, wilt "'thou not then come and gratify thy lust with us? "'Every hope for thee hath been extinguished, and "'truly thy punishment shall arrive swiftly, and in this "'manner thou wilt slay thyself. Why art thou terrified "'at [the idea of] punishment, O wretched man? And "'why strivest thou that it may not come upon thee "'swiftly?' And they said unto him very many other "things, and cried out to him, 'Thou art ours, for thou "'didst make a covenant with us. Thou didst commit "'every kind of wickedness, and thou wast worse than "'every one of us, and wouldst thou dare to flee [from "'us]? Wilt thou not return us an answer, and wilt "'thou not agree with us and go forth with us?'

"But the young man continued to weep steadily, "and he neither inclined his ear to hearken unto them, "nor made answer [Page 360] unto them. Then, when "those devils had remained with him a long time and "had done nothing [unto him], as they were speaking "wicked and abominable devils laid hold upon him, "and smote him with severe stripes, and tore to pieces "his whole body, and entreated him most evilly, and "then departed, leaving him with very little life in him.

"And the young man lay groaning in the same place "where they had left him, for he was unable to turn "round and depart to another place, and shortly after- "wards, when he had regained a little of his breath, "the members of his house and his relatives went forth "in sorrow to seek him, and when they found him "they learned from him the cause of the stripes, and "they besought him to go with them to his house; but "the young man did not yield to their frequent and "urgent entreaties. And again, on another night, those "devils made to come upon him stripes which were "more numerous and more severe than the former "ones, nevertheless he would not consent to depart "from that district at the entreaty of his relatives, but "he said unto them, 'It is better for me to die [thus] "'than to live with the blemishes of this world upon "'me.' On the third night, however, within a very "little, through the multitudinous stripes of the devils, he "departed from this temporary life, for they fell upon him "without mercy, and they smote him with blows where "the former blows had fallen, and they entreated him "so evilly that he was obliged to fight[1] for [his] breath. "And when they saw that he would not yield to them, "they left him for dead and departed from him, and "they went away from him, crying out and saying, "'Thou hast conquered us, thou hast conquered us, "'thou hast conquered us.' And afterwards nothing "evil came upon him.

"And the pure young man continued to dwell in "the grave and to lead a pure life gloriously, and he "was so weighted with the fear of God in the wonder- "ful and mighty deeds which he made manifest, that "[Page 361] many folk marvelled at him, and desired "greatly [to do as he did], for those who had entirely "abandoned all hope of their souls devoted themselves "to the performance of his excellent rules of life. And

[1] Read ܒܡܟܦ.

"in him was fulfilled that which is written, 'Whosoever "'humbleth himself shall be exalted.'[1] Therefore, O my "sons, I beseech each and every one of you before all "things to lead a life of humility, for that is the foun- "dation of all the glorious virtues; but besides this, the "dwelling in a remote desert place is exceedingly "helpful to the performance of deeds of ascetic ex- "cellence.

"And there was also another solitary monk who "dwelt in a place which was a long way off in the "desert, and having led for many years a life of perfection "with all credit, in the time of his old age he became "tempted by devils; he had been a strenuous man and "had loved the life of quiet contemplation[2] all his days, "and he excelled exceedingly in prayers, and in [sing- "ing] praises, and in multitudes of visions, and spiritual "manifestations were revealed unto him with such "scrupulous exactness, some in revelations and some "in dreams, that finally he was able to walk in the "footsteps of incorporeal beings. And because he was "not stablished in the earth, and took no care about "his food, he sought not in the trees the things of "which the body hath need, neither in the green herb, "nor in the birds, nor in the animals of the desert, "and he was full of trust in God. For, from the time "when he went forth from the habitation of men into "the desert, he had no care whatsoever in his mind "about that whereon he was to live and to support "his body, but wholly forgetting all such things his "whole love was exalted to God. And he awaited his "call from Him and his departure from this world, and "he enjoyed exceedingly the visions and the hope of "that which was to come, and his body did not shrink "by reason of length of years, nor did his soul decay, "and he possessed a beautiful nature through his

[1] St. Luke XIV. 11.

[2] Read ذشح عكنة.

"chaste life. But God took care of him, and at a "certain known time,[1] once every two [Page 362] or "three days, he found bread upon his table; and when-"soever he felt that his body needed food, he would "go into the cave and take rest, and, having refreshed "himself, and bowed himself before God, he would "return again to his praises, and say 'Amen' in his "prayer and in his visions. And rejoicing in his peace "every day he added to the glory of his life and "works, and he waxed stronger daily in the hope of "that which is to come, like a man who was confident "that he would depart from this world in virtue, which "actually took place within a very short time from his "fall, through the temptation that subsequently came "upon him.

"But why should we not tell the story of his sin "whereto his fall was exceedingly close? For, having "become proud in his mind, and thinking therein that "he was better than many men, and that he possessed "some faculty for goodness which was greater than "that possessed by all other men, and trusting in him-"self that this really was so, at no remote time there "was born in him first of all a degree of negligence "which was so small that it might be imagined that "it was not negligence, and then there burst into "existence contempt, which is a greater [sin] than "negligence, and then sluggishness made itself felt, and "as a result of these things he used to stand up in "vigil and prayer in a listless fashion, and the entreaty "of his prayer became small, and his praises of God "were short, and his soul longed for pleasures, and his "mind inclined to terrestrial things, and his thoughts "wandered to hateful things, and in secret he meditated "upon the abominable things of lust. But, however, "the constraint of his former life and deeds was still "with him as a protection, and at eventide, after his

[1] *I. e.*, at long intervals.

"usual prayer, he found upon his table the bread which "had been given to him by God, and he ate and was "refreshed. And because he did not cast away his "shortcomings, and did not consider that his negligence "injured his strenuousness in ascetic virtues, and in-"creased his zealousness in the performance of other "things which were hateful, [Page 363], and because "he did not turn to the healing of his wickednesses, "and because it was a small matter in his sight that "he had fallen away entirely from the things which "were seemly, the evil lust of filthy fornication seized "upon his mind, and carried him away in his thoughts "to the world.

"And having remained [thus] for one day, he turned "to his usual service of singing the Psalms, and he "prayed, and praised God, and went into the cave, "and he found therein his bread which had been placed "there at [the fixed] time, but it was not as pure as "it was usually, and it was somewhat dirty; and though "he marvelled thereat, and was sad about it, he ate "the bread and was refreshed. And it came to pass "on the third night, that there was added a threefold "evil, and he delivered over his wicked mind quickly "to his guilty thoughts; now it seemed in his conscious-"ness as if there was a woman close to him, and lying "by his side, and as if he was looking at her with his "eyes, and as if he was actually performing an act of "union with her. Now on the third day he went out "to his occupation of prayer and praise, but his thoughts "were not clean, and his mind was wandering about hither "and thither, and he was moving the sight of the pupils "of his eyes in all directions, and the remembrance of "his lusts shortened his good work. And he went "back in the evening seeking for bread, and when he "had gone into the cave he found upon his table bread, "part of which had been eaten by the mice, and part "had been gnawed by dogs, and the rest was dry; "then he groaned again and wept, but not sufficiently

"to restrain him from his wickedness. And having "eaten the bread, which was not according to his taste, "he endeavoured to take some rest.[1]

"Then again the evil thoughts stirred in him, and "made war upon his mind so that they might lead him "along the road and carry him to the world; and he "rose up by night and went forth from his cave to "travel in the desert to SHAINÂ, and whilst he was "still far from the habitations of men, the day overtook "him, and the heat of the sun afflicted him, and he "looked round about him that, peradventure, he might "see [Page 364] a monastery wherein he might enter "and rest himself. And he saw a monastery, and went "into it, and the chaste and believing brethren who "regarded him as a true father received him; and they "washed his face and his feet, and when they had "prayed, and set forth the table, they entreated him "lovingly to partake of whatsoever they had, and when[2] "he had eaten and was refreshed, they asked him to "address to them a word of help and to tell them how "they might be able to escape from the crafty snares "of the Enemy, and to rise up and to prevail like men "over lascivious thoughts. Then that monk, like a "father who was admonishing his sons, commanded "them to persevere in the labours of ascetic life, even "unto weariness, as men who, after a short time, would "depart to abundant delight; and having spoken unto "them several other most excellent things he helped "them greatly. And having made an end of his ad- "monitory discourse, he remembered himself a little, "and thought within himself, saying, 'How is it that I "'am able to rebuke others, and remain myself without "'reproof?' Then having understood his guiltiness, he "ran back with all speed to the desert, and wept over "himself, saying, 'If it had not been that the Lord

[1] Read ܕܢܚܐ ܠܝܗ ܕܠܐ ܛܥܡ ܗܘ ܠܚܡܐ

[2] Read ܘܟܕ.

"'helped me my soul would have been destroyed by "'misery, for I was within a very little of [falling] into "'every kind of wickedness, and my life would have "'been destroyed in the earth.' And it was fulfilled in "him the saying, 'A man is helped by his brethren, "even as a city is helped by its fortress, and he is like "'a wall which shall never fall.' And from that time "onwards, for the whole period of his life, that monk "mourned and wept because he was deprived of his "heavenly table, and he obtained his daily bread only "by means of great toil. And he shut himself up in "the cave, and [put on] sackcloth and ashes, and he "humbled himself in prayer; and he neither rose up "from earth nor ceased from groans and sighs, until he "heard in a dream a noise of angels which came to "him, [and said], 'God hath received [Page 365] thy "'repentance, and hath had mercy upon thee. There-"'fore take good heed that thou stumble not a second "'time into sin. And the brethren whom thou didst "'admonish shall come unto thee and console thee, and "'shall bring unto thee a blessing [which] thou shalt "'receive from them, and ye shall be refreshed and "'shall give thanks unto God always."

"These things which I have narrated unto you, O "my sons, [shew] that ye should acquire humbleness "of mind before every other thing in your life and "works, and in all matters which shall be unto you, "whether they be small or whether they be great, for "this is the first commandment of our Redeemer, Who "said, 'Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the "'kingdom of heaven.'[1] Take good heed that ye be "not confounded by the Devil when filthy visions rise "upon you, and go not astray after devils when they "shew you a lying vision. But if any one come unto "you, be it brother, or friend, or wife, or old man, or "father, or teacher, or mother, or sister, or son, or

[1] St. Matthew v. 3.

"daughter, first of all lift up your hands in prayer, and "if it should happen that any lying vision of devils "should come, it will depart quickly from before you. "And moreover, if men or devils would lead you astray, "and would incite you [to sin] by flattering you, be "not persuaded by them, and be not lifted up in your "minds. For in this way they have led even me astray "on several occasions, and the devils would let me "neither pray nor take my rest in the night season, "and they used to shew me lying visions the whole "night long, and then in the morning they would laugh "at me, and would bend the knee before me, and say, "'Father, let us vex thee [by day] in the same way "'as we did all night long,' and I would say unto them, "'Get ye gone from me, O ye workers of iniquity, for "ye shall not vex the servant of God.' Therefore, O "my sons, after quietness, follow ye[1] after and love "peaceful meditation, [Page 366] and train yourselves "at all times in the vision of excellence, and ye shall "acquire in prayer to God the broadness[2] of a pure "mind. For he is a good and fair athlete of Christ, "and a noble and strenuous man, who shall at all sea-"sons train himself in labours, and who shall do fair "deeds continually, who shall shew[3] forth love for the "brethren and for strangers, who shall perform love "and mercy, who shall visit and relieve all those who "are nigh unto him, who shall help the suffering and "support the sick, and who shall bring his days to an "end without stumbling. For if a man bring his days "to an end without stumbling, even though he labour "in and be held fast by the things of earth, he is a "fair, and good, and noble soldier and workman, and "worker and doer of the commandments.

"For the spectator of the mind who leaveth all

[1] Read ܕܒܥܘ.

[2] Read ܦܬܝܡܘܬ.

[3] Read ܢܨܒܘ.

"these things for others to administer [*or*, provide] is "far better, and more excellent, and greater than he, "and he pursueth spiritual instead of corporeal things, "and leaveth the transitory things of this world unto "others; for he denieth himself, and forgetteth himself, "and taketh up his cross and cleaveth unto Christ, and "he embraceth the things of heaven continually, and "he maketh his escape from every thing [earthly], and "draweth nigh unto God, and he will not allow himself "to be drawn to turn behind him through any care "whatsoever. And such a man as this is, through his "godly works, and the praises which he offereth up "continually before God, with God, and, being free and "unfettered by any tie whatsoever, he standeth before "God in security, and his mind is not drawn away by "any other care. He who is in this condition holdeth "converse with God continually, and offereth up to Him "unceasingly praise and glorifying. But it is necessary "[that those who seek after God should forsake][1] every- "thing which is visible, and should turn themselves "completely towards God, and should commit them- "selves to Him that He may protect their lives; for "the man in whom God dwelleth doth not know even "that the world existeth,[2] since the whole of creation "is an alien thing in his eyes, because he is crucified "unto [Page 367] all the world, and it is accounted by "him as nothing."

These then were the things which the blessed JOHN related unto us (now he told us many others), and he held converse and talked with us for three days, and he healed our souls until the season of the ninth hour; and when he gave us [his] blessing, he spake unto us also a word of prophecy, saying, "This day letters "[recording] the victory of THEODOSIUS the Emperor "have entered Alexandria, and these make known that

[1] Adding, ܙܕܝܢ ܕܒܥܝ ܠܗ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܕܢܫܒܩܘܢ ܟܠ.

[2] For ܕܠܐ ܡܬܝܕܥ ܠܗ read ܕܠܐ ܡܬܝܕܥ ܠܗ.

"he hath slain[1] EUGENIUS the tyrant, and the death "which the Christian Emperor THEODOSIUS himself will "die." Now these things actually happened as he said. And having seen many other fathers, other brethren came and informed us that the life of the blessed JOHN had come to an end in a most excellent and exemplary manner; for he commanded him (*i. e.*, his disciple) that for three days no man should be allowed to go up to him, and he bowed his knees in prayer, and his career was crowned, and he went to our Lord, to Whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

HERE END THE TRIUMPHS OF THE BLESSED MÂR JOHN.

CHAPTER III.

THE TRIUMPHS OF THE HOLY MAN ABBÂ 'ÔR.

And we saw also another wonderful man whose name was ABBÂ 'ÔR, now he was the ABBÂ of one thousand monks, and he had an angelic form and was about ninety years of age; his beard flowed down over his breast, and it was white and beautiful, and his countenance was so glorious that those who saw him were reproved by the sight thereof only. And this blessed man had for a very long time lived a life of the utmost austerity at a remote place in the desert, but subsequently he took certain monasteries in the desert which was near SHAINÂ, and gathered together a brotherhood, and he planted so many wild trees at that spot that [Page 368] they formed a dense wood in the wilderness. For the fathers who lived with him there said that before this man came there from the desert there was not even a shrub in the place; now

[1] Read ذيكذ. This event took place A.D. 394.

he planted these trees in order to fill a want, and to prevent the brethren who were gathered together to him from being troubled by searching for wood. And in his prayer to God he took the same pains and strove that all the needs of the brethren might be supplied, so that they would only have to be anxious about their redemption, and that nothing which they used might be wanting for them, [so that they might have no excuse for negligence].[1] When formerly the blessed man lived in the desert of Dalgâw he used to eat roots and herbs, and to drink water when he was able, and he passed the whole time of his life in prayer and praise; but when he arrived at complete old age, an angel appeared unto him in a dream, in the desert, and said, "Thou shalt become a great "race, and shalt be set in authority over a numerous "people, and those who shall be saved through thee "shall be ten myriads [in number], and thou shalt be "a governor in the new world, and above every one "else in the world thou shalt have life. And," said the angel unto him, "fear not, for thou shalt never be "in want of food, whensoever thou criest unto thy "God, until the day of thy departure from this "world]."

And having heard these things the blessed ABBÂ 'ÔR journeyed on his way diligently and came to the desert which is nigh unto SHAINÂ, and first of all he lived there by himself in a little cave[2] which he made, and he fed upon garden herbs soaked in vinegar, and on several occasions he ate only once a week. And because originally he had no knowledge of letters, when he rose up to go forth from the desert into SHAINÂ, the knowledge of the Holy Books was given

[1] Adding, from Bedjan's edition, ܕܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܒܥܘܬܐ ܕܬܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܥܠܬܐ ܠܘܬ ܐܠܗܗ.

[2] Var. ܒܡܫܟܢܐ "in a booth" or "tabernacle."

unto him by Divine Grace[1] so fully that he was able to repeat all the Scriptures by heart; and when he had come [to SHAINÂ] and a book was [Page 369] given unto him by the brethren to read, he read it forthwith as if he had been a man who was always acquainted with books. And there was added unto him also the gracious gift of being able to cast out devils, and many of them came to him by the constraint [of this gift], against their wills, and would shriek out through his acts. And he wrought so many other cures so often that from all sides there were gathered together unto him brethren who lived in monasteries, one thousand in number.

And when the man of God saw us, he rejoiced in us, and saluted us, and straightway he offered up a prayer; and he washed our feet with his own hands, and began to teach us, for he was exceedingly well acquainted with the Scriptures, even as a man who had received the gift from God, and he expounded to us many chapters of the Scriptures, and delivered to us the orthodox faith; moreover, he urged us to prayer, and to partake of the Mysteries. For it was the habit of all the great monks not to give food to their bodies until they had offered spiritual sustenance to their souls, that is to say, the participation in the Body and Blood of Christ. And having partaken of the Mysteries we gave thanks unto God, and he urged us [to come] to the table of food, and he called to our recollection the ascetic lives of noble men, and said, "I know a certain "man in this desert who for three years past hath not "eaten anything which is of this earth, but an angel "cometh to him once in three days, and bringeth him "heavenly food and placeth it in his mouth, and this "sufficeth him instead of meat and drink. And I "know that there came to this man in a lying vision

[1] Literally, "that grace of the knowledge of the Holy Books was given unto him."

"devils who were in the forms of horses and chariots "of fire and numerous horsemen, as if they had come "from a king, and they said unto him, 'Thou hast be-"'come perfect in everything, O man, but now, bow "'down and worship me, and I will take thee up [to "'heaven] like ELIJAH.' Then the monk said in his "mind, 'I worship the King and [Page 370] Redeemer "'every day, and if this creature were [a king] he would "'not ask me to worship him now.' And when he had "said unto him that which was in his mind, 'I have a "'King, and I worship Him always, and thou art not "'a king,' immediately the devil removed himself and was "no more found." Now Abbâ 'OR told us these things because he wished to conceal his own rules and manner of life, and to tell us stories about those of other monks, but the fathers who were always with him told us that it was Abbâ 'OR himself who had seen these things.

Now this man was more glorious in his life than very many of the fathers. And because of the multitude of the monks who came to him he used to call the brethren who were with him, and to make houses for the newcomers each day; some of the brethren spread the mud, and others brought the bricks, and others cut down the wood, and when their building was finished, he would supply the needs of those who came. On one occasion a lying brother who had hidden his clothes came to him, but the blessed man rebuked him before every man, and brought his clothes into the light, so that as a result of this [exposure] no man might in future dare to tell a lie in his presence. Now the beauty of his life and deeds made him so glorious that he was able to gather together very many monks to him, and one saw the congregation of the monks with him in the church like a band of righteous men who were splendid in their garb, and who glorified God with praises continually.

HERE END THE TRIUMPHS OF ABBÂ 'ÔR.

CHAPTER IV.

The Triumphs of Abbâ Ammon.

Now we saw in Thebaïs another man whose name was Ammon, who was the Abbâ of thirty[1] [Page 371] thousand monks; and they called these monks also "men of Tabenna." And they lived lives of the greatest austerity, and they used to put their head cloths over their faces, and they covered themselves when they ate, and they turned their looks towards the ground, so that one might not see the other; and they kept strict silence, so that they might think that they were in the desert, and they did these things in order that each might hide his works of ascetic excellence from his fellows. When they sat at table it was a mere matter of form, and they did so in such a way as to deceive each other, and to make each other say, "Behold, they are eating." Some of them only carried their hands to their mouths once or twice and took a piece of bread, or an olive, or a portion of something else of all the food which was set before them, and it was unto them sufficient for a meal; and others ate in silence a piece of bread only, and endured [hunger] without touching any of the other dishes of food which were placed before them; and others only reached out their hands to the dishes of cooked food three times and ate. Now their souls were weaned from everything. And since we marvelled at all their glorious deeds we obtained benefit from them all.

Here end the triumphs of Abbâ Ammon.

[1] The better reading is ܬܠܬ "three."

CHAPTER V.

The Triumphs of Abbâ Abbân [Benus].

And we saw another blessed man whose virtues were more abundant than those of all [other] men, and whose name was Abbân [Benus]; the brethren who were with him related that he had never sworn, or told a lie, or been angry[1] with any man, or rebuked any man, even by a word. He had passed his whole life in silent contemplation,[2] and in humility [Page 372], and in his manner of life he was as one of the angels, and he clothed[3] himself in the deepest humility. And when we[4] had entreated him earnestly to address to us a word of exhortation, it was only with the greatest difficulty that he could be persuaded to say unto us a few words. On one occasion, when the labourers in the fields which were near the river begged him [to drive away] a certain hippopotamus which was doing them harm[5] by his [great] strength, the blessed Abbâ Abbân [Benus] commanded the animal in a gentle voice, saying, "I "adjure thee to depart in the name of Jesus Christ;" and the hippopotamus, as if driven away by an angel, never more appeared in that district.

Here end the triumphs of Abbâ Abbân [Benus].

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[1] The better reading is ذِكْرٍ.
[2] Or, "in the strictest quietness."
[3] Var. مَبْجَحِهْ.
[4] Read مَصْ.
[5] Read جِدَضْ.

CHAPTER VI.

The history of the lives and acts of the brethren who were in the city of Oxyrhyncus.

And we came also to Oxyrhyncus, a great city in Thebaïs, but we are not able to relate all the wonderful things which [we saw] therein; for the city is so full of the habitations of the brethren, that the walls thereof are well nigh thrust out with them, so many are the brethren! And there are so many other monasteries round about the walls, on the outside, that one would think that they were another city, and the sanctuaries of the city, and the temples which are therein, and all the spaces about them, are filled with the monks. And besides these there were thirteen churches in which the people assembled, for the city was exceedingly large. There was a place set apart for the monks to pray in each of the monasteries, and one might think that the monks were not very much fewer in numbers than the ordinary inhabitants of the city, for they were so numerous that they even filled the [buildings at] the entrances to the city, and some of the monks lived in the towers by the side of the gates thereof. [Page 373] Now the people said that the monks who lived inside were five thousand in number, and that five thousand brethren lived round about it, and there was not an hour, either of the day or the night, wherein they were not performing the service of God. But there were also heretics in the city, and they were not of the heathen who dwelt therein. And all the inhabitants of the city were believers, and they would hearken to the Scriptures so readily, that the Bishop was able to proclaim peace to the people even in the streets; and the officers and the princes of the city, who were lavish in their gifts to the congregations, used to place watchers at the

gates and entrances thereof that if they saw any needy person, or any stranger, they might bring him to them in order that they might supply his need from their gifts. And what shall we say concerning[1] the fear of God which was in these men to such a degree that, when they saw us, who were strangers, passing through the streets, they drew nigh, like angels, unto us [and helped us]? And how can a man describe adequately the multitude of monks, and the innumerable virgins who used to live there? [Now we would make known that which we have learned from the holy Bishop who was there, namely, that he had under his authority ten thousand monks, and twenty thousand virgins].[2] I am wholly unable to express how great is the love of strangers and the affection which exist among these men and women, for our cloaks and the other portions of our apparel were well nigh torn to rags by the force which each one of them, in the ardour of his love, displayed in dragging us to his home. And we saw there multitudes of fathers and of great monks who possessed[3] gifts of divers kinds, for some had the gift of speaking, and some of doing works, and some of doing mighty deeds, and some of working signs.

CHAPTER VII.

The Triumphs of Abbâ Theon.

And we also saw another blessed man, who lived at some distance from the city, at a place which faced

[1] Read ܟܕ.

[2] Adding from Bedjan's edition, ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܚܢ ܕܫܡܥܢ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܩܫܝܫܐ ܕܗܘ ܒܗ ܕܫܠܛ ܥܠ ܥܣܪܐ ܐܠܦ ܡܢܚܐ ܘܥܣܪܝܢ ܐܠܦ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ. ܘܐܢܚܢ ܒܥܝܢ ܠܡܐܡܪ ܠܟܘܢ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܠܢ ܠܡܐܡܪ ܟܡ ܪܒ ܗܘ ܚܘܒܐ ܕܓܝܪܐ ܘܪܚܡܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܓܒܪܐ ܘܢܫܐ.

[3] Adding ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ.

the open desert, and his name was THEON; he was a holy man who had shut himself up in a small house by himself, and he had kept silence for thirty years, and because he had performed many mighty deeds he was [Page 374] held[1] to be a prophet among the people. For every day a multitude of sick folk went forth to him, and he would stretch out his hand through the window and lay it upon them, and would send them away healed. Now the countenance of the blessed man appeared to be like that of an angel, and his eyes sparkled, and he was filled with all the grace of God. A short time ago certain thieves came by night[2] against the blessed man from a great distance, thinking that they would find a large quantity of gold with him, and they were prepared to kill him, but when he had said a prayer they found themselves fast bound with ropes before the door, [and they had to stay there] until the morning. And when the crowds of people came to him in the morning, they had it in their minds to commit the thieves to the flames, but the blessed man felt himself urged to speak a word unto the men, and he said, "Let these thieves depart "in peace, for if ye do not let them, the gracious gift of "healing which I possess will depart from me." Then the multitudes hearkened unto his words, for they did not dare to treat them lightly, and straightway the thieves went and took up their abode with the brethren [and] monks, and they changed their former manner of life, because they truly repented of that which they had done in the past.

Now this man, through the gift which God had bestowed upon him, knew three languages, and he was able to read Greek, Latin, and Egyptian, a fact concerning the blessed man which we have learned from many folk; and when he knew that we were

[1] Read معجبت.

[2] Add دككنة.

strangers, he wrote down [the fact] in a book, and thanked God on our behalf. His food consisted of garden herbs, and they said that he used to go forth from his cell by night and mingle with the wild animals of the desert, and he gave them to drink of the water which he found. The foot-marks which appeared by the side of his abode [Page 375] were those of buffaloes, and goats, and gazelle, in the sight of which he took great pleasure.

HERE ENDETH THE HISTORY OF THE MONKS IN THE CITY OF OXYRHYNCUS.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE TRIUMPHS OF ABBÂ ELIJAH.

And we also saw another priest in the desert of ANTINOË, the metropolis of the THEBAÏD, whose name was ELIJAH; he was about one hundred and ten years old, and the monks used to say that the spirit of ELIJAH the Prophet rested upon him. Now this blessed man ELIJAH was famous in the desert, for he had lived therein for seventy years, and it is wholly impossible to find a word which would adequately describe the sterility and desolation of that desert, and of the mountain in which he lived. He never went down to SHAINÂ, but there was a narrow path along which a man could walk[1] with the greatest difficulty and make his way to him [guided] by the rough stones which were placed on both sides of the way; and his dwelling was under a rock in the cave. Now his appearance was terrible, for by reason of old age which had laid its hold upon him he trembled greatly; nevertheless

[1] Var. كنيسم حفكي ٥٥٦ ٥٦٥ذ.

he worked signs daily, and he never ceased to heal the sick. And the fathers told us concerning him that there was no man among them who could remember the time when he went up [to live] in the mountain. In his old age he used to eat three ounces of bread every evening, and three olives, but in his early manhood he partook of food only once a week, and subsisted thereon.

HERE END THE TRIUMPHS OF ABBÂ ELIJAH. [Page 376].

CHAPTER IX.

THE TRIUMPH OF THE BLESSED APOLLO [AND AMMON].

And we saw also another priest, whose name was APOLLO, who lived in the THEBAÏD, on the borders of HERMOPOLIS, whereunto our Redeemer went with MARY and JOSEPH, that there might be fulfilled the word of ISAIAH,[1] who said, "Behold the Lord mounted "upon swift clouds and going to Egypt, and the idols "of Egypt shall tremble before Him, and shall fall "upon the earth." And we also saw there the house of idols wherein all the idols that were in it fell down upon their faces on the ground when our Redeemer went into that city. And we saw, moreover, that this man who dwelt in the desert was the Abbâ of five hundred monks who lived in the monasteries which stood around the base of the mountain, and that he was exceedingly well known throughout the land of Thebaïs; for he possessed the excellent virtues of the ascetic life, and God performed many great and mighty deeds through him, and very many signs took place by his hand. And this man Apollo, whose ascetic

[1] Isaiah XIX. 1.

labours were so wonderful from his youth up, in the time of his old age was held to be worthy of an act of grace from God, for when he was eighty years of age he took possession of a great monastery containing five hundred marvellous men, who were also able to work miracles, and when he was fifteen years [older] (*i. e.*, when he was ninety-five years of age), he departed from this world, having lived for forty years in the inner desert, where he led a perfectly spiritual life.

And towards the end he heard a voice, like unto that of an angel, which said unto him, "APOLLO, I am "about to destroy the wisdom of the wise men of "Egypt by thy hands, and I will remove the knowledge, "which is not knowledge, of the fools of the nations; "and thou shalt destroy for Me with them also the "wise men of BABEL,[1] and thou shalt wipe out all the "service of devils. And now, get thee away quickly "to the desert, to the region thereof which is nigh "unto the habitations of men, for thou shalt beget for "Me a holy people who shall be exalted by [their] "good works" [Page 377]. Then APOLLO made answer, and said, "My Lord, take Thou away from me pride, "lest peradventure I become [unduly] exalted over the "brotherhood, and I lose all the blessing thereof." And the [divine] voice spoke again unto him, and said, "Place thine hand upon thy neck, and whatsoever thou "layest hold upon, take it down and bury it in the "sand;" then he quickly laid his hand upon his neck, and laid hold upon a small Ethiopian, and he buried him in the sand, as the creature cried out and said, "I am the spirit of pride." And again the voice came to him, and said, "Get thee gone, and whatsoever thou "shalt ask from thy God shall be given unto thee."

So the blessed man, having heard [this], straightway set out to come to SHAINÂ, in the time of JULIAN,

[1] Babylon of Egypt.

the Emperor [and] tyrant. And at first he lived in the desert which was nigh unto Shainâ, in a small cave which he found there on the side (*or*, base) of the mountain, and his occupation was as follows:—he offered up prayer unto God the whole day through, that is to say, he prayed one hundred times in the night, and as many times in the day, and he bowed his knees when he prayed. As concerning his food he took no care whatsoever, for that was given unto him by God, and it was brought into the desert by an angel; his apparel consisted of a short-sleeved garment which covered his body, and a small napkin which he wore on his head, and these remained upon him in the desert and never wore out. He lived in the desert which was nigh unto SHAINÂ in the power of the spirit, and he worked miracles, and performed many wonderful cures, the glory of which it is impossible for a man to describe, but we have heard thereof from the elders who were with him, and who were also perfect men, and from the heads and governors of the brotherhood. This man, then, was famous as a new prophet, and as an apostle who had appeared in our generation. And when his fame had travelled abroad on all sides, all the monks who lived scattered about in various places came unto him in a body as unto a true father, [Page 378] and they offered themselves to him as an offering. And the blessed man stirred up some of them to divine visions, and others to glorious deeds of spiritual excellence, but he first of all shewed them by actual examples the things which he was exhorting them to do by his words, and he incited them on several occasions to perform work of ascetic excellence. One Sunday after another he ate with them, but he tasted nothing but the herbs which grew of themselves in the earth, and he ate neither bread, nor pulse, nor the fruit of trees, nor anything which had been prepared by fire.

Now in the reign of JULIAN, the blessed APOLLO

heard that a certain brother, who had been seized for military service, had been thrown into prison, and he took brethren, and went to visit him and to comfort him; and having gone to him, he told that brother to endure the suffering, and to despise the tribulations which were surging in upon him, for the sake of the hope which is to come. Now that time was a season of strife, and the believing mind was sorely tried by the temptations which came upon it. And when he had strengthened the soul of that brother by such words as these, one of those who had been appointed by the Chiliarch to guard [him] came and said unto the Chiliarch, "The brethren wish to get that man out [of "the prison]." Now when the Chiliarch heard this, he rose up, and came in an evil fury, and shut the doors of the prison, and set seals [upon them], and appointed stricter guards, and thus confined the blessed man, and all the brethren who were with him, in the prison, saying, "These men also are useful for military service," and then he departed to his house without listening to the petition which they made to him. But in the middle of the night the angel of the Lord, who held a lamp in his hand, lit up with his light the whole prison house so brightly [Page 379] that all the watchmen were astonished, and they entreated the brethren who were therein to go away from them, and the doors were opened before them; and they said, "It is better "for us to die for them, than to neglect the freedom "which hath been sent from God to men who have "been imprisoned in an unseemly manner." And the Chiliarch and the noblemen who were with him came in the morning to the prison house, and pressed the brethren to depart from the city, for his house had fallen down through an earthquake, and had buried the noble folk of his house; and when they heard this they went forth, and glorified God with a loud voice, and they departed to the desert with rejoicings.

Now all these brethren lived together after the

example of the Apostles, and they possessed one mind and one soul, and the blessed man admonished them daily that they should excel in glorious works, and that they should drive away quickly and immediately to a distance, before they came, the evil crafts of the Calumniator which burst into the thoughts. For he said, "When the head of the serpent is bruised all his "body dieth, for our Lord commanded us to be watch- "ful against the head of the serpent, which is this:— "We must not only take care that filthy and corrupt "thoughts do not come into our minds, but we must "blot out also the hateful appearances which are pro- "duced in our minds. Now, therefore, strive eagerly "and earnestly that ye may emulate each other in the "gloriousness of the ascetic works, so that no man may "be found to be in any way inferior to his neighbour "in spiritual excellence. And this is the sign that ye "have approached the glory of ascetic labours, if ye "can keep your bodies from the passions of the lusts; "for the beginning of the gift of God is when a man "acquireth also the manifestation of the wonderful "[character] which is from God, lest peradventure he "become [unduly] exalted thereby, or be lifted up in "his thoughts, as if he were superior to his fellows, "and lest he become like a man [Page 380] who "maketh it to appear that he is worthy of all this "grace; but if not, he will certainly forget that he "lacketh divine grace, and that it hath been snatched "away from his mind."

Now therefore this man possessed the precious treasure of great doctrine in his mind, which we also heard from him on another occasion, and his works were more excellent than his teaching; for every petition which he asked of God was granted unto him, and visions also appeared unto him; for on one occasion he saw that his brother, who was older than he, and who also brought his life to an end in the desert, possessed more spiritual works than himself. And he

saw, as in a dream, that he had become a counterpart of the Apostles, and that God had made him to inherit glory, and he was begging and entreating Him to bring about his departure from the world speedily, so that he might rest with him in heaven, and that it was said unto him by our Redeemer, "It is necessary for "Apollo to live upon the earth a little longer, until "many shall become perfect through envy[1] of his "glorious deeds, for he is prepared to be set over a "great nation of monks, and of men who cultivate "righteousness, so that he may receive glory propor- "tionate to his labour."

Such were the things which he saw, and they came to pass in connexion with the congregation of monks who came to him, and who, through his abundant doctrine, and through his numerous ascetic habits, became aliens to the world. And a great monastery for brethren grew up about him in the mountain, and at length five hundred men came to live there together; they had their habitation in common, and they sat at meat at one table, and verily, they appeared to be as angels, and they were like unto workers who were ornamented with princely ornaments, and were arrayed in white apparel. Thus were fulfilled the words of the Scriptures which say, "The dry desert shall rejoice, and the open "plain shall leap for joy;"[2] and again, "Shout, and cry "out, O thou who hast never brought forth, for the "children of the barren woman are more numerous "than [Page 381] those of her who hath had a husband."[3] And the word of the Prophet concerning the church among the Gentiles was fulfiled, and was completed also by the desert of Egypt, for the sons of God were more numerous there than in the land which had become settled and occupied by people. For in many

[1] Read ܚܕܘܬ ܕܚܫܝܢ.

[2] Isaiah XXXV. 1.

[3] Isaiah LIV. 1.

of the cities of Egypt true congregations of monks increased even as they drew nigh to God in the desert thereof, and in proportion as the nation was at peace even so did the monks multiply in the desert of Egypt, and in them were fulfilled the words of the Apostle,[1] who said, "Where sin increased there also did grace "abound."

Now at one time in Egypt the exceedingly abominable worship of idols was more common than among any other nation, for they worshipped dogs, and apes, and other things, and even garlic, and onions, and common garden herbs were considered to be gods, according to what we heard the holy man APOLLO say, and he described the reason for the worship of idols which existed among the Egyptians, and said, "These heathen, and the early inhabitants of the country "worshipped the bull because he was useful in ploughing "the ground wherefrom they obtained their food, and "they worshipped the waters of the Nile which irrigated "their whole country, and also the earth itself which "yielded to them excellent crops, and which is far more "excellent than the soil of other countries. And they "held in reverence their other polluted things, that "is to say, dogs, and apes, and all their abominable "animals and vegetables, because they had been to "them the cause of redemption; now they had been "brought to nought[2] in the time of Pharaoh, when he "and those who were with him were drowned whilst "the children of Israel were pursuing them. For they "did not cleave unto PHARAOH in that day, but each "man among them made that which was his familiar "[spirit] his god, and said, 'This is my god, and "'through him I shall not perish [Page 382] with "PHARAOH'."

[1] Romans v. 20.

[2] Variants, ܒܛܠܘ, and ܐܬܦܪܩܘ, *i. e.*, "they were killed," and "they were delivered."

Such were the things which were in the discourse of APOLLO, but it is meet[1] that we should write down his deeds before his words. Once heathen peoples dwelt in the various places which were round about the blessed man, and the ten villages which were near him were very wicked, and they went astray in respect of the worship of idols. In one of these villages was a temple, and the idol which was in that village was very famous, and he was made of wood, and the priests danced[2] before him, and carried him about in a procession from village to village, and then the people who were with him leaped and danced about. And once, when they were performing their play on the bank of the river, the blessed APOLLO, and a few brethren who were with him, happened to be passing through the district at that time, and, when from a distance he saw the crowd which had begun its devilish sports, he bowed the knee on the spot where he was, and prayed to the Redeemer of all, and straightway all the people became bound with cords, and he put all the heathen in such a state that they were unable to crawl away from where they were, and as they were not able to depart from that place, one by one became parched [with thirst], and was obliged to suffer under the fierce heat of the sun the whole day long, and they marvelled at what had happened to them. Then their priests said, "There is a certain "Christian in your borders, and it is he who hath done "these things to them," now they were speaking of the blessed man APOLLO, who, by means of his prayers had brought to nought their festival, "and it is right "that we should make entreaty unto him that we may "not come into tribulation."

And when the inhabitants of the country round

[1] Read ܚܩܘ ܕܒܗ ܡܟ ܠ ܕܢܗܘܐ.

[2] Read ܣܥܪܟܘ.

about them heard [these things], they came at the sound of the uproar and asked them, saying, "What "is this commotion which hath suddenly come upon "you? And what is the cause thereof?" And they said, "We do not know, but we have a suspicion "[Page 383], we confess, of a certain man who is a "Christian, and who liveth on the side of the moun- "tain, and it is right that we should make entreaty to "him."[1] Then the inhabitants bore testimony, saying, "Yea, this blessed man did pass through this country," and the priests begged them that they would help them at once; and, wishing [to know] whether they were able to move the idol from his place, they brought oxen to draw him along, but the idol and the oxen became like unto beings who had been fixed there a long time. Now when there was not a [successful] issue to their undertaking on any side whatsoever, and no [help could be obtained] by entreating the people round about them, the priests of the idol sent to the holy man, saying that, if they were delivered from that place, they would turn aside from all their error. And when all these things had been told to the blessed man by a message, that servant of God came down quickly, and prayed over them, and released them from that restraint; and straightway they all followed him, and they believed in the Redeemer, the Lord of all, Who doeth wonderful things, and they straightway delivered the idol over to burn in the fire, and they became converted, and were baptized, and were added to the number of the sons of the Church, and many of them live to this very day in the habitation of the monastery. Thereupon the report of this old man went forth quickly into every place, and so many people believed on the Lord through him that in those borders henceforward no man gave himself the name of "heathen."

[1] Reading ܥܒܕܢ.

And after a short time two villages quarrelled and fought over certain fields, and as soon as the blessed man heard thereof he went down to them quickly, that he might sow peace between them; now the men who were on one side would not be persuaded by his words, but they disputed them, for the reason that they were relying, forsooth, upon a certain mighty man, who was a captain of a band of thieves, [Page 384], and he stood up on their behalf in the struggle. And, when the holy APOLLO saw this man disputing fiercely, he said unto him, "If thou wilt be persuaded by me, "O my beloved, I will beseech our Lord to forgive thee thy sins;" and when the man heard these words, without any hesitation whatsoever he threw his weapons away from him, and fell on the knees of the holy man, and he turned his partizans back into their houses. And when there was peace between them, and every man had departed to his place this famous captain of thieves clung to the blessed man, and entreated him, [and openly demanded from him [the fulfilment of] his promise; and the holy man took him with him to the desert],[1] and entreated him, and admonished him to be patient and said unto him, "God is able to grant thee this thing."

And when it was night the two men saw in a dream that they were standing before the throne in heaven, and the two men also saw that the angels and the righteous men were worshipping God; and when they also knelt down on their knees, and bowed down on their faces before Christ, the voice of God came to them, saying, "What connexion hath light with "darkness? Or what portion hath the believer with "the unbeliever?[2] Why then doth this murderer stand "with this righteous man, seeing that he is not worthy

[1] Adding from Bedjan's edition, .ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲁⲛⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ.

[2] 2 Corinthians VI. 14, 15.

"of this sight? But, O man, get thee gone, for behold, "this little one among thy sons who hath taken refuge "in thee shall be saved because of thee." Now they saw and also heard many other things which the mouth must not dare to utter, nor the ear to hear. And when they woke up they related the dream to those who [were with them],[1] and those who heard how exceedingly glorious were the stories of these men [marvelled] that two men were able to relate one and the same dream. Now the captain of thieves remained in the monastery with the monks, and led therein a life of ascetic excellence until his departure[2] from the world; and from being a wolf he had turned into a simple lamb; and in him was fulfilled the prophecy [Page 385] of Isaiah,[3] who said, "The wolf and the lamb shall feed "together, and the lion shall eat chopped straw like "the ox."

And we saw also there Ethiopians who lived with the monks, and they excelled to such a degree in the ascetic life that in them were fulfilled the words which are said in the Book, "Kûsh (Ethiopia) shall deliver "the hand unto God."[4]

And on another occasion, when [the heathen] were arming against the Christians because of [a dispute concerning] the boundaries of certain territories, the blessed Apollo came to make peace between them. Now a certain chief of the force of the heathen was boasting, and saying, "There can never be peace until "death," and the blessed man said unto him, "Accord-"ing to thy word even so let it be, for no man on "either side shall die except thyself; and the earth shall "not be thy grave, but the bellies of wild beasts." And it came to pass that the man died, and in the

[1] Read ܕܥܡܗܘܢ ܗܘ̈ܘ ܕܚܙܘ ܘܫܡܥܘ ܐܦ ܫܡܥܘ ܕܚܙܘ ܘܫܡܥܘ.

[2] Read ܠܡܝܬܘܬܗ.

[3] Isaiah XI. 6, 7.

[4] Psalm LXVIII. 31.

morning his body was found, having been torn to pieces by vultures and hyenas; and when the conclusion of the matter was known, they gave thanks, and believed in Christ, saying, "This man is certainly "a prophet."

Now the dwelling-place of the blessed APOLLO was formerly in a cave, with five brethren who had been converted by him in the desert before he left the wilderness. And when the Easter Festival came, and they had performed the service of God in the cave, they made ready to eat whatsoever food they had; now their food consisted of a small quantity of dried bread and pickled vegetables. And the blessed APOLLO said unto them, "O my sons, if we are believers, and "true servants of Christ, each one of us, let us entreat "God to give us whatsoever He willeth to eat;" and they devoted their whole petition to this object, despising themselves as men who were unworthy [Page 386] of this gracious gift. And when the blessed man had prayed with a joyful countenance, and had made an end of his prayer, and they had all said, 'Amen,' they found there in the night certain men standing by the door of the cave; and the men were strangers, whom no man knew, and they said, concerning themselves, that they had come from a far country. And they had brought with them from that country many things of which the brethren had never heard, and which existed not in the land of Egypt, that is to say, various kinds of fruits from Paradise; grapes, and pomegranates, and figs, and nuts, and almonds, which at that period did not exist [in Egypt], and honey in the comb, and a box of milk (*or*, butter), and dates of huge size, and ten loaves of bread which were still hot; and the men who had brought these things gave them unto them under the pretence that they had been sent by a great, and rich, and honourable man, and then they returned to their own country with the greatest haste and diligence. Then the holy

men partook of what had been sent to them, and the food was sufficient [to last them] until Pentecost. And whilst they were wondering, and saying, "Verily these "have been sent unto us by God," one of the monks who were with him entreated the blessed APOLLO that he might offer up a prayer for him to be worthy of the gracious gift; and having offered up a prayer on his behalf, the graces of humility, and of graciousness (*or*, happiness), and of patient endurance were bestowed upon him to such a degree that many marvelled at the excellence of the humility which he possessed. And the fathers related to us stories of the wonderful and mighty works which he performed, and many brethren testified concerning the miracles [which he wrought].

And a short time afterwards there was a great famine in the district of Thebaïs, and when the peoples of the country who were dwelling in that place heard that the monks who were with the blessed man were living without labour, they gathered themselves together, [Page 387] and came to him with their wives and children, and asked him for alms and for food, and he, like a man who did not fear that, peradventure, food would be wanting for himself and those who were with him, gave unto all those who had come[1] to him that[2] which was sufficient for each of them from day to day. And when three baskets full of bread were all that remained, and the famine was still severe, he commanded and they brought these baskets into the midst [of them, and he found that] they would only suffice for one day's food for the monks and those who were with them; and in the presence of all the crowds, who were listening, and the whole brotherhood of the monks, he said with a loud voice, "Is not the "hand of the Lord able to increase [these]? For thus

[1] Read ܕܐܬܘ.

[2] Read ܕܒܗ.

"saith the Holy Spirit, 'Bread shall not be wanting in "'these baskets until we all eat new bread.'" And all those who were near him said, "In very truth the "bread was sufficient to feed them for four months." And he was in the habit of doing thus from time to time in respect of oil and wheat, until Satan came and said unto him, "Peradventure thou art ELIJAH, or "another of the Prophets, or one of the Apostles that "thou darest to act thus?" Then the blessed man said to him, "And why should I not act thus? Were not "the holy Prophets and the blessed Apostles men? And "have not [the fathers] handed down [to us] the tradi-"tion that they used to do such things? Or, is our "Lord akin to them at one time and remote from them "at another? Therefore, at all times God is able to "do things like unto these, and there is nothing which "is difficult for Him. If then God is good, why art "thou, O corrupt one, evil?"

Why now should I not describe the things which we saw with our own eyes? Now at the time when the five hundred brethren were about to refresh themselves the baskets came in full, [Page 388] and when the brethren had eaten and were filled from them, by the blessing of the blessed man they went forth still being full.

And it is right that we should describe another miracle[1] which we saw there and marvelled at. Now when we three brethren went to visit the blessed Apollo, and the brethren saw us from where he was, they recognized us by the descriptions which they had heard from him of our journey, and they met us with gladness and sang songs of praise,[2] for such is the custom with all the brethren. And having bowed down with their faces to the ground, they rose up, and gave us the salutation of peace, and said to their

[1] Read ܢܣܗܕ ܢܝܬ.

[2] *I. e.*, they sang Psalms.

companions, "Behold, the brethren of whom our Abbâ "spake unto us three days ago have come to us," for he had said, "Behold, after three days three brethren "will come to you from JERUSALEM." And some of the brethren were going before us rejoicing and singing Psalms, and some followed behind answering them, until we arrived at the place where the blessed man was; and when our father APOLLO heard the sound of their singing, he also came forth to meet us, according to the custom of the brethren, and when he saw us, he was the first to bow low to the ground, and he stretched out his hand, and rose up, and kissed[1] us, and he led us in, and prayed, and washed our feet with his own hands, and pressed us to rest ourselves and to partake of food, for it was his custom to do this to all the brethren who came to visit him.

Now the brethren who were with him did not approach their food straightway, but they first of all partook of the Eucharist of Christ together; and they used to do this daily at the season of prayer at the ninth hour, and afterwards they ate their meal; whilst they were sitting at meat they learned his commandments until the time for sleep, and afterwards some of them would go forth into the desert and repeat the Scriptures by heart, the whole night long, whilst others would take their meal with him and would glorify God until the morning. And we ourselves saw [Page 389] that such men began to sing the Psalms and hymns of praise in the evening, and that they continued to sing them until the day broke. Now many of them used to come down at the time of the ninth hour and receive the Eucharist, and then return to their places, and the spiritual food alone would be sufficient for them until the ninth hour on the day following; even thus did they, and many of them would continue to do thus and remain without [ordinary] food for several days

[1] Read ܢܫܩ̈ܘ.

at a time, even from one Sunday to another. And we observed[1] their joy in the desert, with which nothing on the earth, and no bodily delight, can be compared, for there was among them no man who was sorry or afflicted with grief, and if any man was found to be in affliction, our father Apollo knew the cause thereof, and was able to make known to him the secret thoughts of his mind. And he would say unto such an one, "It is not seemly for us to be afflicted at our "redemption, for we are those who are about to in- "herit the kingdom of heaven; but let the Jews weep, "and let the men of iniquity be in mourning, and let "the righteous rejoice. For they have their happiness "in earthly things, and they cultivate the things of "earth, and why should not we, who are worthy of "the blessed hope, rejoice always, even according to "the encouraging words of the blessed Apostle PAUL,[2] "who said unto us, 'Rejoice in our Lord always, and "'pray at all seasons, and in everything give thanks.'"

And what shall a man say concerning the grace which dwelt in the words of the blessed APOLLO, and concerning his other glorious qualities, about which, because of their great number, we keep silence, and concerning which we have heard[3] from others? Now he discussed many things concerning strenuousness in ascetic deeds together with us, and exhorted us how to receive the brethren, and he told us that when the brethren came to visit us it was seemly for us to bow low before them, "Not," he said, "that we bow "down before them, but before the God Who is in "them. [When] thou seest [Page 390] thy brother, "thou seest Christ. The custom of urging the brethren "from time to time to come in and rest and refresh "themselves we have derived from ABRAHAM, and also

[1] Read مشهم ووضم.

[2] 1 Thessalonians v. 16–18.

[3] Read عضدم.

"from LOT, who pressed the angels [to stay with him]. "And if it be possible it is fitting that the monks "should partake of the Mysteries of Christ each day, "and whosoever shall make himself to be remote from "them shall remove himself from God; and whosoever "shall do this shall receive our Redeemer always. For "the voice of our Life-giver saith thus, 'He who "'eateth My Body, and drinketh My Blood, remaineth "'in Me and I in him,' and it is very helpful to monks "to remember the Passion[1] of our Redeemer at all "times, because by the remembrance thereof which "we thus keep we become worthy of the forgiveness "of our sins always. Therefore it is right that we "should always make ourselves worthy to receive the "holy Mysteries of our Redeemer.

"Let then no man remit the well known fasts which "have been ordained unless it be for some cause [which] "worketh tribulation. We keep the fast on the fourth "day of the week because on that day the Jews plotted "to betray our Lord, and also on the eve of the Sabbath "because on that day He was crucified, and he who "remitteth these becometh one of the betrayers and a "Jew; but if thy brother cometh to thee during a period "of fasting and is in need of refreshment, although the "time be unseasonable, set before him thy table [and "let him eat] by himself, and if he wisheth not this, "constrain him not, for this is an universal tradition "[of hospitality]." And the blessed man blamed severely those who wore woven stuffs[2] and dressed their hair in such a way that they would be seen by children of men to be fasting, and he called them seekers after the vain glory of men, for monks should humble their bodies by fasting and abstinence, and should work the things which are good in secret; and those who do not these things shew themselves only unto the multitude.

[1] Read ܫܒܚܬܐ.

[2] Var. ܒܙܝܢܐ "iron."

And what shall one say concerning all the teachings of the blessed man, which resembled his life and deeds, and which it is impossible for a man to write down, [Page 391] or even to mention in a fitting manner? On several occasions we conversed together the whole Sabbath, and when he was escorting us [on our way back] he said to us, "May ye have peace one with one "another, and let no man separate himself from his "companion on the way." Then he said to the brethren who were with him, "Who among you is willing of "his own accord to go and escort [these] brethren on "the way to the other fathers?" And, with but very few exceptions, all the brethren sought anxiously to go with us and to escort us on our way; but the holy man APOLLO selected three of them, men who were mighty in their ascetic labours, and understanding in their speech, now they had been instructed in the languages of the Greeks, and the Romans, and the Egyptians, and, sending them with us, he commanded them not to leave us until we had seen all the fathers whom we wished to see, and had rejoiced in holding converse with them. Now it would have been impossible for a man to see all the fathers, even in the whole period of his life. Then he blessed us, and sent us away, saying, "May the Lord bless thee out of "Zion, and may ye see the prosperity of Jerusalem all "the days of your life."[1]

And as we were journeying along our way through the desert, at the season of noon, we suddenly saw the marks of a monster serpent which had been lying like a log of wood on the sand, and we were afraid, but the brethren who were with us bade us be of good courage, saying, "Fear ye not, but come and see us "slay him by faith. For we have slain with our own "hands many snakes, and asps, and vipers, so that there "may be fulfilled that which is written, 'I have given

[1] Psalm CXXVIII. 5.

"'you power to trample under foot serpents and scor-
"'pions, and all the power of the Enemy.'"[1] Now we, because of our terror, begged the brethren that we might go straight on our journey, and might not follow the trail of the serpent, but one of them left us, and went forth and wandered about tracking the creature by the marks which it had left behind it, until at length he stood over its hole, and he besought [Page 392] us to go and see it, and the brethren who were with us encouraged us so to do, and we went there feeling afraid. Then a certain brother came to meet us, and led us to his monastery, and he said unto us, "Ye are not able to resist the attack of the serpent, "for he is fifteen cubits long, and, moreover, I have "never seen a serpent larger than this one;" and conformably to his words we remained in our places. And the brother [who had found the serpent's hole] went and begged that brother to let us go and slay the serpent, and blamed us because of our little faith, but he turned him back, and then took all of us into his monastery, and made us rest therein, and he related to me the following story:—

In the times which are past a certain holy man, whose name was AMMON, used to dwell in this monastery, and he it was who converted me, and the thieves used to vex him, for they stole his apparel and his food, and by reason of their vexatious attacks he went forth and departed into the desert; and he brought two great serpents and commanded them to guard the door of his abode, and when the thieves came according to their custom, they saw the serpents and marvelled, and, by reason of their fear, they fell down on their faces upon the ground. Then, having gone forth and seen the thieves, the blessed man spake unto them, and reviled them, saying, "Observe how much worse "ye are than the serpents! These creatures are, for

[1] St. Luke x. 19.

"God's sake, obedient to our command, but ye are "neither afraid of God, nor do ye hold His servants "in reverence;" and he took them into his dwelling, and fed them, and admonished them, and told [them] that they ought to change their mode of life. And straightway they repented and took up their habitation in a monastery, and they excelled more than many in spiritual works, until at length they also were able to work miracles.

Now on another occasion the inhabitants of that country came to the blessed AMMON, and made complaints to him about another serpent, and they entreated him to destroy it off their land because it used to slay their sheep and cattle; but he, as one [Page 393] who was not able to help them, dismissed them, and they went away in sorrow. And in the morning he rose up, and went to the place over which that serpent used to pass,[1] and he knelt down there in prayer; now when the serpent came to pass by there, according to his wont, and saw the blessed man, he blew upon him, and hissed, and darted forward to strike him three times. Then the blessed man said unto him boldly, "May Christ, the Son of God, Who is about "to destroy the great serpent, destroy thee also;" and immediately that he had uttered the word, the serpent burst asunder, and all his gall and blood came forth. And when the inhabitants of the country came and saw the serpent, they marvelled, and at the command of the blessed man, because of the stench, they heaped up sand upon the serpent, but without the word of Abbâ AMMON they would not have approached the reptile, even though he was dead.

And on one occasion, whilst a certain youth was pasturing sheep, it happened that he saw that serpent, and he was smitten with wonder, and threw himself down in the field without saying a word; and his

[1] Read كُنِيَة.

kinsfolk went forth to seek him, and they found him at eventide in a wretched and terror-stricken state. And they brought him to the blessed AMMON, and told him that they did not know the cause of his condition, and were ignorant of what had happened unto him; and the blessed man prayed, and anointed him with oil, and the boy was healed, and related what had happened to him, and for this reason especially the blessed man was constrained to destroy that serpent.

HERE END THE TRIUMPHS OF THE BLESSED APOLLO AND AMMON.

CHAPTER X.

THE TRIUMPHS OF ABBÂ APELLEN.

And we saw also another Abbâ whose name was APELLEN, and he had persevered in the sternest and most austere ascetic labours with the brethren who were by his side, from his youth up; and on several occasions he carried fire in his bosom, and stirred up the brethren [Page 394] to give a manifestation also of the miracles [which] they could [work], and he said unto them, "If ye are, in very truth, servants of "God, make manifest forthwith glorious miracles." And whensoever he was by himself in the desert, and the desire to eat honey rose up in him, straightway he would find a honeycomb on a rock, and he used to say, "Get thee gone from me, O evil desire, for it is "written, 'Ye shall walk in the spirit, and ye shall not "'perform the lust of the flesh'[1]," and then he would leave the honeycomb [on the rock] and depart. And again,

[1] Galatians v. 16.

when he had fasted for three weeks in the desert, and he found some fruit which had been blown down,[1] he answered and said, "I will neither taste nor touch "it, lest I make to offend my brother, that is to "say, myself. For it is written that 'man liveth not by "'bread alone'."[2] Then he fasted another week also, and he slept a little, and an angel came unto him in a dream, and said unto him, "Rise up, and take as "much as thou canst, and eat [it]." Then he rose up, and looked round about him, and he saw a fountain of water, and roots, which were exceedingly to be desired, were growing round it; and when he had drunk [some] water, and had eaten [some] green herbs, he said, "There is nothing so sweet and pleasant as "this anywhere." Now he found in that country a little cave, and he dwelt therein for a few days without any food, and when he began to feel an hungered, he knelt down, and prayed, and straightway he found his food placed by his side, that is to say, hot bread, and olives, and fruits of various kinds.

And from time to time he used to visit the brethren who lived near him in the desert, and he admonished them frequently. On one occasion he was very anxious to go to his own desert, and to carry there such things as were necessary for him of the blessings (*i. e.*, gifts) which the brethren had given him, and as he was going along the way he saw some goats feeding, and he said unto them, "In the Name of Jesus Christ, let one "of you come and carry this load;" and straightway one of them came, [Page 395] and he placed his hands upon [its back], and bowed himself, and sat upon it, and he arrived at his cave in one day.

On another occasion the blessed man spread out his bread in the sun, and the wild animals came ac-

[1] Literally, "cast away" [from the trees].
[2] St. Matthew IV. 4.

cording to their custom to the fountain of water [where it was], and any animal which approached the bread died.

And on another occasion he went to certain monks on the first day of the week, and he saw that they were ceasing to perform the service of the Holy Mysteries, and he blamed them, saying, "Why do ye "not perform your service?" And they said unto him, "Because no priest hath come unto us from over the "river;" and he said unto them, "I will go after him, "and call him." Then they made answer unto him, saying, "It is impossible for any man to cross over "the river, both on account of its depth, and because "of the crocodiles which destroy human beings;" but he went a little distance and came to the place where the river was usually crossed, and he seated himself fearlessly upon the back of a crocodile, and passed over [to the other side]. And having gone and found the priest, he entreated him not to neglect the brethren, and when the priest saw that APELLEN was dressed in old and ragged garments, he marvelled at his humility, and at the poorness of his apparel; and he clung to him, and followed him to the cave. Now when they came [to the river] and found no boat to take them over, the blessed man APELLEN cried out with a loud voice to that crocodile, which straightway heard him, and came to him, and it made ready its back before the holy man for him to sit upon; and the blessed man entreated the priest to sit with him and pass over to the other side, but when the priest saw the crocodile, he was afraid, and he returned to his own place. And the brethren, who were dwelling in the mountain on the other side of the river, feared when they saw the blessed man sitting in the water upon the back of the crocodile; and as soon as he had crossed over on to dry land, and had come up [out of the water], he slew the crocodile, saying, "Death is better for thee than punishment for the souls

"which thou hast already slain, and wouldst slay;" and the animal died straightway.

And APELLEN came and remained [Page 396] with the brethren three days, and he sat and taught them the commandments, and the thoughts which each one of them had secretly he made clear and plain before them, saying, "This man is vexed by lust, and this "man by love of vain glory, and this by evil dislike, "and this by pride, and this by arrogance, and this "by envy, and this by boasting, and this by anger, "and this by greediness, and this by avarice; and this "man is humble, and this man is straight, and these "men are praiseworthy and good, and these are bad "and rebellious." And he admonished [them] and shewed forth [these things], and when the brethren heard them they marvelled, for in very truth it was even as [he had said].

And he also said, "Prepare for us a meal of garden "herbs, for many brethren are coming to us," and when they had prepared them, the brethren came, and they saluted each other; and one of them entreated him to let him be with him in the desert, and the blessed man said unto him, "Thou art not able to endure the "temptations of devils," and at length the brother said, "I can bear everything." Then having received him ABBÂ APELLEN commanded him to dwell in a cave by the side of him, but the devils came by night, and sought to strangle him. Now first of all they troubled him sorely with filthy thoughts, and that brother fled, and departed from the cave. And when he had shewn all these things to the blessed APELLEN, the Abbâ set out and made for him an abode[1] at a distance, and he commanded him to live there without fear.

And on a certain occasion when they were in the cave they lacked bread, and an angel in the form of a brother brought them food. And once, when ten

[1] Syr. ܒܝܬ̈ܐ, a word of doubtful meaning here.

of the brethren had been seeking him by another way, and had found him after they had been fasting for seven days, he commanded them to come in and to rest and refresh themselves in his cave; and when [Page 397] they reminded him about the food, he said unto them, "God is able to prepare for us food in the "wilderness," and immediately an angel of God in the form of a beautiful youth stood and knocked at the door whilst they were praying; and they opened the door, and found [there] a youth carrying a large basket wherein were bread and olives, and they took it from him, and ate therefrom, and gave thanks unto God, and the youth removed himself from them. These and many other wonderful things were performed by the blessed APELLEN.

HERE END THE TRIUMPHS OF APELLEN.

CHAPTER XI.

THE TRIUMPHS OF ANOTHER APOLLO, AND OF JOHN, THE DWELLER IN THE DESERT.

And we also saw another holy man in the region of 'OR (*or*, 'AKÛR, *i. e.*, ACRE), whose name was also APOLLO, who was a righteous man; his handicraft was originally that of a blacksmith, but he had been converted to the way of truth, and he laboured afterwards in the service of the brethren, and supplied their needs. And on one occasion Satan came unto him in the form of a woman, who appeared to be anxious to work in the service of the brethren, and the blessed man happened at the time to be working at his trade, and he took up the red-hot iron, and thrust it into the woman's face, and burned it so severely that she shrieked out, and the brethren who were in the chambers

heard her cries. And from that time forward the blessed man was able to hold red-hot iron in his hands without being hurt. And this man also received us, and gave us refreshment, and he related unto us the histories of the men who had lived with him in that country, and of those who were still there, and said:—

There is in this desert one of our brethren whose name is JOHN, who is now exceedingly old, and whose works of ascetic excellence are superior to those of all the other monks in the country. No man can find him at once, because he wandereth about from place to place in the desert [Page 398]. During the early period [of his life] he stood for three whole years praying, and he never sat down, or went to sleep, but he was in the habit of snatching a little sleep as he stood. A certain priest used to bring him the Offering (*i. e.*, sacramental bread) from Sunday to Sunday, and besides that he ate nothing. And one day the devil stood up in the form of a priest, and was exceedingly anxious to bring him a woman, but as soon as the blessed JOHN had recognized him, he said unto him, "Out upon thee, O thou who art full of guile, thou "father of all falsehood, thou enemy of all righteous-"ness! Wilt thou never cease to lead astray the souls "of Christians? And dost thou dare to trample under "foot even the Holy Mysteries?" Then the Devil said unto him, "A very little more, and I should have been "master over thee in thy fall, for thus have I led many "a man astray, and I have driven him out of his "mind, and made him mad, but when many holy men "made supplication to God on his behalf in their pray-"ers, he came back to his senses." And having said these things unto him the Devil departed from him. Now the legs of the blessed man burst open because of standing overmuch upon them, and a discharge of water and pus ran from them; but the angel [of the Lord] drew nigh unto him, and said, "The Lord shall

"be thy meat, and the Holy Spirit thy drink, and thou "mayest be certain that this spiritual food shall suffice "for thee." And having healed his wounds, he made him to pass from that place. Then the blessed man went about in the desert and fed himself upon roots, and he used to come Sunday by Sunday to his place, and partake of the Holy [Offering].

Now a certain man who was paralysed wished to go to him and be healed, and immediately his legs touched the back of the ass which he was going to ride, through his faith only they were healed, before the holy man had offered up even a prayer on his behalf. On one occasion the holy man JOHN [Page 399] begged the priest who ministered unto him to bring him a few palm leaves, as it were for pleasure, and he brought them to him, and the blessed man plaited them together; and the priest took some of the plaits and made a girth[1] of them for his ass. Now there was a certain paralytic who wished to go to the blessed man and be healed, and he entreated the priest to carry him to him; and the priest took him and set him upon the ass, and immediately his legs touched the back of the ass which he was going to ride and the girth which the blessed man JOHN had plaited, through his faith only they were healed, before the holy man had offered up even a prayer on his behalf. (Such is the story as told in another manuscript). On another occasion he sent a gift (*or*, blessing) to those who were ill, and immediately they had tasted it they were healed of their sicknesses.

And on another occasion it was revealed to him[2] that some of the brethren of his monasteries were not upright in their lives and works; and he wrote an epistle to them all, and accused the elders of being

[1] Reading حفحص.

[2] Read ﻟﻪ.

negligent, and the brethren of running after adulation, and it was known that this really was so. And he wrote also to the fathers who were neglectful, and who held lightly the salvation of the brethren who were with them, and he told the others to amend their lives, and to make their deeds better, and he revealed [to them] also how that a reward (*or*, penalty) was laid up[1] for both groups of them. And he called the others to perfection in the spiritual life and its works, and he reminded them that they must neglect the things which are visible, and follow after those which are invisible. "For it is time that we shewed forth "the manner of our life and the works thereof, and it "is meet that we should not pass the whole period of "our lives[2] [as] children and youths, but we must draw "nigh unto the perfection of knowledge, and take up "our stand upon the majesty of [its] glory." These and many other things did our father, the holy man APOLLO, relate to us [Page 400] concerning the blessed JOHN, and we marvelled at the greatness thereof. Now we have not written them all down, not because they were not true, but because of the want of faith of various men; but we ourselves believe them to be true, and we are fully persuaded that they are so, because those who related unto us the wonderful things of his life and deeds had certainly seen them with their own eyes, and these men were both numerous and great.

HERE END THE TRIUMPHS OF ABBÂ JOHN AND OF APOLLO WHO DWELT IN THE DESERT.

[1] Reading ܕܝܗܒܬܐ.

[2] Read ܕܝܢܝܢ.

CHAPTER XII.

The Triumphs of Abbâ Paphnutius, the spiritual merchant.

And we saw also the place of the dwelling of the blessed Paphnutius, a great and glorious man who had departed from this world, and had brought his life to a close but a very short time before in the district of Herakleia which is in Thebaïs; and concerning this man many men relate very many mighty things. For after he had performed great spiritual deeds, he entreated God to inform him which of the saints whose lives had been pleasing unto Him he resembled; and an angel appeared unto him, and said, "Thou art like "such and such a singer who liveth in such and such "a city." Then the blessed man made his way to the singer with great zeal and diligence, and having found him, he asked him about his deeds, and made enquiries [concerning his life]. And the singer made answer unto him, telling him at the same time what was actually the truth, saying, "I am a sinner, and a miserable "wretch, and a whoremonger, and it is only a short "time ago since I gave up a life of theft, and became "as I am." And when Paphnutius enquired of him, "What hast thou done which is good?" he made answer unto him, saying, "I did not know that I had ever "done anything good except once. When I was a thief "I saw a certain virgin of God being [Page 401] forced "by thieves and she was nearly seduced, and I res-"cued her from them and carried her by night to the "city.

"And on another occasion I found a beautiful woman "wandering about in the desert, and she had fled from "the men of the company of the general and counsellor "because of a debt for taxes which her husband had "incurred; and she was crying to herself because of

"her troubles, and because she was compelled to roam "about and wander in the desert, and when I saw her, "I asked her the cause of her weeping. And she made "answer unto me, and said, 'My lord, ask me no quest-"'ions, and make no enquiries about a miserable "'woman [like myself], but take me to be thine hand-"'maiden, and carry me whithersoever thou pleasest. "'My husband owes a debt of three hundred darics for "'taxes to the governor, and behold, during the whole "'of the past two years he hath been scourged, and "'thrown into prison; my three beloved children have "'been sold into slavery, and I myself have been "'seized[1] on several occasions, and carried off and "'beaten cruelly, and [finally] I escaped and fled, and "'I have been cast forth from place to place. And "'now I am here wandering about in this desert, and "'behold, for the last three days I have eaten nothing "'whatsoever.' Thereupon I had compassion upon the "woman, and I took her to my cave, and gave unto "her three hundred dînârs, and then I carried her off "to the city so that she might be able to free her-"self, and to redeem her children and her husband."

Then the blessed PAPHNUTIUS made answer unto him, and said, "I do not know in myself that any such "thing as this hath been done by me, but thou must "have heard concerning my labours and that I am "famous, for I have never passed my life in negligence; "now God revealed unto me concerning thee and told "me that thou wast not inferior to me in thy works. "Since the care which God hath for thee is not small, "even as He Himself hath shewn me, O brother, "neglect not thyself as if thou wert of no account." And immediately the singer cast away from him the reed pipe [Page 402] which he was holding in his hands, and he abandoned the songs which he used to sing to cheer the workmen, and he turned to the sweet

[1] Read ⲉⲓⲥⲙⲟⲩⲥⲓ.

words of the Holy Spirit, and he clung to PAPHNUTIUS and departed to the desert. And having passed three years in strenuous labour [there] he brought to an end the period of his life with praises and prayers, and with other works of ascetic excellence, and he travelled the road of the heavenly beings, and was numbered among the company of the holy ones and among the army of the righteous, and went to his rest.

And having despatched this man unto God with good and glorious works, and since he had added excellence to his own labours, PAPHNUTIUS asked God again to inform him which of the saints he resembled. And again a divine voice came to him, and said, "Thou art like unto a certain chief of a village which is near thee;" and straightway PAPHNUTIUS went down thereto, and when he had knocked at the door, the master of the house came nigh, as was his wont, to receive strangers, and he opened the door, and brought him inside, and he washed his feet, and set a table before him and entreated him to eat. And the blessed man asked him, saying, "Tell me, O man, what fair "deeds and actions thou doest, for, according to what "God hath made known to me, thou art more excellent "than many monks." Then the man said unto him concerning himself, "I am a sinner, and I am not "worthy of the heaven of the monks." And the blessed man having made enquiries of him persistently, the man answered and said unto him, "I do not feel con- "strained overmuch to relate to thee the history of "my deeds, but since thou hast said, 'I have been sent "'by God', I will shew thee what I have done. Behold, "for the last thirty years I have kept myself away from "my wife, and three times only have I had intercourse "with her; I have three children by her, and they "minister unto my affairs. But to this very day I "have never ceased to receive strangers, and no man "in my village can boast [Page 403] that he hath "excelled me in hospitality to strangers, and no poor

"man and no stranger have ever departed from me "with an empty hand, or without having been suitably "supplied by me with provisions for the way. I have "never neglected to comfort with my gifts the poor "man who hath been brought low. I have never ac- "cepted the person of my son in judgment. The "possessions of strangers have never entered my house. "No strife hath ever taken place near me which I have "not ended peacefully. The members of my house "have never been blamed for the committal of abomin- "able deeds, and my flocks and herds have never "drawn nigh to the fruits of strangers. I have never "sowed my fields except for the poor, and I have "set them aside for the pleasure of every man, and I "have gathered[1] in that which remained over. I have "never allowed the poor man to be carried away by "the rich man by force. I have never made a man "to grieve in [all] my life. And I have never passed "a decree of wickedness upon any man. These, ac- "cording to the will of God, I know within myself that "I have done."

And when the blessed PAPHNUTIUS heard the glorious character of the life and works of the man, he kissed him upon the head, and said unto him, "May "the Lord bless thee out of Zion, and mayest thou "look upon the prosperity of Jerusalem![2] For these "things thou hast performed well, but thou art lacking "one of the prime virtues, that is to say, the know- "ledge of the wisdom of God, which thou wilt not be "able to acquire without any labour whatsoever, for a "man must deny the world and himself, and must take "up the Cross of our Lord, and follow Him." And when that man had heard these things, straightway, without taking counsel with the children of his house, he clung to the blessed man, and went forth with him

[1] Read بمكيله.

[2] Psalm CXXVIII. 5.

to the mountain. And when they had come to the bank of the river, and found that there was no boat to be seen, the blessed PAPHNUTIUS commanded that they should pass over it on foot, a thing which no man had ever done at this place because of the depth of the stream. And as they were passing over at that place, the water reached up to their backs, and when they had passed over, PAPHNUTIUS left him at the place in that country where he, the first one, went to his rest and completed [his life].

Now when he had gone from him a little way, PAPHNUTIUS entreated God [Page 404] that he might see which was the most excellent of these, and after[1] the short period of three years, he saw angels carrying the soul of that man up to heaven, and praising God, and saying, "Blessed is the man in whom Thou hast "pleasure, and whom Thou bringest to dwell in Thy "habitation;"[2] and the righteous were also returning[3] answer, and saying, "May the peace of those who love "Thy law increase;"[4] and PAPHNUTIUS knew that that man had filled full his measure.

And when he had continued in prayer, and had fasted for very long periods, he prayed to God and again entreated Him to shew him which of the saints he resembled, and again the Divine Voice said unto him, "Thou art like unto a merchant who is seeking "for beautiful pearls. But arise, and make no long "tarrying, for thou shalt meet a man who resembleth "thee." So the blessed man went down [from the mountain], and he saw a certain God-fearing, Alexandrian merchant, who was trafficking with twenty thousand [pieces of] gold and three ships, and who had come down from the upper part of the Thebaïd,

[1] Read ⲙⲛ̀ ⲛⲁⲁϥ.
[2] Psalm LXV. 4.
[3] Read ⲙⲉϥϫⲱⲙ.
[4] Psalm CXIX. 165.

and he used to give all his possessions and merchandize to the poor, and to the brethren [and] monks, and he and his household used to take up ten sacks of garden herbs to the blessed man every year. Now when the blessed PAPHNUTIUS saw him, he said unto him, "What "[meaneth] this, O my beloved?" And the merchant said unto him, "The fruits of my trafficking are for the "relief of the righteous, and I offer them unto God." Then the blessed man said unto him, "Wherefore is "it that thou art not honoured by the same name as "that which we have?" And the merchant answered and said unto him, "I confess that I have great anxiety so "to be called;" and the blessed man said unto him, "How "long wilt thou occupy thyself with such earthly things, "and wilt not draw nigh unto the things of heaven? "Leave, even this very moment, such things to others, "and do thou cling to Christ in the things which are "[more] excellent, for after a little thou shalt depart "unto God."

Then the merchant with joy commanded the members of his household [Page 405] to distribute the remainder of his possessions among the poor, and he went up to the mountain, and he confined himself to that place wherein the two men had been crowned, and he awaited[1] God with prayers, and tears, and abundant fastings. And after a short time he also left his corruptible body, and became a son of the city of the heavenly beings. Now since PAPHNUTIUS had escorted this man also to heaven, he asked for death for himself also, after the manner of one who was not able to live the life of the upright and glorious deeds which are exalted in majesty; and an angel stood by his side, and said unto him, "Come, now, O blessed old man, "and take thy rest in the everlasting tabernacles which "God hath prepared for the blessed, who stand there [waiting] to receive thee, that is to say, the Prophets

[1] Read حمِ مضفِ.

"in their companies, and the Apostles in their grades; "these are they whom thou resemblest. I did not "reveal this unto thee earlier, lest through being ex- "alted [overmuch] thou mightest lose somewhat of thine "honour." Now after these words Paphnutius lived one day only. And when all the things which had been done by him had been narrated in the presence of the elders who had come unto him through a revelation,[1] he delivered up his soul, and those same priests, after his death, plainly saw him carried upwards with the companies of the saints, and with angels who were praising God.

HERE END THE TRIUMPHS OF PAPHNUTIUS.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE TRIUMPH OF THE BLESSED EULOGIUS.

And we saw also another mighty elder whose name was EULOGIUS, who entreated God to give him at the time when he was about to offer up the Offering such knowledge that he might be able to know the mind of each and every one of the monks who drew nigh to [partake of] the Holy Things; and on several occasions this man saw monks prepared to draw nigh to the Holy and Glorious Mysteries, and restrained them, saying, [Page 406] "How is it that ye dare to "draw nigh to the Holy Mysteries [seeing that] ye "have evil minds?" And to another of them also he said, "This night thou hast pondered in thy mind "[about filthy fornication." And to another he said], "Thou hast thought in thy mind that whether a man "be righteous or wicked there is nothing to hinder

[1] Read وجدكة.

"thee from drawing nigh to the goodness of God." And to another he said, "Thou hast had doubt in thy "mind whether the Holy Things are able to sanctify "those who draw nigh to them; therefore keep thou "away for a little from the Holy Mysteries, and repent "with all thy soul, so that thou mayest obtain remission "of [thy] sins, and thou mayest be held worthy of asso-"ciation with Christ. For if ye do not cleanse your "thoughts before ye draw nigh [to them] ye will be "unable to [obtain forgiveness]."

HERE ENDETH THE TRIUMPH OF EULOGIUS.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE TRIUMPH OF ISIDORE.

And we also saw in Thebaïs the monastery of the blessed ISIDORE, which was a strong building[2] with a high brick wall, and in it dwelt thousands of monks; in it also were a well, and a garden, and whatsoever was required for the food of its inhabitants. None of the monks ever went forth from the monastery, for they had as a doorkeeper a certain elder who would neither permit any man to depart, nor to come in, except him who had determined in his mind to remain there until the day of his death, and never to leave. And this doorkeeper had a small house by the side of the gate wherein he received such strangers as came [by night], and in the morning he would give them a blessing (*i. e.*, a gift) and dismiss them in peace. Now there were two of the elders who used to go outside the building, and they did so to sell the work

[1] Adding ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ ܠܐ ܢܫܬܟܚ ܒܥܘܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܟܚ ܒܗ.

[2] Read ܡܫܟܢ.

of the brethren, and to bring in such things as were required by them [Page 407]. And the elder who was always at the door was in the habit of saying that all the monks who dwelt within the building were so holy that all of them could work miracles, and that it was impossible for any one of them to fall into sickness before the day of his departure from the world, and that whensoever the end of any of them was coming he knew it beforehand, and told all the brethren about it, and then he lay down and died.

HERE END THE TRIUMPHS OF ISIDORE.

CHAPTER XV.

THE TRIUMPH OF DIOSCURUS.

And we saw also another holy man in Thebaïs, whose name was DIOSCURUS, and he was the Abbâ of one hundred monks. And when the monks were about to draw nigh to the gracious gift of the Mysteries, he would say to them, "Peradventure there is a man "among you who dareth to draw nigh to the Holy Things, "in whose mind the lust for women hath risen up dur- "ing the night. The nocturnal pollution, which is not "of the thoughts, is a customary though involuntary "emission, and it is not the result of desire, for it is a "natural result, and is derived from the actual sub- "stance of the body; therefore we are not guilty of "sin. On the other hand, the filthy vision proceedeth "from the mind, and evil desire is the cause of the "same." And DIOSCURUS used to say, "It is right that "a monk should be superior to the law of nature, and "that the smallest impurity whatsoever should not be "in his body; but he should humble himself in such "wise that owing to much fasting the physical matter

"of the body may not be able to increase. And it is "not right for a monk to approach lusts, for if he doth, "in what respect are we superior to the men of this "world whom we see in several cases curbing their "lusts, either for the sake of the health of the body, "or for other befitting causes? How much more, then, "is it fitting for a monk to take care concerning the "health of his mind, and of his soul, and of his spirit?"[1]

HERE ENDETH THE TRIUMPH OF DIOSCURUS.

[1] The text of this Chapter in Bedjan's edition is as follows:—
ⲙⲡⲉϫⲉⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ. ⲙⲡⲉⲓ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲟϫ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲥ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟ

CHAPTER XVI.

The Triumphs of Abbâ Copres and of the blessed Peṭarpemôṭîs.

And again we saw another holy man whose name was Copres, and he dwelt in the desert, and was the archimandrite of fifty men; he used to perform many mighty deeds, for he could cure many sicknesses and diseases of various kinds, and he cast out devils, and drove away evil spirits, and did other wonderful works, some of which we saw with our own eyes. Now when he saw us, he saluted us, and prayed over us, and washed our feet, and he began to ask us questions about the world and the affairs thereof, but we entreated him to relate to us the story of his life and works first of all, and how it came to pass that God gave him such gifts, and by what kind of works he had become worthy of the same. And the blessed man, in whose mind there existed not the smallest degree of pride, began to tell us about his own life and works, and also about those of the great, and wonderful, and perfect fathers, the examples of whose lives and works he strove both to imitate and to emulate; and he answered and said unto us:—O my sons, my manner of life and and my mourning are not to be compared with those of the early fathers.

For there was here before me a certain man, whose [Page 408] name was Peṭarpemôṭîs, and who was first and chief of all the monks who dwell in this place; it was he who first made manifest (*i. e.*, wore) this garb, and it was he who invented it. Now formerly he had been a thief, and a plunderer of the tombs of the heathen, and he had a great reputation for committing wickednesses of every kind connected with robbery and theft, and the following matter was the cause of [his finding] life. He once went to rob the religious

house of a certain blessed woman who dwelt therein chastely, and without knowing it he found himself upon the roof of her house; and being unable to go into her house and plunder it, because the roofs of the house were as flat as the ground and they had no rain water pipes [leading thereto], for there is no rain in Thebaïs, and there was no place on the roof whereby he could enter the house, or by which he could leave it again, and he was neither able to descend nor to escape from it, he [was obliged to] stay there until the morning, and he wondered meanwhile in his mind what he should do until the daylight came. And whilst he was there, he sank into a light sleep, and he saw in the form of a man an angel who said unto him, "Devote thou not such close attention, "and diligence, and watching to thy life of thievery. "If thou wishest to change thy wickedness into a life "of good deeds thou must serve with the service of "angels before Christ the King, and thou shalt receive "from Him this power and authority." And immediately he had heard [these things] he received [them] from him with gladness, and he who had appeared unto him in the form of an angel shewed him a company of monks, and commanded that he should have dominion over them.

And when he woke up from his slumber, he saw the nun standing before him, and saying unto him, "O "man, what doest thou here? And what is thy report? "Whence comest thou? Who art thou?" He saith unto her, "I know not, but I beseech thee to shew me the "church." And when she had shewn him the church, he went and fell down before the feet of [Page 409] the elders, and he entreated them that he might become a Christian, so that he might find an occasion for repentance. Now when the elders knew who he was, they marvelled at him, and they began to admonish him that henceforth he must not be a slayer of men; and he begged them that he might [be allowed]

to learn the Psalms, and when he had learned three verses of the first Psalm, he said, "These are sufficient "for me to learn." And he tarried with the elders for three days, and straightway he went forth from them, and departed into the desert. And when he had lived [there] for five weeks without bread, a man came to him carrying bread and water, and he entreated him to eat thereof and to refresh himself. Now PEṬARPEMÔṬÎS lived there for three years in prayers and tears, and he fed himself upon the roots which were in the desert, and wandered about eating them; and after three years he returned to the church, and repeated before the fathers the Belief and all the doctrine of the Church, and although he had never learned letters, he could repeat the Scriptures by heart. Then the elders marvelled at him and wondered how a man of his kind could have attained such a degree of learning and asceticism, and they gave him further light in respect of speech and learning, and when they had bestowed baptism upon him, they entreated him to remain with them. And he tarried with them for seven days more, and he went forth, and departed to the desert, where he lived for a further period of seven years; and this blessed man was held to be worthy of a constant [gift of] bread, which was found every Sunday in his pillow-cloth. When he had prayed, and given thanks, he would partake thereof, and then he would fast again until the following Sunday, without in any way suffering.

And he came back again from that wilderness with works of spiritual excellence, and he departed from the desert, and made manifest his rule of abstinence, and self-denial, and he incited many to follow after him. Now there drew nigh unto him a certain young man who entreated him that he might become his disciple, and having received him [Page 410] PEṬARPEMÔṬÎS dressed him in the way that he himself was dressed, that is to say, he wore a shirt with short sleeves, and an outer garment, and he placed a cowl

upon his head, and tied a napkin about his loins, and he shewed him the way and the rules of a life of mourning, and he trained him [in the life and deeds of the monks],[1] and he placed a cape on his shoulders.

Now the custom of the blessed man was as follows: When a Christian died, he remained with him the whole night long in vigil and prayer, and he would reverently dress him and bury him. And when that disciple saw him dressing the Christians who died in this way, he said unto him, "Wilt thou also dress me in this manner when I die, O master?" And he said unto him, "I will dress thee in this fashion, and I will "wrap thee in a shroud until thou shalt say unto me, "'I have enough.'" Now after no great length of time that disciple died, and the words of his master were indeed fulfilled, for PEṬARPEMÔṬÎS dressed him reverently in the fear of God, as was right, and he said in a loud voice before all those who were standing [there], "Have I dressed thee well, O my son, or "dost thou still lack anything?" And the dead man sent forth a voice, and they all heard it, saying, "Thou hast "dressed me, O my father, thou hast fulfilled thy pro-"mise, and hast completed thine undertaking;" and wonder laid hold upon all those who were standing there, and they glorified God. Then the blessed man departed into the desert according to his custom, and he went that he might occupy himself in his daily round of devotion, even as a man who fleeth from vain glory.

And after these things he went forth from the desert and departed to work for the brethren who were his disciples, and who were sick; now one of these was nigh unto death, and this God had revealed unto him, and the day wherein he would pass away[2] was nigh, and the village was far away. And because

[1] Adding ܒܫܘܬܦܐ ܘܒܣܝܪܘܬܐ .

[2] Var. ܕܢܫܬܘܩ .

he did not wish to enter therein by night (for he suspected evil), and because he would fulfil the word of our Lord, [Page 411] which said, "Walk in the "light whilst ye have the light, and he who walketh "in the light shall not be tripped up,"[1] when he saw that the day was declining, he answered and said unto [the sun], "Tarry thou on the path of thy course, "and wait for me a short time until I can come to the "village;" and the sun stood still for a while, and went not down, and remained in his place, and he neither set nor went to rest until PEṬARPEMÔṬÎS had entered the village. Now this appearance was known unto all those who dwelt in the village, and they all ran, and stood still, and gazed for a long time at the sun, which set not. And when they saw PEṬARPEMÔṬÎS coming from the desert, they asked him, "What is the "meaning of the sign of this sun which goeth not "down?" Then he said unto them, "Do ye not re- "member the word of our Lord which said, "If ye have "in you faith like unto a grain of mustard seed, ye "shall work miracles which shall be greater and more "excellent than these?"[2] Now when they heard these things great fear laid hold upon them, and they knew immediately that it was he who had held back the sun, and large numbers of them remained with him and became his disciples.

And he went into the house of one of his disciples who had been sick, and found that he was dead, and he drew nigh to the bier whereon the dead man was lying, and he prayed, and kissed him, and said unto him, "Dost thou desire to depart to God now, O my "son, or wouldst thou remain alive in the body?" And the dead man sat up, and made answer unto him, saying, "It is better for me to leave the body that I "may be with Christ, for I have no desire to live in

[1] St. John XII. 35.
[2] St. Matthew XVII. 20.

"the body;" and the blessed man said unto him, "Then "die in peace, my son, and make entreaty before God "on my behalf that thou mayest go unto Him." And immediately the blessed man had said these words the man died on his bier. Then fear fell upon all those who were standing there, and they said, [Page 412] "Verily this is a man of God;" and when the blessed man had dressed him carefully (*or*, well), he kept vigil the whole night [by him] and prayed and sang Psalms, and [then] he buried him in a proper manner.

And PEṬARPEMÔṬÎS went and visited another brother who was sick, and he saw that he was dying with difficulty, and that he was troubled in his mind; now his mind was rebuking him, and his conscience was pricking him because of his wickednesses. And the blessed man said unto him, "How canst thou go to "God seeing that thou art prepared to carry with thee "the accusation of neglect of thy works, that is to say, "lax intentions in respect of thy manner of life?" Then that brother begged and entreated him to pray to God on his behalf, that there might be given unto him a little longer period of life so that he might amend his ways and deeds. And he answered and said unto him, "Now that thy life hath come to an end thou "askest for time for repentance! What hast thou been "doing all thy life long? Wast thou not able to heal "thy blemishes? Yet thou hast added others to thy "negligence!" But the man made supplication the more to him, and begged and entreated him to pray that he might rise up [again from his bed of sickness]. And PEṬARPEMÔṬÎS said unto him, "If thou wilt not add "sins to thy sins, but wilt seek with all thy soul to "repent, I will entreat God on thy behalf, for He is "good and merciful, and ask Him to grant thee time "and life that thou mayest pay back all that thou "owest." And when he had prayed, he said unto him, "God hath granted thee to live in the body for three "years longer, but only through earnest supplication(?);"

then he took him by the hand, and raised him up from his sickness straightway, and he led him away with him and carried him off to the desert, where he lived with him for three years.

And when the three years were ended, he brought him back to his village, and set him before God, not as an ordinary man merely, but as a messenger who had been chosen by God, and they all marvelled at his works. And when [Page 413] the brethren were gathered together to him, PEṬARPEMÔṬÎS set that brother in the midst, and he narrated unto them the doctrine of life the whole night long; and suddenly he sank into a slumber, wherein he departed from this life to our Lord. Then the blessed man dressed him for burial, and he accompanied him to the grave with prayers.

Now they used to say that very many wonderful works were wrought by him, and they testified that on several occasions he walked upon the waters. And besides this he was once found in an upper chamber with the brethren, although the doors had been shut, for he had come in to them in the air by the power of angels. And they also said that he obtained from God everything which he asked for, and that he had the power to go whithersoever he pleased and whensoever he pleased, without trouble. And the blessed PEṬARPEMÔṬÎS once related to the brethren a story of how, on one occasion when he had gone out from the desert, he saw in his dream as if he had been taken up into heaven, and he saw there the good things that were prepared for the monks, and that the mouth of man could not describe, and that could not be uttered thereby. And he also said, "I saw Paradise with the "eyes of this body, and I saw there the many multi- "tudes of the saints, and I tasted the fruits of Para- "dise." And he produced a proof of his assertion, that he might shew that the things which had been said by him were true, for he gave his disciples to

eat[1] [of the fruit of] a great, and marvellous, and extraordinarily large fig-tree, which possessed an odour that was different from any other smell in the world.

And whilst this holy man ḲOPRÎS was relating unto us all these things concerning PEṬARPEMÔṬÎS, he said, "I have seen in my youth [portions] of that fig-tree in "the hands of his disciples, and I kissed them, and "wonder at the odour thereof laid hold upon me; and "the tree remained with his disciples for many years "as a manifestation [of the truth of his words] unto "many. For it was great beyond measure, and it had "such wonderful properties, that any sick person who "inhaled its odour [Page 414] was straightway healed "of his sickness."

Now they say that at the beginning[2] of his going into the desert, when he had not tasted food of any kind whatsoever for five weeks,[3] he found a man in the parched desert carrying bread and water, who begged of him to eat, and when he had done so, he removed himself from him. And on another occasion the Evil One shewed him some fine gold which [in quantity] surpassed the treasures of PHARAOH, king of Egypt, and he answered and said unto him that shewed him the gold, "May thou and thy money go to hell." These and such like great things were, according to what they said, performed by Abbâ PEṬARPEMÔṬÎS, and they spake many other things before us the which [if written] the world could not contain. And, according to what these men said, PEṬARPEMÔṬÎS spake unto us, saying, "If we who are little people perform things which are "little, like unto ourselves, that is to say, if we heal "the halt and the blind, which selfsame things the phy- "sicians do by means of their art, in what consisteth "the greatness?" Now whilst ḲOPRÎS, the elder, was

[1] The better reading is ܐܘܝ̈ܒܠ "he brought away."

[2] Read ܒܫܘܪ̈ܝ.

[3] The better reading is ܫܒ̈ܥ.

relating these things unto us, one of us slumbered and fell into a sleep, and this man did not believe the things which he had heard the blessed man say. And having fallen asleep, he saw a marvellous book, and the book was laid upon the knees of this elder, and it was written wholly in gold, and above it there stood an old man who said unto him in a very threatening manner, "Didst thou not hear well what was being "said that thou didst fall asleep?" Then immediately the man awoke from his sleep, and told us in the Greek tongue what he had seen.

Now whilst our brother was relating this dream to us, a certain villager was found to be standing there before him bearing upon his shoulders a bucket of sand, and he was waiting there to hear the end of his story; and we begged him to tell us why he was carrying the sand, and why he stood there, and what he wanted. Then Abbâ Ḳoprîs answered and said unto us, "My sons, it is not seemly for us to "boast, but it is fitting that we should declare before "you the triumphs of the fathers, so that we may not "be [Page 415] unduly exalted in our minds, and so "lose our reward. Nevertheless, because of the earnest-"ness, and for the sake of the welfare of you who "have come unto us from a distance, we will not "deprive you of benefit, and we will relate before your "brotherhood whatsoever God hath wrought by our "hands. At one time the land which is about us pro-"duced nothing, and it was with the greatest difficulty "that the villagers who owned it were able to gather "from it as much again as they sowed, for the worms "were produced in the ears, and they destroyed all "their harvest. Now some of those husbandmen had "been converted by us, and they begged us to pray "for their harvest, and we said unto them, 'If ye have "'faith in God even this desert sand shall bring forth "'crops for you.' Then, without any doubt whatsoever, "they filled their bosoms with the sand which is trodden

"under our feet, and they entreated us to bless it, and "when we had prayed that it might be unto them even "according to their faith, they went and mixed it with "the wheat and sowed it in their fields, and immediately "their land produced for them abundant crops, and "they were larger than the crops obtained from the "other lands in Egypt. Thus it became the custom "for them [to bring sand] each year, and to trouble "us [to bless it]."

And he also related unto us a certain[1] wonderful thing which the Lord had wrought for us when large numbers of the brethren were gathered together, and he said, "On one occasion I went down to the city, "and I found there a certain Manichean who was lead- "ing the multitudes into error, and because I was un- "able to rebuke and convince him openly, I turned "towards the multitudes, and said unto them, 'Kindle[2] "'ye a large fire, and let the two of us go into it when "'it is burning brightly, and he who remaineth in the "'fire without being burnt shall be the man who "'possesseth the true faith.' And when this had been "done, and the crowd [Page 416] had lit a fire with "ready zeal, I urged the Manichean to go with me "into it, but he said, 'Let each of us go in by himself, "'and, moreover, it is meet that thou shouldst be the "'first to go in because thou didst give the command "'to have it made.' Then, having made upon myself "the sign of the Cross in the Name of Jesus Christ, "I went into the fire and was unharmed thereby, "for the flame parted asunder on this side and on that, "and it vexed me in no wise. And when I had "remained in the fire for half an hour, and the multi- "tudes had seen the wonderful thing, they cried out, "and gave thanks to God, and compelled the Manichean "to go into the fire, and when, because of his fear,

[1] Read ܚܕܐ.

[2] Read ܐܘܩܕܘ.

"he was unwilling to go into it, the crowd took him, "and pushed him into the fire, and he was wholly con- "sumed. As for me they took me, and escorted me "to the church, and ascribed praise to God as they "went.

"And on another occasion when I was passing by "a certain heathen temple, the heathen were offering "up sacrifices to their idols; and I said unto them, "'Why do ye who are rational beings offer up sacri- "'fices to things which are dumb? Are ye of your "'own will dumb that ye sacrifice to dumb things?' "And they admitted that what I said was good, and "they came after me, and believed in Christ.

"And, moreover, we had a garden in a certain "neighbouring place which was [intended] for the "pleasure of the brethren who came unto us from afar "off, and a certain poor man used to work therein. "And one of the heathen went into the garden, and "stole some vegetables, and departed; but he was not "able to cook them, for although he kept the fire "burning under the saucepan for three hours, they "remained in the same state as when they were taken "from the garden, and even the water would not boil! "And when the man came to his senses, he took the "vegetables and brought them to us, and he begged "that he might be forgiven the offence, and become "a Christian; and he actually became one. Now on "that very day [Page 417] certain brethren came unto "us from a distance, and it is probable that those "vegetables were brought on their account, so that "they might enjoy them; and when we had tasted "them, we gave thanks unto our Lord, for we had a "two-fold joy, first, because of the redemption of the "soul of the man who had stolen them, and secondly, "because the brethren who had come to us enjoyed "them."

These and many other wonderful things did our holy father KOPRÎS relate to us, and when he had

made us rest, he took us into his garden and shewed us the palms and other fruit trees which Ḳoprîs [*sic*] had planted with his own hands for the encouragement of those husbandmen who believed in Christ, and to whom he had said that this desert was able to bring forth fruit for those who believed in God; "And," said he, "when I saw that they had sown sand, and that "their crops were abundant, I also planted this garden "for the enjoyment of the brethren, and it has come "to its present state [of perfection]."

HERE END THE TRIUMPHS OF ḲOPRÎS AND PEṬARPEMÔṬÎS.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE TRIUMPHS OF ABBÂ 'ÔR, AND ISAIAH, AND PAUL, AND NÔPÎ, THE CONFESSORS.

On a certain occasion it happened that ABBÂ 'ÔR, and ISAIAH, and PAUL met each other by chance by the side of a great river, and all three of them were chaste and perfect ascetics, who were going to visit a certain great confessor whose name was NÔPÎ, who lived at a place which was three stages distant, and they said to each other, "Let each of us shew the "other his triumphs, and in what way, and to what "extent he is, on account of his deeds, honoured by "God." And ABBÂ 'ÔR said unto them, "I beg God for "this gift—that we may journey to the place in that "country by the might of the Holy Spirit, without any "labour [on our part];" and immediately he had prayed, a boat was found to be ready, and a wind favourable for its journey was blowing, and [Page 418] they sailed up against the stream, and in a short time found themselves at that place.

And when they had gone up from the river, ISAIAH

said unto them, "O my beloved, would it not be a greater "[display of the power of] God if that man whom we "are going to see were to come to us and meet us, "and were to describe to each of us his life and works?" And PAUL said unto them, "God hath revealed unto "me that after three days He will take him, and that "the man whom we are going to see will depart from "this world into life." Now when they had journeyed onwards a short distance from that place, the man himself met them, and saluted them; and PAUL said unto him, "Brother, explain to us thy manner of life "and works, for the day after to-morrow thou wilt go "to God." And ABBÂ NÔPÎ said unto them, "Blessed "be God, Who hath also revealed these things unto "me, and hath shewn me concerning your coming and "concerning your lives and works." And when he had described the upright dealings of each one of them, and how they lived, and how they laboured, he afterwards began to speak and to describe his own life and works, and he spake thus:—

"Since the day wherein I confessed the Name of "our Lord Jesus Christ, our Redeemer and God, no "falsehood whatsoever hath gone forth from my mouth "on earth, and I have never taken any earthly thing, "for an angel hath fed me each day with heavenly "food. In my heart I have never had any other desire "than that which is of God; and God hath not hidden "from me anything which is honourable and glorious; "and I have never been deprived of or lacked the light "of mine eyes. I have never gone to sleep in the "day time, and during the night season I have never "rested from making supplication to God, and the angel "of God hath accompanied me always and hath shewn "me the might of the world which is to come, and "His light hath never gone out in my mind. Every "request which I made unto God I have received "straightway. [Page 419] At all times I have seen "myriads of angels standing before God. I have seen

"the companies of the saints. I have seen the congrega-
"tions of the martyrs. I have seen the triumphs of
"the monks who mourn. I have seen the works of the
"solitary brethren, and the congregations of the right-
"eous. I have seen all created things glorifying God.
"I have seen Satan delivered over to the burning fire.
"I have also seen his angels suffering torments, and
"the righteous enjoying the happiness which hath no
"cessation." And, having told us these things, and many others which were like unto them, on the third day he delivered up his soul; and straightway the angels and the armies of the martyrs received it, and took it up into heaven, and we saw them singing praises and heard them.

HERE END THE TRIUMPHS OF ABBÂ 'ÔR, AND ISAIAH, AND PAUL, AND NÔPÎ THE CONFESSORS.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE TRIUMPH OF EVAGRIUS.

And we also saw EVAGRIUS, who was a man of great ability and learning, and who, through the experience of the matters which had passed over him, had acquired the discernment of good thoughts; and he had on several occasions gone down to the city of Alexandria and shut the mouths of the heathen philosophers. Now he commanded the brethren who were with us not to drink their fill of water, because devils were always to be found in the places where there were fountains of water, even according to the word of our Lord, Who said, "When the evil spirit "hath gone forth from a man, it departeth and wandereth "about in the places wherein there is no water seeking

"rest, which it findeth not."[1] And he spake unto us many things concerning the labours of ascetic excellence, and he confirmed our souls in the faith. Now many of the monks neither ate bread [Page 420] nor fruit, but (God forbid!) bitter herbs and vegetables soaked in vinegar; and some of them never slept at all during the night, but, either sitting up or standing, they continued to pray until the morning.

HERE ENDETH THE TRIUMPH OF EVAGRIUS.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE TRIUMPH OF ABBÂ PITHYRION.

And we also saw in Thebaïs a certain high mountain which lay by the river, and it was an exceedingly terrible mountain with high barren peaks, and in the caves thereof there dwelt many monks; and these men had as Abbâ one PITHYRION, who was a disciple of the holy man ANTHONY. He was the third who had received that place from ANTHONY, and he used to perform many mighty deeds, and to carry on the persecution of devils openly; and since he was the man who had received the place of ANTHONY, the blessed and great man, and of AMMONIUS[2] his disciple, he received also, and rightly so, the inheritance of his labours. Now PITHYRION spake many other things, and he discoursed with power, especially on the faculty of discerning spirits, saying, "There are certain devils "which cling to the passions, and on several occasions "they turn our good desires into evil; therefore, O "my sons, those of you who wish to drive away devils

[1] St. Matthew XII. 43.

[2] Add ܐܡܘܢܝܘܣ.

"must first of all bring into subjection your lusts, for a "man must vanquish not only every lust, but he must "drive away the devil thereof. It is right that ye "should overcome your lusts little by little, so that in "the same way ye may drive away the devils which "appertain thereto. There is a devil who belongeth "to a wasteful and dissolute life, and he who is able "to conquer the desire therefor is also able to drive "away that devil." And this man used to eat twice a week, that is to say on Sunday, and on Thursday, and his food consisted of [Page 421] a little flour and some water which he baked into a thin cake; and he was unable to eat anything else, because his nature was thus.

HERE ENDETH THE TRIUMPH OF PITHYRION.

CHAPTER XX.

THE TRIUMPHS OF THE BLESSED FATHERS.

And we also saw many other fathers and monks in several places throughout Egypt who used to work mighty deeds and miracles, but they were so many in number that we cannot mention them all, and we therefore only narrate a few things out of many. For what shall we say of the upper part of the Thebaïd, namely that [which is near] SYENE, wherein live many wonderful men, and countless monks, who lead lives which are wholly beyond the nature of ordinary men? For at the present time they raise the dead, and, like PETER, they walk upon the water, and, to this very day, everything which our Redeemer performed by His saints is performed by these holy men. Now because of the great danger which we should run of thieves and barbarians falling upon us, we did not

dare to go up the Nile any further to the south than LYCUS, and therefore could not see the holy men who were there. Now we were not able to know even the fathers of whom we have spoken above without toil and tribulation, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that we were able to narrate their histories, for in order to do this we had to suffer much, and we were within a very little of having to endure many tribulations; but at length we were worthy to see these men. For on seven occasions we were delivered, and on the eighth evil came not nigh unto us, because, at all times, God protected us.

On the FIRST occasion we nearly perished of hunger and thirst whilst we were wandering about in the desert [without food] for five days and five nights. [Page 422] On the SECOND occasion we fell among savage, rugged mountains until our feet were pierced by the stones, and we suffered very great pain, and very nearly had to yield up our souls. On the THIRD occasion we sank in the mud several times up to our backs, and there was none to help [us], and we cried out the words of the blessed DAVID, "Save me, O "God, for the waters have come even unto my soul, "I have sunk into a deep abyss, wherein is no place "on which to stand. Save me from the mire that I "sink not."[1] On the FOURTH occasion a flood of many waters burst upon us at the period of the inundation of the Nile, and we walked about in the water, and we sank down very nearly to the nostrils [of the animal which we rode], and we cried out and said, "Drown "us not, O Lord, in a whirlpool of waters, and let not "the abyss swallow us up, and let not the pit close "its mouth over us."[2] On the FIFTH occasion we fell in with some river thieves whilst we were walking along on the river banks to go into the city of DE-

[1] Psalm LXIX. 1, 2.
[2] Psalm LXIX. 14, 15.

καρπός, and they pursued us and sought to capture us until very little breath was left in our nostrils, for they chased us for a distance of ten miles. On the SIXTH occasion we were sailing on the Nile when the boat capsized and sank under us. On the SEVENTH occasion we were arriving at LAKE MAREOTIS, and we were cast up on a small desert island, where the papyrus plant groweth, and we passed there three whole days and nights under the open sky in severe cold and with the rain falling upon us; now the season was the days of Epiphany.

The story of the EIGHTH occasion may be superfluous, but it is helpful. For when we were [Page 423] going to Nitria, we passed a great deep place in one of the fields, which was full of water, and after the waters had run off the fields several crocodiles remained therein; now three very large crocodiles were stretched out on the edge of the pool, and we drew nigh to them that we might see them, because we thought they were dead. But they ran after us very fast, and we cried out with a loud voice, saying, "In the Name "of Jesus Christ, spare our souls," whereupon the crocodiles, as if they had been driven away from us by angels, cast themselves into the water. And we made our way to Nitria with all possible haste, and as we went we meditated upon the words of the righteous man JOB, who said, "Seven times He shall deliver thee "from tribulation, and on the eighth evil shall not draw "nigh unto thee;"[1] therefore we gave thanks unto our Lord, Who had redeemed us out of all tribulations, and had made manifest unto us great and marvellous revelations by the hands of his believing saints and monks.

[1] Job v. 19.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE TRIUMPHS OF THE MONKS WHO WERE IN NITRIA.

And we came also to the district of Nitria where we saw many great disciples who had departed from the world, and some were natives of the country, and some were strangers (*i. e.*, foreigners) who were more excellent in glory than the others, and they were emulating each other in the beautiful deeds of strenuousness, and were striving to outstrip each other in their noble and glorious lives and works. Now some of them possessed divine vision, and others works of ascetic excellence. And as we were coming from the desert some of their number saw us when we were afar off, and they met us on the way, and some of them brought water, and others washed our feet, and others washed our garments, and others entreated us to eat, and others [Page 424] called us to the doctrine of glory, and others to the vision of divine knowledge, and each one of them wished to help us so far as it lay in his power to do so. And however much a man might speak about their glorious life, it would be impossible for him to describe it as it really is. For they dwell in a waste place, and their dwellings are remote, and the men live apart from each other so that one man may not be known to his fellow, and that he may neither be seen readily nor his voice heard, and they live in the strictest silence, and each one of them is secluded within his cell, and only on Saturday and Sunday do they assemble in the church, and so meet each other. On several occasions many of them have been found dying in their chambers without ever having seen each other except when assembled for service in the church; for some of them only assembled once every three or four months, and thus they were remote from each other. Now these monks

have much affection both for each other and for the rest of the brethren, for each one of them would be exceedingly anxious to give up his chamber to any man who wished to seek for grace.

CHAPTER XXII.

The Triumph of Ammon the first.

There was in the early times in Nitria a certain man whose name was Ammon, whose soul the blessed Anthony saw being taken up to heaven, and this man became the chief of the monks who were in Nitria. He belonged to a noble family, and because his parents were exceedingly rich, they urged him to marry a wife, although he was unwilling to do so; and having persisted in urging him [he did so], but in the wedding chamber he persuaded the maiden who became his bride to keep [her] virginity, and he promised to do the same. Now after a few days he departed to the country of Nitria, and the maiden herself called all the members [Page 425] of her household to virginity, and turned her house into a nunnery.

Now the blessed Ammon was living by himself in the country of Nitria, and they brought unto him a certain young man who had been seized with madness and he was bound with chains; a mad dog had bitten him, and the madness of the animal had entered into him, and his body was torn by the severe pain which was in it. And when the blessed man saw that the relatives of the young man were making supplication unto him, he said unto them, "What are ye bringing "to me, O men? Ye are seeking from me what is "greater than my power, and besides, it lieth in your "own hands to help and to heal the young man. Get "ye gone, and restore [the value of] the widow's bull

"which ye slew secretly, and your son shall be given "back to you healed." Then they, as people who had been rebuked, fulfilled his commandment with gladness, and he prayed straightway, and their son was healed.

And on one occasion certain people came to visit the blessed AMMON, and he, having learned their mind, said unto them, "Bring hither to me a large potter's "vessel, so that there may be an abundance of water "for the people who come here." Now, although they promised him that they would do so, one of them, as soon as he had gone to his village, took counsel and said unto his companion, "I am not going to carry "the potter's vessel on my camel and kill it;" and when the other man heard this, he saddled his asses, and carried the vessel to the holy man with great labour. And the blessed AMMON spake unto the man beforehand, saying, "What [is this]? Behold, thy "friend's camel died whilst thou wast coming here;" and when the man returned he found that the camel had been killed by wolves. And many [other] miracles were worked by this man [Page 426.].

HERE ENDETH THE TRIUMPH OF AMMON.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE TRIUMPH OF ANOTHER AMMON WHO WAS IN NITRIA.

And we also saw there a certain Abbâ whose name also was AMMON, and he possessed [a number of] small houses which were exceedingly beautiful, and a court-yard, and a well of water, and other things for use; and a certain brother, who wished earnestly to obtain mercy, came to him, and said unto the blessed man, "Build me a little house wherein I may dwell." Then the holy man, like one who was going forth [to do] this,

ordered him not to depart from these chambers until he could find one which would be convenient for him; and he left to him everything he had, together with the chambers, and went and shut himself up in a house which was far away from that place. And, if the brethren who came to him seeking to have mercy shewn to them were many, he would assemble the whole brotherhood, and [tell] one to draw water, and another to bring bricks, and a house for them would be completed in a day. Then the brethren would invite those who were ready to inhabit the chambers to refresh themselves in the church, and whilst they were resting there, he would fill his cloak, and baskets also, with bread and with other things which they would want to make use of, and would carry them to the new house, and it was not known to any man that he was the source (*or*, head) of the gifts of each one of them. And at eventide the brethren who were ready to take up their abode in these [new] chambers would come there, and would find ready before them whatsoever they required.

HERE ENDETH THE TRIUMPH OF THE OTHER AMMON.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE TRIUMPH OF DIDYMUS.

And we also saw there another blessed man whose name was DIDYMUS, and he was very far advanced in years, and his countenance was beautiful; and this man used to kill scorpions and other venomous reptiles with his feet, which no other man dared to do.

HERE ENDETH THE TRIUMPH OF DIDYMUS.

CHAPTER XXV.

[Page 427] The Triumph of Cronius.

And we also saw another brother among the monks whose name was Cronius and he had arrived at a good old age, and was one of the first men who were contemporaneous with Abbâ Anthony; he was about one hundred and ten years of age, and he comforted us greatly and admonished us by his humility, which he had preserved even in his old age.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The Triumph of Three Brethren.

And we saw there also three brethren who were learned in speech and glorious in their lives and deeds, and because of their splendid works they were about to be raised to the grade of the episcopate. They had cut off their ears in the fear of God, but although[1] they had done this with great boldness (*or*, presumption), the object with which they had done it was a good one, for [they wished] that henceforth no man might vex them.

CHAPTER XXVII.

The Triumph of Philemon.

And we also saw there a certain elder who was exceedingly holy and humble, and he was constantly

[1] Read وإ.

seeing revelations, and his name was PHILEMON; and when this man was offering unto God the service [due] to Him, he saw an angel standing at the right hand of the altar. He used to write and set down in a book the names of those brethren who drew nigh to the Gift of Grace, and he took care that the names of those who did not come to the congregation were erased, and such men, after three days, died. On several occasions the devils beat this man, and they brought so many sicknesses upon him that he was unable to stand by the altar, and could not even offer up the Offering; but an angel came and took him by the hand, and straightway [Page 428] he received strength, and the angel made him to stand up healed before the altar. And the brethren saw the scars made by his beatings, and marvelled.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE TRIUMPH OF JOHN.

And we saw another blessed man whose name was JOHN, and he was an Abbâ of the monks in the city of DÎṢÂPÔLÎS; and grace clung to him even as unto ABRAHAM, and his beard flowed down like that of AARON. He worked many mighty deeds and cures, and he healed those who were afflicted with gout, and the sick, and those who were paralytics.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE TRIUMPH OF SERAPION.

And we also saw in the regions of Arsinoïtes a certain elder whose name was SERAPION; he was the

father of all the monasteries, and the head of numerous brotherhoods which contained about ten thousand men, and he took the greatest care in providing for the wants of all the brethren. And in the season of harvest he would make those who worked for hire from year to year bring and gather together to him twelve ardebs of wheat, that is to say, forty bushels, that it might serve for his ministrations to those in want, and might be distributed by his hands, so that in that district no destitute man might be found, and he sent to the needy in Alexandria the Great their gifts. Now the fathers of whom we have already spoken did not at any time neglect to visit the whole of Egypt, but as a result of the toil of the brethren they used to fill boats with food and apparel, and send them year after year to the poor who were in Alexandria, because the poor and the needy who lived round about them were too few [to exhaust their benevolence]. And we saw in the region of Babylon and Memphis [Page 429] many great fathers, and many, yea innumerable, monks who were adorned with works which were glorious before God.

HERE ENDETH THE TRIUMPH OF SERAPION.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE TRIUMPHS OF APOLLO THE LESS, THE READER AND MARTYR.

And we saw also the granaries[1] of JOSEPH wherein he collected grain in the time of famine. And there was there, in Thebes, a certain monk whose name was APOLLO, and he made manifest many mighty deeds, and led a life of great works; he was held to be

[1] The Pyramids of Gîzeh are here referred to.

worthy of the office of deacon, and his works of spiritual excellence were as glorious and renowned as [those of] the famous monks of old. During the period of the persecution he made many martyrs by putting courage into the hearts of the confessors of Christ, but at length he himself was seized and put under ward in the prison house, and the wickedest men among the heathen used to come to him and heap words of hatred and blasphemy upon him. Now one of those who behaved thus was a certain singer, who was a famous man, and was beloved by all the people; and this man drew nigh and reviled the blessed APOLLO, and called him a wicked man, and a liar, and a hater of all mankind, and said that he was guilty of death before all the people. Then to him the blessed man APOLLO made answer, and he said unto him, "O man, "may God have mercy upon thee, and may the sin "which hath been uttered by thee not be accounted "unto thee as anything."

Now when the man who was a singer, whose name was PHILEMON, had heard these things, he repented at the words of the blessed man, because he had gone into the place where he was, and caused him pain, and he went down immediately, and stood up before the throne of the judge, and in the presence of all the people said unto him, "O judge, thou art "acting wickedly, in tormenting the servants of God "without a cause [Page 430], for the Christians neither "say nor do wicked things, on the contrary, they even "bless their enemies." Now when the judge heard the things which PHILEMON was saying, he thought at first that he had gone mad through his pride, and that having gone mad he had spoken; but as soon as the judge perceived that he persisted in his words, he answered and said unto him, "Thou art mad, O man, and hast "suddenly become a fool." And Philemon made answer to him, and said, "I have not gone mad, O thou wicked "judge, but I am a Christian, and I fear the God of

"heaven." And the judge and all the people wished to persuade him [to be quiet] by means of flattering speeches, but, when they saw that he would not yield to them, they applied to him all kinds of wicked tortures. And after these things they seized the blessed and holy Apollo, and brought him [there], and they laid many stripes upon him, and they scourged him as men scourge those who are wicked and who lead the people into error.

Then the blessed APOLLO spake unto the judge, saying, "I pray God that thou also, O judge, and all "those who are here present with thee may follow "after my error;" and when the judge perceived that he had spoken such words unto him, he commanded that both APOLLO and PHILEMON should be delivered over to be burnt by fire in the presence of all the multitude. And when they were in the blazing fire before the judge, the blessed Apollo cried out with a loud voice unto God, so that all the assembly and even the judge himself might hear, saying, "O Lord, "give not to be broken the souls which confess Thee, "but make us to see Thy deliverance boldly." Then straightway a brilliant cloud, which was laden with dew, appeared, and it enveloped these men, and quenched the flames of fire; and the crowds and the judge marvelled, and cried out, saying, "One is the "God of the Christians."

And certain wicked men made known the things which had taken place to the governor of Alexandria, [Page 431] and he chose out from among his bodyguard some savage and merciless men, and sent them for all those who were with the judge, and for PHILEMON, and the blessed APOLLO, and other confessors, came[1] with them. And as they were going along the road, the gracious gift of the Spirit lighted upon APOLLO, and he began to teach the soldiers, and as

[1] Read ܐܬܘ.

he spake they hearkened unto him, and they repented at his words, and believed in Christ, and they all stood up with the prisoners before the throne. And as soon as the governor perceived and knew that they could not be changed from the faith of Christ, he commanded that they should be cast into the depth of the sea; and since they were drowned of their own will for Christ's sake, this became unto them a sign of baptism. Now the sea refused to keep them, and it brought them together near the shore, and on the spot where they had lain a temple was built in their honour, and in it great miracles were wrought; and such grace was found with the blessed man, and he was so greatly honoured that he was heard by Christ in respect of the things for which he prayed and made supplication. And we ourselves saw the martyrium wherein he and those who had testified with him were laid, and we prayed, and worshipped God, and also touched their dead bodies, for they were not as yet buried because of the inundation of the Nile, but lay embalmed upon their biers in Thebaïs, and for this reason we made ready to insert here the history of the man.

HERE END THE TRIUMPH OF APOLLO, THE MONK AND MARTYR, AND THE OTHER HISTORIES OF THE HOLY MEN WHICH WERE WRITTEN BY HIERONYMUS THE MONK. GLORY BE TO THE FATHER, AND TO THE SON, AND TO THE HOLY GHOST, NOW, AND ALWAYS, AND FOR EVER AND EVER.

THE
SAYINGS OF THE FATHERS.

[Page 432] AND AGAIN, WE BEGIN, BY THE POWER OF OUR LORD, THE THIRD (*sic*) PART WITH THE COUNSELS OF THE HOLY OLD MEN, AND THE QUESTIONS AND THE ANSWERS [WHICH THEY GAVE] TO THE BRETHREN.

CHAPTER I.

OF FLIGHT FROM MEN, AND OF SILENT CONTEMPLATION, AND OF DWELLING CONTINUALLY IN THE CELL, WHICH WAS COMPOSED BY BISHOP PALLADIUS FOR THE PREFECT LAUSUS.

1. When ABBÂ ARSENIUS was in the palace, he prayed to God, and said, "O Lord, direct me how to "live;" and a voice came to him, saying, "ARSENIUS, "flee from men, and thou shalt live."

2. And when ARSENIUS was living the ascetic life in the monastery, he prayed to God the same prayer, and again he heard a voice saying unto him, "ARSENIUS, "flee, keep silence, and lead a life of silent contemplation, "for these are the roots which prevent a man from "committing sin."

3. A certain man said that there were three men who loved labours, and they were monks. The first one chose to go about and see where there was strife, which he turned into peace; the second chose to go about and visit the sick; but the third departed to the desert that he might dwell in quietness. Finally the first man, who had chosen to still the contentions of men, was unable to make every man to be at peace with his neighbour, and his spirit was sad; [Page 433]

and he went to the man who had chosen to visit the sick, and he found him in affliction because he was not able to fulfil the law which he had laid down for himself. Then the two of them went to the monk in the desert, and seeing each other they rejoiced, and the two men related to the third the tribulations which had befallen them in the world, and entreated him to tell them how he had lived in the desert. And he was silent, but after a little he said unto them, "Come, "let each of us go and fill a tank of water;" and after they had filled the tank, he said unto them, "Pour out "some of the water into a basin, and look down to "the bottom through it," and they did so. And he said unto them, "What do ye see?" and they said, "We see nothing." And after the water in the basin had ceased to move, he said to them a second time, "Look into the water," and they looked, and he said unto them, "What do ye see?" And they said unto him, "We see our own faces distinctly;" and he said unto them, "Thus is it with the man who dwelleth "with men, for by reason of the disturbance caused "by the affairs [of the world] he cannot see his sins; "but if he live in the peace and quietness of the desert "he is able to see God clearly."

4. On one occasion Abbâ Ammon came during the season of winter to Abbâ Sisoes, and he saw that the old man was grieved because he had left the desert; and Abbâ Ammon said unto him, "Why art thou "distressed, O father? For what wast thou able to do "in the desert in thine old age?" And the old man Sisoes looked at him fiercely, and said, "What sayest "thou to me, Ammon? Are not the mere thoughts of "the freedom which is in the desert better for us [than "living out of it]?"

5. There were two brethren in the desert who were equals [spiritually], of one another, and they led a life of ascetic self-denial, and worked the exalted works of spiritual excellence; and it happened that one

of them was called to be the head of a habitation of the brethren, but the other remained in the desert, where he became a man perfect in self-denial [Page 434], and he was held by God to be worthy of the gift of healing those who were possessed of devils,[1] and he knew beforehand the things which were about to happen, and he made whole the sick. Now when he who had become an archimandrite heard these things, he decided in his mind that the monk must have acquired these powers suddenly, and he lived a life of silence and ceased from converse with men for three weeks, and he made supplication unto God continually that he would shew him how the monk in the desert wrought these mighty works, while he had not received even one of the gifts which he had. And an angel appeared and said unto him, "He who dwelleth in the "desert maketh supplication to God both by night and "by day, and his pain and anxiety are for our Lord's "sake; but thou hast care for many things, and thou "hast converse with many, and the consolation and "encouragement of the children of men are sufficient "for thee."

6. Abbâ Arsenius on one occasion went to the brethren in a certain place where there were some reeds growing, and the wind blew upon them, and they were shaken. And the old man said, "What is "this rustling sound?" And they said unto him, "It is "that of the reeds which are being shaken by the "wind." And he said unto them, "Verily I say unto "you, if a man dwell in silence and hear the twittering "of a sparrow only, he shall not be able to acquire "that repose in his heart which he seeketh; how much "less then can ye do so with all this rustling of the "reeds about you?"

7. A certain brother came to Abbâ Arsenius, and said unto him, "My thoughts vex me, and say, 'Thou

[1] Read وجعدة.

"'canst not fast, and thou art not able to labour [in "'the ascetic life], but visit the sick, and this is a "'great command.'" Then ABBÂ ARSENIUS, after the manner of one who was well acquainted with the war of devils, said unto him, "Eat, drink, and sleep, and "toil not, but on no account go out of thy cell;" for the old man knew that dwelling constantly in the cell induceth all the habits of the solitary life. And when the brother had done these things for three days, he became weary of idleness, and finding a few [Page 435] palm leaves on the ground, he took them and began to split them up, and on the following day he dipped them in water and began to work; and when he felt hungry he said, "I will finish a small piece of work, and "then I will eat;" and when he was reading in the Book, he said, "I will sing a few Psalms and say a "few prayers, and then I shall eat without any com- "punction." Thus little by little, by the agency of God, he advanced in the ascetic life until he reached the first rank, and received the power to resist the thoughts and to vanquish them.

8. When ABBÂ SISOES was dwelling in the mountain of ABBÂ ANTHONY, the man who used to minister unto him tarried for a period of ten months and did not come [back] to him, and he saw no man. And afterwards, as he was walking in the mountain, he saw a man hunting wild animals, and the old man said to him, "Whence comest thou? And how long hast thou "been here?" And the man said unto him, "Father, "I have been in this mountain eleven months, and I "have seen no man except thyself." Then the old man having heard these things went into his cell, and smote upon his face, and said, "Behold, O SISOES, well "mayest thou think that thou hast done nothing, for "thou hast not made thyself even like unto this man "who is in the world."

9. I once asked ABBÂ SARMÂTÂ a question, and said unto him, "What shall I do, O my father, for I

"do nothing which the monks do?" On the contrary, "I am negligent, and I eat, and drink, and sleep, and "I think many filthy thoughts, and my mind is ever "disturbed, and I depart from one work to another, "and from one group of thoughts to another. What "shall I do, then? For I am troubled, and my soul is "little." And ABBÂ SARMÂTÂ said unto him, "Sit thou "in thy cell, and whatsoever thou canst do, that do, "and trouble not thyself. For I wish thee to do now "a little, even as did ABBÂ ANTHONY in the mountain, "and I believe that by sitting in [thy] cell for the sake "of the name [Page 436] of God, thou also wilt be "found in the same place as ABBÂ ANTHONY."

10. On one occasion the brethren went up from Scete to go to ABBÂ ANTHONY, and having embarked in a boat to journey to him, they found [there] a certain old man, who was also going to visit him, and they were not acquainted with him. And as they were sitting in the boat, they spake now and again a word of the Fathers, or a word from the Book, or they talked about the work of their hands; and the old man listened unto all they said, but held his peace. Then, having crossed the ferry, the old man was found to be going also to ABBÂ ANTHONY, and when they had all arrived at the place where he was, he said unto them, "Ye found excellent company in this old man;" and to the old man himself he said, "Thou didst find[1] "excellent brethren to travel with thee, O father." And the old man said, "They are excellent, but they have "no door to their house, and whosoever wisheth can "go into the stable, and untie the ass, and go whither-"soever he pleaseth on him." Now this he said because they uttered every word which came into their mouths.

11. A certain brother asked ABBÂ SISOES, saying, "Father, how was it that thou didst leave Scete where

[1] Read ⲉⲩⲣⲉⲕⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ.

"thou wast with Abbâ Macarius, and didst come here?" And the old man said unto him, "When Scete began "to be filled [with monks] I heard that Abbâ Antonius "had fallen asleep, and I came to the mountain here, "and found that this place was quiet, and I lived here "for a little time." The brother said unto him, "How "long hast thou been here?" and the old man said, "Behold, I have been here seventy years this day."

12. They used to say concerning Abbâ Theodore and Abbâ Lûḳ that they passed fifty years with disturbed minds, and were troubled the whole time about changing their place [of abode]; and they said, "Behold, "we will change in the winter;" and when the winter arrived, they said, "We will change in the summer;" and thus they did unto the end of their lives.

13. A certain father came to Abbâ [Page 437] Arsenius, and he knocked at the door, and the old man opened unto him thinking that it was his servant [who had knocked]; and when he saw who it was, he cast himself upon his face, and the father entreated him, saying, "Stand up, O father, that I may give thee "the salutation of peace." But Arsenius disputed with him, saying, "I will not stand up until thou[1] hast de-"parted;" and though he entreated him to do so often he would not stand up, and the father left him and departed.

14. Abbâ Baṭṭimion said, "When I went down to "Scete they gave me some apples to take to the "brethren, and when I had knocked at the door of Abbâ "Abhîlâ, he said to me when he saw me, 'If these "'apples had been of gold I would not have wished thee "'to knock at my door; and moreover, do not knock "'at the door of [any] other brother'; so I returned "and placed the apples in the church and departed."

15. They said concerning Abbâ Sisoes that when the church began [to fall] he fled quickly to his cell,

[1] For ܐܢܬ read ܐܢܬܝ.

and, [though] the brethren said, "He hath a devil," he was performing the work of God.

16. ABBÂ JOSEPH said to ABBÂ NESTÎR, "What shall "I do to my tongue, for I cannot conquer it?" ABBÂ NESTÎR said unto him, "If thou talkest wilt thou have "relief from this [trouble]?" And he said unto him, "Nay." The old man said unto him, "If then thou "hast no relief when thou talkest, why dost thou talk?" ABBÂ JOSEPH said unto him, "What shall I do? For "I cannot stand against it." The old man said unto him, "Wilt thou have relief then?" and he said unto him, "Nay." The old man said unto him, "If thou "wilt not gain relief by talking, then hold thy peace."

17. A certain brother went to ABBÂ POEMEN on the second Sunday in the Fast of Forty Days and repeated unto him his thoughts, and sighing over what the old man had told him, he said unto him, "I had "almost kept myself from coming here to-day;" and the old man said "Why?" Then the brother said, "I said in my mind, Peradventure during the fast the "door will be closed against thee;" and ABBÂ POEMEN said unto him, [Page 438] "We do not learn to shut "a door of wood, but to close the door of the tongue."

18. When a certain brother in Scete was going to the harvest, he went to ABBÂ MOSES, the Black, and said unto him, "Father, tell me what I shall do; shall "I go to the harvest?" and ABBÂ MOSES said unto him, "If I tell thee, wilt thou be persuaded [to do] as I say?" And the brother said unto him, "Yea, I will hearken "unto thee." The old man said unto him, "If thou "wilt be persuaded by me, rise up, go, and release "thyself from the harvest, and come unto me, and I wilt tell thee what thou shalt do." The brother therefore departed and obtained his release from his companions, as the old man had told him, and then he came to him. And the old man said unto him, "Go "into thy cell and keep Pentecost, and thou shalt eat "dry bread and salt once a day [only], and after thou

"hast done this I will tell thee something else to do "later on;" and he went and did as the old man had told him, and then came to him again. Now when the old man saw that he was a worker, he shewed him the proper way to live in his cell; and the brother went to his cell, and fell on his face upon the ground, and for three whole days and nights he wept before God. And after these things, when his thoughts were saying unto him, "Thou art now an exalted person, "and thou hast become a great man," he used to contradict them, and set before his eyes his former shortcomings, [and say], "Thus were all thine offences." And again, when they used to say to him, "Thou hast "performed many things negligently," he would say, "Nevertheless I do small services for God, and He "sheweth His mercy upon me." And when by such means as these the spirits had been overcome, they appeared unto him in the form of corporeal creatures, and said unto him, "We have been vanquished by thee;" and he said unto them, "Why?" And they said unto him, "If we humble thee, we are raised up by thee "to an exalted position,[1] and if we exalt thee we are "accounted by thee for humility." [Page 439]

19. There was a certain brother in the monastery who possessed many works, and the brethren who were in Scete heard about him, and came to see him, and they entered into the place where he used to work; and having received them, and saluted them, he turned round and began to work. And when the brethren saw what he did, they said unto him, "John, who gave "thee the garb of the monk, and made thee a dweller "in a monastery, and yet did not teach thee to receive "a prayer from the brethren, and to give one, and to "say to them, 'Pray ye,' or, 'Sit ye down?'" And JOHN said unto them, "Nay, a sinner is not sufficient for "these things."

[1] Read كذهنضم.

20. ABBÂ ANTHONY said, "As a fish when it is "lifted up out of the water dieth, even so doth the "monk who tarrieth outside his cell."

21. They tell the story of a certain brother who came to Scete to see ABBÂ ARSENIUS, and he went into the church and entreated the clergy to take him to see him, and the clergy said unto him, "Refresh "thyself a little, and thou shalt see him." And the brother said unto them, "I will eat nothing before I "meet him and see him;" and when the clergy heard this they sent a brother with him to shew him ABBÂ ARSENIUS, because his cell was some distance away. And when they had arrived there, they knocked at the door and went inside, and having saluted him, and prayed, they sat down and held their peace; and the brother who was from the church answered and said, "I will depart, pray ye for me." But when the other brother saw that he possessed not freedom of speech with the old man, he said unto the brother from the church, "I also will go with thee," and they departed together. And he entreated him, saying, "Take me also to ABBÂ MOSES who was a thief," and when they went to him, the old man received them with joy, and having refreshed them greatly he dismissed them in peace. Then the brother who had brought the visitor said unto him, "Behold, [Page 440] "I brought thee to a stranger, and to an Egyptian, "which of the two pleaseth thee [most]?" And he answered and said unto him, "The Egyptian who hath "just received me, and refreshed me." And when one of the old men heard what had happened, he prayed to God, and said, "O Lord, shew me this matter; one "fleeth for Thy Name's sake, and another receiveth "and protecteth for Thy Name's sake;" and behold, suddenly there appeared unto him on the river two great boats, and behold, ABBÂ ARSENIUS and the Spirit of God were travelling in silence in the one, and ABBÂ Moses and the angels of God were in the other and

they were feeding the monk with honey from the comb.

22. A certain brother asked Abbâ Poemen a question, saying, "If I see something done, dost thou wish me "to repeat it?" The old man said unto him, "It is "written, 'Whosoever shall tell a matter differently[1] from "'what he heard, it is a disgrace to him and [a subject "'for] mockery.' If thou art asked, speak; and if thou "art not asked, hold thy peace."

23. On one occasion there was an assembly in a great church, and all the old men were asked in a body, "What war is the mightiest against the monks?" And they all agreed that there was none stronger than that which would make a man leave his cell and depart, for when this war is beaten down, all the rest can quite easily be brought low.

24. They say concerning Abbâ Âpôs, who afterwards became Bishop of Oxyrhyncus, that when he was a monk he laboured with great toil in the ascetic life, and that he was worked upon every hour by Divine Grace, but that after he became Bishop he sought to perform the same labours, and was not able to do so. And he cast himself before God, and made supplication unto Him, saying, "Peradventure, O my "Lord, it is because of the Bishopric that Thou hast "removed Thy Grace from me," and it was said unto him, "It is not so, but formerly thou wast in the desert, "and there were no men there, and God took care of "thee; here, however, thou art in an inhabited portion "of the world, and men care for thee."

25. A certain brother from the Cells [Page 441] soaked some palm leaves in water, and then sat down to weave ropes, and his mind said unto him, "Go and "visit such and such a brother;" and he pondered on the matter, and said, "I will go after a few days." And again his thought said unto him, "Supposing thou

[1] Literally, "outside of."

"shouldst die, what wilt thou do? for thou wouldst "not see thy brother;" and once again he set his mind in order, and said, "I will go after a time." Now when the summer had come, he said within himself, "To-day is not the right time for going," and again he said to his thought, "As soon as thou hast cut off "the ends of the palm leaves it is time for thee to "go;" and he said to himself, "I will finish these leaves, and then I will go." And once again his mind urged him and said, "The weather is beautiful to-day," and he rose up straightway and left the palm leaves soaking in the water, and he picked up a cloak and ran off on his way. Now he had as a neighbour a certain old man who used to see visions, and as soon as he saw the brother running, he cried out, and said unto him, "Prisoner, prisoner, come hither;" and when he had gone in the old man said unto him, "Go back to "thy cell," and the brother went back, and he related unto him the whole story of his war. And having entered his own cell, he offered up repentance unto God, and the devils cried out with a loud voice, saying, "Thou hast vanquished us, thou hast vanquished "us, O monk." Now he had a palm leaf mat under him, and it was charred as if it had been burned in the fire, and the devils vanished like smoke; then straightway the brother perceived their wiles, and he gave thanks unto God.

26. Abbâ Poemen said:—A certain brother asked Abbâ[1] Sîmôn, and said, "If I go out from my cell, and "I find a brother attracted by and immersed in un-"necessary matters, shall I associate myself also with "him? And supposing also that I should find him "laughing, and that I also should laugh, when I have "gone into my cell again shall I not be forgiven for "my relaxation?" And the old man said unto him, "What dost thou wish? Dost thou mean that having

[1] Read ܐܒܐ.

"gone out of thy cell and having found a man who "was laughing, and laughed with him, and [Page 442] "having found a man who was talking, and talked with "him, thou canst go back to thy cell and find thyself "as thou wast before thou didst go out?" And the brother said unto him, "If not, how then?" Then the old man answered and said unto him, "It is right for "thee to keep a careful watch both within and without."

27. An old man said, "One man is thought to be "silent, and yet his heart judgeth and condemneth "others, and the man who acteth thus speaketh con- "tinually; another man speaketh from morning till even- "ing, and yet keepeth silence, that is to say, he speaketh "nothing which is not helpful."

28. There were two excellent brethren in the CELLS, and they were held to be worthy to see secret things, and each one of them saw the might which was sent down by God upon his brethren. Now it happened that one of them came on Friday to the coenobium, and as he was outside, he saw that some of the brethren were eating from the morning [upwards], and he said unto them, "Do ye eat at this time on Friday, "and hold a congregation at the turn of the day as "usual?" And as his brother looked upon him, he saw that the might of God was going away from him, and he was grieved, for he was accustomed to see it upon him; then when they had come to the cell he said unto him, "What hast thou done, O my "brother? Or what thoughts hast thou? For I do not "see upon thee as usual the might of God." And the brother made answer and said, "I know not; I do not "feel that I have any filthy thoughts in me, and I do not "perceive in my soul that any evil act hath been com- "mitted by me." His brother said unto him, "Per- "adventure some vain and empty word hath gone forth "from thy mouth." Then that brother called a matter "to his mind, and said, "Yea, yesterday I saw certain "men outside the coenobium eating, and I said unto

"them, 'Do ye eat at this time on Friday?' This then "is my sin. But I entreat thee to labour with me for "two weeks, and thou and I will beg God to forgive "me." And they did even as he had said, and after two weeks [Page 443] his brother saw that might which is of the goodness of God come upon him as usual.

29. The old men used to say about the blessed ABBÂ ARSENIUS, and ABBÂ THEODORE of PARMÊ, that they possessed in a far greater degree than many men the hatred of the admiration of men; ABBÂ ARSENIUS was never pleased at meeting a man, and ABBÂ THEODORE, even though he would meet a man, was as sharp as a sword in his meeting.

30. ABBÂ MACARIUS said unto the brethren when the service in the church was ended, "Flee ye, O "brethren;" and one of the old men said, "Father, "whither can we flee farther than this desert?" Then MACARIUS laid his hand upon his mouth, saying, "Flee "in this manner," and straightway he went to his cell and, shutting the door, sat down.

31. ABBÂ POEMEN said:—ABBÂ MOSES asked ABBÂ ZECHARIAH a question when he was about to die, and said unto him, "Father, is it good that we should hold "our peace?" And ZECHARIAH said to him, "Yea, my "son, hold thy peace." And at the time of his death, whilst ABBÂ ISIDORE was sitting [there] he looked up to heaven, and said, "Rejoice and be glad, O my son "ZECHARIAH, for the gates of heaven have been opened."

32. A brother asked an old man, saying, "What "is humility?" And the old man answered and said unto him, "That thou payest not back evil for evil." That brother said unto him, "And supposing that a "man cannot attain to this measure, what must we "do?" The old man said unto him, "Let us flee and "pursue silence."

33. And an old man said, "Lay hold upon silence. "Look carefully into and scrutinize the manner in which "thou trainest thyself, both when thou art lying down,

"and when thou art standing up. Meditate upon the "fear of God, and be not afraid of the attack of sinners. "Consent not to everything. Be swift to hear and "slow to believe."

34. An old man said:—The man, who hath learned by experience the sweetness of the quietness which is in his cell, doth not flee from meeting his neighbour because he is as one who despiseth him, [Page 444] but because of the fruits which he plucketh from silence.

35. ABBÂ MOSES used to say, "The man who fleeth from the world is like unto ripe grapes, but he who dwelleth among the attractions of the children of men is like unto sour grapes.

36. An old man said:—Human care, and worry, and anxiety about the body, destroy the faculties of knowledge and expression in a man, and leave him like a piece of dry wood.

37. They used to say about ABBÂ NASṬÎR that the old man was like unto the serpent which Moses made for the healing of the people, and that he was perfect in all spiritual excellences, and that, although he kept silence, he healed every man.

38. A certain brother asked an old man a question, and said unto him, "Father, what shall I do? For my "body is in my cell, but my thoughts wander about "into every place, and because of this they vex me "greatly, saying, 'Thou hast no benefit whatsoever, for "'though thy body is secluded in the cell, thy mind "'wandereth, and is poured out' [*i. e.*, scattered?], and my "thoughts bring me to despair, and they counsel me to "go back to the world as one who hath not the faculty "for acquiring the rule of life which is proper for the "ascetic monk." The old man said unto him, "Thou "must know, O my son, that this is a war of Satan, "but go, and continue in thy cell, and do not ever go "out of it, and pray to God that He may give thee "the power to endure patiently, and then thy mind

"shall collect itself in thee. For the matter is like unto "that of a she-ass which hath a sucking foal. If she "be tied up, however much he may gambol about or "wander hither and thither, he will come back to her "eventually, either because he is hungry, or for other "reasons which drive him to her; but if it happen that "his mother be roaming about loose, both animals will "go to destruction. And thus is it in the matter of "the monk; for if the body remain continually in "its cell, the mind thereof will certainly revert to it "after all its wanderings, for many reasons which [Page "445] will come upon it, but if the body as well as "the soul wander outside the cell, both will become a "prey and a thing of joy to the Enemy."

39. A certain brother belonging to a habitation of brethren said to ABBÂ BESSARION, "What shall I do?" The old man said unto him, "Keep silence, and esteem "not thyself [anything]."

40. ABBÂ MOSES besought ABBÂ ZECHARIAH, saying, "Speak a word of consolation to the brethren;" and ZECHARIAH took his cloak, and placed it under his feet, saying, "Except a man die thus he cannot be a monk."

41. ABBÂ POEMEN said, "The rule of the monk is this—to bear at all times his own blame."

42. ABBÂ POEMEN said, "If thou holdest thyself in "thine own sight to be of no account, thou mayest "dwell where thou pleasest, and find rest."

43. The same old man used to say, "A man will "be always tripped up by that thing which he will not "cut off from himself."

44. ABBÂ ALÔNÎS said, "If a man will only remember "that which is written, 'Thou shalt be justified by thy "'words, and shalt be condemned by thy words,' he "would know that it is right to hold his peace."

45. ABBÂ POEMEN said, "If thou wishest to acquire "silence, think not and say not within thyself that thou "art working spiritual excellence, but say, 'I am not "'even worthy to speak.'"

46. Abbâ Anthony said, "He who liveth in the "desert is free from three kinds of wars, that is to "say, those of hearing, speaking, and seeing; he hath "only one kind to fight, namely, that of the heart."[1]

47. Abbâ Alônîs said, "Unless a man saith in his "heart, 'Only God and myself exist in this world,' he "will not find rest."

48. Abbâ Sisoes used to say, "It is well for a man "to dwell in his cell, and if he suffer with patient "endurance he will find blessings of every kind."

49. A certain brother asked Abbâ Panbô [Pambo], "Is it a good thing for a man to praise his neighbour?" Saith the old man, "It is a much better thing for a "man to hold his peace."

50. Abbâ Poemen said, [Page 446] "In all the labour "which cometh upon a man, his victory is to hold his "peace."

51. A certain brother said unto an old man, "If a "brother bringeth unto me news from outside, dost "thou wish me to tell him not to bring them to me?" The old man said unto him, "Nay," and the brother said unto him, "Why?" The old man said unto him, "Because not even we are able to flee from this, lest "having told our neighbour that he must not do this, "we ourselves afterwards may be found doing the very "same thing." And that brother said unto him, "What "then is the right [course of action?]." Then the old man said unto him, "If we take upon ourselves to hold "our peace the example alone will be sufficient [to "make] our neighbour do the same."

52. The blessed Theophilus, Archbishop of Alexandria, once went with a certain judge to Abbâ Arsenius, and begged the old man to let him hear some saying from him; and the old man held his peace for a little, and then answered them, and said, "If I speak a word "to you will ye observe it?" And they promised to

[1] The better reading is حكسوم جم كمه سع نسه كم؛ وه وكمة.

keep it. The old man saith unto them, "In whatsoever "place ye hear that Arsenius is there, come not nigh "thereunto."

53. ABBÂ MACARIUS said unto ABBÂ ARSENIUS. "Why "fleest thou from us?" And the old man said unto him, "God knoweth that I love you, but I cannot be "both with God and with men. The thousands and "ten thousands of beings who are above have only "one will, but men have many wills: I cannot, there- "fore, leave God and be with men." And the old man was always uttering these words, "Arsenius, for "this thou didst go forth," and he used to say thus, "I have many times repented that I spoke, but that I "held my peace I have never repented."

54. ABBÂ ANTHONY said, "The cell of a monk is "the furnace of Babylon wherein the Three Children "found the Son of God, and it is also the pillar of "cloud wherefrom God spake with Moses."

55. On one occasion the [Page 447] Fathers in Scete were gathered together, and because certain folk were wishing to see ABBÂ MOSES, they treated him with contumely,[1] saying, "Why doth this Ethiopian "come and go in our midst?" But MOSES hearing this held his peace. And when the congregation was dismissed, they said unto him, "ABBÂ MOSES, wast thou "not afraid?" And he said unto them, "Although I "was afraid I uttered not a word."

56. On one occasion certain brethren came unto JOHN the LESS to tempt him, for they had heard that he never permitted his mind to think about any of the affairs of this world, and that he never spoke about them; and they said unto him, "Father, we thank God "because He hath brought down this year rain in abun- "dance, and the palms are thriving, and are flowering "beautifully, and work for the hands of the brethren "is abundant." The old man John saith unto them,

[1] Read ⲙⲟⲩⲥⲏ.

"Even thus is it with the Holy Spirit of God, for "when It descendeth upon the hearts of holy men they "blossom and bring forth the fruit of the fear of God."

57. A certain brother came to take some baskets from JOHN the LESS, and when he had knocked at the door, the old man came out to him, and said unto him, "What seekest thou?" And the brother said unto him, "Father, I want baskets." And when JOHN the LESS went in to bring [them] out to him, he forgot to do so, and sat down, and went on plaiting. And the brother knocked at the door again, and when ABBÂ JOHN went forth to answer him, he said unto him, "Wilt thou bring out the baskets to me, Father?" And again JOHN went in, and sat down, and went on plaiting, and when the brother knocked again, John went forth and said unto him, "Brother, what seekest "thou?" And he said unto John, "Baskets, Father;" and John took his hand, and led him inside, saying, "If thou wishest for baskets, take [them], and get thee "gone, for I am not sufficient [*or*, able] [to bring them "to you]."

58. Some time ago ABBÂ EVAGRIUS went to Scete to a certain father, and said unto him, "Tell me some "sentence whereby I may be able to redeem myself." The old man saith unto him, "If thou wishest to be "redeemed, when thou goest to any man speak not "before he asketh thee a question." Now EVAGRIUS was sorry about this sentence, and shewed [Page 448] regret because he had asked the question, saying, "Verily I have read many books, and I cannot accept "instruction of this kind;" and having profited greatly he went forth from him.

59. On one occasion there was a congregation in the CELLS concerning a certain matter, and ABBÂ EVAGRIUS spake; and an elder said unto him, "We "know, Abbâ, that hadst thou been in thine own "country where thou art a Bishop, and the governor "of many, [thou wouldst have been right in speaking];

"but in this place thou sittest [as] a stranger." Now Evagrius was sorry, but he was not offended, and he shook his head, and bent his gaze downwards, and he wrote with his finger, and said unto them, "Verily, it "is even as thou sayest, O my fathers; I have spoken "once, but I will not do it a second time."

60. Abbâ John, who was in prison, said that there was a man sitting in his cell who always made mention of God, and in this was fulfilled that which is written, "I was in prison, and ye came unto me."[1]

61. They used to say about Abbâ Agathon that for a period of three years he placed a stone in his mouth, [and kept it there], until he had learned thoroughly how to hold his peace.

62. A certain brother went to Abbâ Moses in Scete, and asked him [to give him] a sentence, and the old man said unto him, "Get thee gone, and sit "in thy cell, and thy cell shall teach thee everything."

CHAPTER II.

Of fasting and abstinence and of other [similar] labours.

63. They used to say about Abbâ Paphnutius that he would not readily drink wine, and that on one occasion he came by chance upon a band of thieves, and found them drinking; and the captain of the thieves recognized him, and knew that he never drank wine, and he looked closely at him, [and saw that] he was a man of great ascetic works. And the captain filled a cup with wine and, taking a sword in his hand, he said unto the old man, "If thou wilt not drink I will "slay thee;" [Page 449] and the old man knew that

[1] St. Matthew xxv. 36.

the grace of God wished to work by him, and sought to do good to the captain of the thieves, so he took [the cup] and drank [the wine]. Then the captain apologized to him, and said, "Forgive me, father, for "having distressed thee;" and the old man said unto him, "I believe, by God, that through this cup God "will forgive thee thy sins." And the captain of thieves said unto him, "I believe, by God, that from this time "forth I will never vex any man." Thus, because for God's sake, PAPHNUTIUS gave up his own wish, he was able to do good to all that band of thieves.

64. A certain old man came unto one of the holy men who was a companion of his, and he cooked a few lentiles; and one man said to his fellow, "Shall "we sing a part of the service?" And he sang the whole of the Psalms of David, and his companion repeated two Books of the Great Prophets, and when it was morning the old man departed to his own place, and they forgot all about the food. And the old man went another evening and found the food which had been cooked, and he was sorry, and said, "Oh! how "was it that we came to forget that little mess of len- "tiles, and did not eat it?"

65. On one occasion a brother came to ABBÂ ISAIAH, who threw a handful of lentiles into a saucepan that he might boil them, but when they had just begun to boil he took them off the fire; and the brother said unto him, "Are they not yet cooked, O father;" and the old man said unto him, "Is it not sufficient for "thee to have seen the fire? For this [alone] is great "refreshing."

66. A certain old man became very seriously ill, as if from some internal complaint, and much blood came away from him; and one of the brethren had some dried prunes, and because of the severe illness of the old man he cooked a little food, and put some of the prunes in it, and brought it to him, and entreated him, saying, "Father, do [me] an act of grace, and take

"a little of this stew, for perhaps it will do thee good." And the old man lifted up his eyes, and looked at him, and said, "In which of the Scriptures hast thou "found this thing? Verily I have wished that [Page "450] God would leave me in this illness for the last "thirty years, for when I am weak then am I strong;" and the old man, although he was grievously sick, would not take even a little of the food, and when the brother saw [this] he took it and went back to his cell.

67. They used to say concerning ABBÂ MACARIUS, the Egyptian, that if it happened that he ate with the brethren, he would make an agreement with himself that if there was wine [on the table] and he drank one cup of it, he would drink no water for a whole day; now the brethren, wishing him to be refreshed (*or*, pleased), used to give him wine, and the old man took it joyfully so that he might torment his body. And when his disciple saw this thing, he said unto the brethren, "I entreat you, for our Lord's sake, not to give "him wine to drink, for if he drinketh it he will go to "his cell and afflict himself because thereof;" and when the brethren knew this they did not give him any more wine to drink.[1]

68. There was a certain old man who made a vow not to drink any water during the Fast of Forty Days; and when he became hot he would wash a potter's vessel, and fill it with water, and hang it up in front of him. Then the brethren asked him why and wherefore he acted thus, and he said, "That I may "labour the more, and receive a reward from God;" now he said this that he might incite them to great labours.

69. A brother asked an old man questions about comforts [*or*, pleasures], and the old man said unto

[1] Read ܒܥܝܢ.

him, "Eat hay, wear hay, and sleep on hay, and then "thy heart[1] will become like iron."

70. A certain brother was hungry one morning, and he fought against his inclination and determined not to eat until the third hour; and when the third hour had passed, he dipped his bread in water, and sat down to eat, but he forced himself to wait until the sixth hour arrived, when he said to his mind, "Let us wait until the ninth hour." And when the ninth hour had come, he prayed, and saw [Page 451] the working of Satan rising up before him like smoke, and he suppressed his desire [to eat], and his hunger passed away from him.

71. A certain brother from the CELLS brought some new bread, and he invited all the old men who were under vows at Scete to partake of a meal; and when each of them had eaten two bread-cakes, they ceased eating. Then the brother, who knew their labours of abstinence, and that they did not usually eat, and never satisfied themselves, apologized to them, saying, "Eat ye this day, for our Lord's sake, until "ye are satisfied;" and hearing this each ate ten cakes more. All this [sheweth] how much they afflicted themselves in not satisfying themselves with any kind of food.

72. On one occasion two old men were going up from Scete to Egypt, and because of the fatigue of the way they sat down on the bank of the river to eat some food, and one of them took his bread-cake in his hand and dipped it in the water; and he answered and said unto his companion, "Wilt thou not "dip thy cake in water, O father?" And he answered and said unto him, "It is written, When a possession "increaseth set not thy heart upon it."[2]

73. They used to say about ABBÂ ISAAC, the priest

[1] Read ﻗﻠﺒﻪ.

[2] Psalm LXII. 10.

of the CELLS, that he ate the ashes of the censer which was before the altar with his bread.

74. On one occasion there was an offering [made] in the mountain of ABBÂ ANTHONY, and a skin of wine was there, and one of them took some of it in a small vessel, and with a cup in his hand he went and carried it to ABBÂ SISOES; and he mixed him a cupful, and he drank it, and he mixed him a second cupful, and he took it and drank it, but when he mixed him a third cupful ABBÂ SISOES refused to drink it, saying, "Stay thy hand, brother, knowest thou not that [the "third cup] is of Satan?"

75. ABBÂ JOHN said, "If a king wisheth to subdue "a city belonging to enemies, he first of all keepeth "them without bread and water, and the enemy being "in this wise harassed by hunger [Page 452] become "subject unto him; and thus is it in respect of the "hostile passions, for if a man endureth fasting and "hunger regularly, his enemies become stricken with "weakness in the soul."

76. They used to say about ABBÂ DIOSCURUS that his bread was made of barley and lentiles, and that at the beginning of each year he would set himself some [new] task of ascetic excellence, saying, "This year I will "not hold converse with [*or*, visit] any man," or, "I will "not speak at all", or, "I will not eat food which hath "been boiled," or, "I will not eat fruit," or, "I will not "eat vegetables." Each year he began with resolutions of this kind and carried them out, and each year he set himself some new task.

77. On one occasion when certain brethren went to the church during the Easter Festival, they gave a brother a cup of wine, and when they urged him to drink it, he said to them, "Forgive me, O my fathers, "but ye did the same thing to me last year, and I "drank a cup of wine, and I was greatly troubled "thereby for a long time."

78. There was a festival being celebrated in Scete,

and they gave a certain old man a cup of wine, and he handed it back, saying, "Take this death away from "me;" and when the others who were eating with him saw him [do this] they also would not take the wine.

79. And again on another occasion certain first fruits of wine were sent that it might be given to the brethren cup by cup, (*i. e.*, a cup each), and one of the brethren went up to a roof that he might escape, and it parted asunder beneath him, and he fell through it; and when the sound came [to the brethren] they went and found him lying [on the ground], and they began to think about him, and said, "O lover of vain glory, "this hath befallen thee rightly." And an old man laid him out, saying, "Forgive ye my son, for he hath "done a good work. And, as the Lord liveth, this "breach shall not be built up in my days, for all the "world shall know that because of a cup of wine a "schism took place in Scete."

80. It was reported to ABBÂ POEMEN about a certain brother that he would not drink wine, and the old man POEMEN said, "The nature of wine is not such "as to make it useful to the dwellers in monasteries" [Page 453].

81. They used to say about ABBÂ SISOES the Theban that he never ate bread, and during the Easter Festival the brethren came to him, and having apologized they entreated him to eat with them; and he answered and said, "I will do one [of two] things; I will either "eat bread and bread alone, or I will eat of the meats "which ye have boiled." And they said unto him, "Then eat bread only."

82. A certain old man said, "Reduce thy human "knowledge and thy belly also, and thou shalt find all "[manner of] delights."

83. ABBÂ POEMEN used to say, "The Spirit of God "never entereth into the house wherein there are "delights and pleasures."

84. A brother asked ABBÂ SISOES, "What [good "do] I do in going to church, for often [the devils] "discern me and seize me?" The old man saith unto him, "There is work in the matter."

85. ABRAHAM his disciple thereupon said unto him, "Father, if there happen to be a congregation on the "Sabbath, or on Sunday, and a brother drink three "cups of wine, is that too much?" The old man saith unto him, "If Satan did not exist three cups would not "be too much, but since he doth exist three cups are "too much [to drink].

86. On one occasion some early grapes were sent to ABBÂ MACARIUS because he longed for them, and to give a proof of his abstinence, he sent them to another brother who was sick, and who longed for grapes; and having received them, he rejoiced over them greatly, and then he despised his desire, and sent them on to another brother, as one who had no wish for food of any kind, and who held his self-denial in contempt. Now when the brother had received the grapes, although he desired greatly to eat them, he did the same as the other brother had done, and no man wished to eat them. And after they had gone about among many of the brethren, the last one who received them sent them to the blessed MACARIUS as a gift of great honour; and when the blessed MACARIUS saw the grapes he marvelled at the extent of the self-denial of the brethren, and gave thanks unto God, and he did not eat them [Page 454].

87. On one occasion certain monks went down from Egypt to visit the Fathers, and when they saw that they were eating—now it was after prolonged hunger and very much fasting, and continual abstinence,—they were greatly offended, and when the elder of the coenobium learned [about this] he came to quiet their minds. And he proclaimed in the church of the congregation, saying, "Fast ye in your customary manner, "and honour your ascetic rule of life, so that your

"voluntary abstinence may not be held in contempt." Now the Egyptian strangers wished to depart, but the monks shut them in, and when they had fasted the first day they began to feel stupefied, but notwithstanding the monks made them to fast two days at a time; now the monks who were in Scete used to fast for a week at a time. And when the day of the Sabbath came, those Egyptians sat down to eat with the old men, and when the Egyptians began to eat hurriedly and voraciously, one of the old men caught hold of his hands, saying, "Eat moderately, [*or*, ac-"cording to rule] like the monks;" then one of them clutched at the old man's hand, saying, "Let me [eat], "that I may not die, for behold, I have not eaten a "piece of boiled food for the whole week." And the old man said unto him, "If now ye have become so "very weak after having fasted but one night only, "why were ye offended at the brethren who live a "life of self-denial for long periods of time, and who "fulfil their seasons with voluntary abstinence?" And straightway those Egyptians made apologies to the old men, and they were edified by their patient endurance, and departed rejoicing.

88. Once ABBÂ AGATHON had two disciples, and they separated from him, and each of them dwelt in a place by himself; and one day he asked one of them, and said, "How dost thou live in thy cell?" And the disciple answered and said, "I fast until evening, and "then I eat two bread-cakes;" and ABBÂ AGATHON said unto him, "It is a beautiful way of living, but it is very "laborious." [Page 455] Then ABBÂ AGATHON said unto the other disciple, "And how dost thou live?" And the disciple answered and said unto him, "I fast two "days at a time, and after each fast I eat two bread-"cakes." Then the old man said unto him, "Thou "toilest greatly, and hast a two-fold strife. For one man "eateth every day and filleth not his belly, and another "fasteth two days at a time and taketh whatsoever he

"needeth; but thou, though thou dost fast two days at "a time, dost not fill thy belly."

89. ABBÂ ABRAHAM went to ABBÂ AREUS, and as they were sitting down, another brother came to Abbâ, and asked him, saying, "Tell me what I shall do to "live?" And he said unto him, "Go and pass the "whole week in plaiting palm leaves and twisting ropes "thereof, and eat bread and salt once each day in the "evening, and then come again to me, and I will tell "thee [what else to do]." And the brother went away and did as he had told him to do, and when ABBÂ ABRAHAM heard this he wondered. Now when the week was ended that brother came again to the old man AREUS, with whom there happened to be also ABBÂ ABRAHAM. And the old man said unto the brother, "Get thee gone, and pass thou the whole week in 'fasting two days at a time;" and when that brother had gone, ABBÂ ABRAHAM said unto ABBÂ AREUS, "Why "dost thou command all the other brethren to bear a "light burden, but layest a heavy load upon the brother "who was here?" Then the old man said unto him, "The other brethren as they come, ask, and according "as they ask they receive and depart; but this brother "cometh for God's sake, that he may hear the word "of profit, for he is a worker, and whatsoever I say "unto him he performeth with care and diligence."

90. ABBÂ THEODOTUS used to say, "Abstinence from "bread quieteth the body of the monk."

91. A certain old man used to say, "I knew ABBÂ "PEṬARPÔNTÎS [PATERMUTHIS] in the CELLS, and he did "not drink wine, but when they took some wine and "mixed it with water, and urged him to drink [it], "[Page 456], and he said, 'Believe me, O my brethren, "'it is esteemed by me as .....[1] which is beautiful.' And he blamed himself and condemned himself because

[1] ܚܒܝܒܐ, or, ܚܒܝܒܐ.

"of the mixing, and at the same time he gave thanks "unto God and accepted His gracious gift."

92. They used to say about ABBÂ PAPHNUTIUS that he did not drink wine readily, even though he was sick.

93. ABBÂ POEMEN said, "The soul can be humbled "by nothing except thou enfeeble it by the eating of "[little] bread."

94. They used to say about ABBÂ SARNÂÔS that he laboured exceedingly hard, and that he only ate two bread-cakes each day. And when he came to ABBÂ JOB, who was a man that was perfect in the laborious works of active excellence, and who was also a man that practised strict self-denial and abstinence, he said unto him, "As long as I live in my cell I "can observe my rule of life, but if I go outside "my cell I make openly submission because of the "brethren." Then ABBÂ SARNÂÔS said unto him, "To "be able to keep hold upon thy rule of life only so "long as thou art in thy cell is no great act of spiritual "excellence, but it would be if thou couldst do so when "thou didst go forth outside thy cell."

95. ABBÂ POEMEN used to say, "As smoke driveth "away bees, and men take the sweetness of their "labour, even so also doth ease of the body drive "away the fear of God from the heart, and it carrieth "away all the good [effect] of its labour."

96. On one occasion ABBÂ SYLVANUS and ZECHARIAH his disciple were going to a monastery, and they prepared a little food to eat before they set out on their journey; and when they had gone forth his disciple found water on the way, and he wished to drink, but the old man said unto him, "ZECHARIAH, to-day is a "fast day," but the disciple said, "Nay, O father, for "behold, we have eaten." Then ABBÂ SYLVANUS said unto him, "The food which we ate was obligatory, but "let us keep the fast, O my son."

97. ABBÂ POEMEN said, "Every corporeal pleasure "is contemptible before the Lord."

98. The disciple of ABBÂ SISOES had to say unto him several times, [Page 457] "Rise up and let us "eat." And he used to say unto him, "[My son, have "we not eaten?" And the disciple would say unto him, "Nay, father." Then the old man would say unto him],[1] "If we have not eaten, bring the food and let "us eat."

99. ABBÂ DANIEL used to say, "In proportion as "the body groweth, the soul becometh enfeebled; and "the more the body becometh emaciated, the more the "soul groweth."

100. ABBÂ BENJAMIN, the priest of the CELLS, said, "On one occasion we went to a certain old man in "Scete, and we wanted to give him a little oil; and "he said unto us, 'Behold, that little vessel of oil which "'ye brought to me three years ago is still lying in "'the place where ye put it, and it hath remained in "'the same state as that wherein ye brought it.' And "when we heard [this] we marvelled at the old man's "manner of life."

101. ABBÂ BENJAMIN also said, "We went to another "old man, and he took some food which we were going "to eat, and threw into it a little oil of radishes;" and we said unto him, "Father, throw into our food a little "sweet oil," but when he heard these words, he made the sign of the Cross over himself, and said, "If there "be any other oil besides this I know not of it."

102. ABBÂ JOSEPH asked ABBÂ POEMEN what was the proper way in which to fast, and ABBÂ POEMEN said unto him, "I prefer the man who eateth every "day a very small quantity of food, and who doth not "satisfy his cravings for food." And ABBÂ JOSEPH said unto him, "When thou wast a young man didst thou "not fast two days at a time, O father?" Then the old man said unto him, "Yea, I did, and three days "at a time, and four days at a time, and even a week

[1] Adding ܗܟ ܡܢ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܟܠ ܐܢ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܟܠ ܐܢ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܟܠ ܐܢ.

"at a time; and the old men, like men of might, have "tried all these by experience, but they have found "that it is beneficial for a man to eat an exceedingly "small quantity of food each day, and because of this "they have delivered unto us an easy way to the "kingdom."

103. One of the fathers said, "I knew a brother "in the CELLS who used to fast the whole of the Great "Sabbath, and when the brethren were assembled in "the evening he used to flee to his cell in order that "he might eat nothing in the church; and he would "eat a few plantains with salt, and without bread, that "he might conceal his abstinence" [Page 458].

103A. They used to tell about a certain monk who, having gone forth from the world, and lived in the coenobium for a number of years, was gracious unto every man in his humility, and all the brethren marvelled at his abstinence from meats; then he went to the barren desert, and lived there for many years, eating for food wild herbs. And afterwards he entreated God to inform him what reward He would give him, and it was said unto him by an angel, "Go forth from "this desert, and get thee along the road, and behold, "a certain shepherd shall meet thee, and according to "[what he saith] so shalt thou receive." Now when he had made ready to depart, the shepherd of whom he had been told by the angel met him, and saluted him, and having sat down to hold converse with each other, the monk saw in the shepherd's bag some vegetables, and he asked him, saying, "What is this?" And the shepherd said unto him, "It is my food." And the monk said unto him, "How long hast thou been "feeding thyself on these vegetables?" And the shepherd said unto him, "Behold, for the last thirty years, more "or less, and I have never tasted anything else except "these herbs which I have eaten once a day, and I "drink as much water as my food requireth; and the "wages which are given to me by the owner of the

"sheep I give unto the poor." Now when the monk heard these things he fell down at the feet of the shepherd, and said, "I imagined that I had laid hold "upon abstinence, but thou through thy well-ordered "life art worthy of a greater reward than I, because I "have eaten every kind of green thing immediately it "came in my way." Then the shepherd said unto him, "It is not right that rational men should make them-"selves like unto the beasts, but they should eat what-"soever is prepared for them at the seasons which are "duly ordered and appointed for them, and afterwards "they should fast from every thing until an appointed "time." And the monk profited by these words, and he added to his labour and became perfect, and he praised God, and marvelled how many were the saints in the world who were not known to the children of men.[1]

[1] ⲙⲛ. ⲁⲡⲁⲣⲭⲓ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲟ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲁⲓ: ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙⲡⲓⲱⲱⲃ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲩⲡⲣⲟⲥⲕⲩⲛⲉⲓ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲓⲱⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ ⲁⲕⲙⲟⲩⲛⲧ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ ⲁⲕⲛⲁⲩ

CHAPTER III.

Of the reading of the Scriptures, and of watching by night, and of the service of the Psalms, and of constant prayers.

104. They used to say about Abbâ Arsenius that no man was able to attain to the manner of life in his abode.

105. And they also said about him that on the evening of the Sabbath on which would dawn Sunday, he would leave the sun behind him, and would stretch out his hands towards heaven, and would pray [in this position] until the sun rose in his face, when he would fill his eyes with a little slumber.

106. A certain old man was complete in all perfection, and he could see what was happening from a very long way off; and he said, "I once saw in a "monastery a certain brother who was meditating on "the study of God in his cell, and behold, a devil "came and stood outside, and he wanted to go in, but "he could not do so, so long as the brother was medi-"tating. Finally, however, when the monk was silent "the devil was able to enter his cell, for his power is "not able to vanquish those whose converse is with God."

107. An old man said, "Whensoever a man readeth "the Divine Books, the devils are afraid."

108. They used to say about Abbâ Pachomius that he spent much time in striving with devils like a true athlete, and after the manner of Saint Anthony; and because many came against him in the night season, he asked God to keep away sleep from him both by day and by night, so that he might not sleep at all, and might be able to bring low the might of the Enemy, even according to that which is written, "I "will not turn back until I have made an end of them," for they are powerless against the faith which is in the Lord. Now this gift was given unto him, even

as he had asked, for a certain time, and because he was pure, his heart [Page 459] used to see God, Who is invisible, as in a mirror.

109. They used to say about ABBÂ PACHOMIUS and ABBÂ JOHN that they lived together in the same religious house, (now JOHN was larger in stature than PACHOMIUS), but both had adopted a life of poverty voluntarily, and they possessed nothing whatsoever except the fear of God. Whatsoever they gained by the work of their hands they gave to those who were in need, and they kept for themselves only what was sufficient for their bare necessities; in respect of clothes they were well nigh destitute, and they had so few of them that they had not even a change of raiment, and they were obliged to wash those which they wore [and put them on again]. Now ABBÂ PACHOMIUS always wore a garment made of hair,[1] because of the toil of his body. And whensoever they wished to refresh their bodies by a little sleep after their vigil and prayer, each of them would sit down in the middle of the cell, and, without leaning against a wall, would go to sleep. And they continued to do this for fifteen years, and many of the fathers heard of them, and saw them living thus, and they also strove in like manner to humble their bodies for the redemption of their souls.

110. They used to say about ABBÂ JOSEPH that when he was about to die, and the old men were sitting about him, he looked at the window and saw Satan sitting there; and he cried out to his disciple and said, "Bring me a stick here, for this devil thinketh "that I have become old, and that I am no longer able "to stand up against him," and as soon as he grasped the stick in his hand, Satan, in the form of a dog, cast himself from the window, and the old men saw him taking to flight.

111. They used to relate concerning ABBÂ SISOES

[1] Read ܒܗܕܐ.

that if he did not bring down his hands swiftly when he was standing up in prayer, his mind would be carried off on high; but whensoever it chanced that one of the brethren was with him he would bring his hands down hurriedly lest peradventure his mind should be carried off, and he should be left alone.[1]

112. [Page 460] ABBÂ ISAIAH, the elder of the church, rebuked the brethren when they were eating that which had been prepared for them because they began to talk with each other, and he said to them, "Hold ye your peace, O my brethren. I know a "brother who eateth with us and drinketh with us full(?) "cups even as we do, and yet his prayer ascendeth "up before God like fire."

113. One day ABBÂ ARSENIUS called ABBÂ ALEXANDER and ABBÂ ZÔÎLÂ, and said unto them, "Because the "devils are striving with me, and because I do not "know but that they may carry me off during [my] "sleep, toil ye here with me this night, and keep vigil, "and watch me and see if I sleep during [my] vigil." So they sat down, one on his right hand, and the other on his left, from the evening even until the morning. And they said, "We slept and we woke up, and we "did not observe that he slept at all; but when it "began to be light there came unto us three times the "sound of breathing in his nostrils, but whether he did "this purposely so that we might think he slept or "whether slumber had really fallen upon him we know "not. And he stood up, and said unto us, 'Have I "'been asleep?'" And we answered and said unto him, "We do not know, O father, for we ourselves went "to sleep."

114. A brother asked ABBÂ POEMEN, saying, "How, "and in what manner is it right for a man to walk in "the path of righteousness?" ABBÂ POEMEN said unto him, "We have seen DANIEL, and also that his enemies

[1] Var. ܘܢܬܥܡܫܢ "and should tarry."

"were unable to bring any accusation whatsoever against "him except in respect of his service of God."

115. On one occasion ABBÂ SISOES was sitting in his cell, and when his disciple knocked at the door [meaning to] go in, the old man cried out, saying, "Flee, ABRAHAM, and do not come in now, for this "place is not empty."

116. They say concerning ABBÂ SISOES of Babylon that, wishing to vanquish sleep, he stood upright upon a mountain crag, and that the angel of the Lord came and rescued him from that place, and commanded him never to do such a thing again, and [Page 461] not even to hand on this tradition to another.

117. An old man said, "I knew a brother who "used to sit with the brethren at the meal which is "made for the coming of the brethren, and, although "the brethren ate and drank, he never made himself "to be remote from converse with God in his prayer, "and he did not drink even a cup of wine. Now this "man's manner of life was marvellous, and a certain "man used to say about him, 'I once wished to count "the prayers which he made, and I saw that he did "not cease to pray either by day or by night."

118. On one occasion a Bishop was sent secretly to ABBÂ EPIPHANIUS by the archimandrite of a certain monastery in Palestine, saying, "We have not treated "lightly thy services of prayer since thy departure from "us, but we perform most carefully the services for the "third, and sixth, and ninth hours, and also vespers." Then ABBÂ EPIPHANIUS blamed those who sent him, and wrote a message, which he sent to them, saying, "Ye must know that ye are indeed neglectful of the "services and prayers which belong to the other eight "hours which are in the day, for it is right for the "monk who hath made himself to be remote from the "world to be occupied with prayers to God unceasingly, "and he should pray either in his heart, or in a care-"fully defined service, or in that service which he per-

"formeth with his will and with understanding. For "the Calumniator addeth greatly to any small failing "which he may find in a monk, and by being with "him continually he enlargeth greatly the breach which "he hath made, and by his habit of persistency he "acquireth his natural power, and more particularly is "this so in the case of those who are careless and "lazy."

119. Abbâ Epiphanius also said, "Whatsoever food "thou wishest to eat with gratification, that give not "to thy body, especially when thou art in good health, "and that which thou lustest after eat not; and when "thou feedest upon [Page 462] the things which are "sent unto thee by God, give thanks unto Him at all "seasons, and receive His gracious gift, the delights "and the pleasures which we have received through "the name of monk, [although] we do not do the works "of monks. And [if] it be that thou art a monk, wilt "thou then not make thyself strong, lest peradventure "thou art arrayed in apparel which is strange to thee? "Tell me, O brother, dost thou possess the seal of "service, that is to say, humility? For the holy man "who seeth another man sin weepeth bitterly, saying, "'It is this man who sinneth now, but some time sub-"'sequently it may be myself.' However much then a "man may sin before thee, condemn him not, but esteem "thyself a sinner far greater than he is, even though "he may be a child of this world, and besides there is "the fact that he may have sinned greatly against God."[1]

120. And he said also, "Know thyself, and thou "shalt never fall. Give thy soul work, that is to say, "constant prayer, and love in God, before another can "give it evil [and filthy] thoughts; and pray ye that "the spirit of error may be remote from you."

121. And he also said, "Whatsoever ye do pros-"perously, and what ye boast of, destroy, for it is not

[1] This Saying is wanting in Bedjan's edition.

"right for a monk to boast of his fair deeds, and if "he boasteth, he will fall."

122. [And he also said], "When thou prayest speak "unto God in a quiet voice and say, 'How can I "'possess Thee, O Lord? Thou knowest full well that "I am a beast, and that I know nothing. Thou hast "'brought me to the prime of this life, deliver me then "for Thy mercy's sake; I am Thy servant, and the "son of Thine handmaiden, O Lord, by Thy will vivify "Thou me.'[1] The old man is falsehood, and the new "man is truth; the truth is the root of good works, "and falsehood is death. If the liar, and the thief, and "the calumniator knew that they would finally be made "known unto all and [their works] revealed, they would "never offend [Page 463]. And thus also was it with "the adulterous sons of Eli, HOPHNI and PHINEHAS, for "they were not priests of the Lord, and they feared "not God, and they perished, together with all their "house. And the man who taketh hold of, and bindeth "to himself, and shutteth within himself the memory "of evil things is like unto the man who hideth fire "in straw. If thou speakest to a man concerning life, "and if thou sayest a word unto him let it be with "feeling, and penitence, and with tears; and say thy "word to the man who will hearken and will do it, "but if not, speak not, lest thou die, and thou depart "from this world without any profit from the words "whereby thou didst wish to give life unto others. "For unto the sinner God saith, 'What hast thou to "'do with the Books of My Commandments? For thou "'hast taken My covenant in thy mouth[2] [only].'"

123. ABBÂ EPIPHANIUS said, "Whensoever a thought "cometh and filleth thy bosom, that is to say, thy heart, "with vain glory or with pride, say thou unto thyself, "'Old man, behold thy fornication.'"

[1] In Bedjan's edition, p. 485, No. 120, this Saying ends here
[2] Isaiah XXIX. 13.

124. And he also said, "If we do evil things God "will be unmindful of His longsuffering; but if we do "good things, it will not help us greatly because we "increase the advantage of freedom, and the merchan- "dize is not plundered thereby, for the will rejoiceth "in the striving."

125. Certain brethren entreated ABBÂ EPIPHANIUS on one occasion, saying, "Father, speak unto us some "word of life, even though when thou speakest we "may not grasp the seed of thy word, because the "soil is salt." Then the old man answered and said unto them, "Whosoever receiveth not all the brethren, "but maketh distinctions between them, cannot become "a perfect man. If a man revile thee, bless him, "whether it be good for both of you, or whether it "be not; it will be he who will receive a reward of "blessing. This is the right way for a monk to live, "and in this way lived ABBÂ ARSENIUS, who took care "each day to stand up before God without sin, and "he drew nigh unto Him with tears like the sinful "woman. In this manner pray to the Lord God—as "if He were standing before thee, for He is nigh unto "thee [Page 464] and He looketh upon thee. It is "right that the man who wisheth to dwell in the desert "should be [as] a teacher in his knowledge, and he must "not be in need of instruction lest he be swept away "by the devils; and he must look into his mind most "minutely, both in respect of the things which are "above, and those which are below, lest he become a "laughingstock unto them by some means or other. "It is right that the manner of life of the man who "loveth God should be blameless."

126. A certain man made answer to the brethren against evil thoughts, saying, "I entreat you, O my "brethren, let us cease from ascetic works, and let us "give up also anxious thoughts. For what are we? "A voice which cometh out of the dust, or a cry which "riseth from the mud! When JOSEPH of RAMAH had

"asked to be allowed to take the body of JESUS, he "took it, and wrapped it round in a sheet of clean "linen, and then he laid it in a new sepulchre of the "new man."

127. On one occasion a certain monk saw a devil who was calling to his fellow to come with him, so that the two together might wake up a monk for service, and might lead him into error thereby, [and cause him to think] that angels had appeared unto him. And the monk heard the voice of the other devil, who made answer to his fellow, saying, "I cannot "do this. For once I woke him up, and he stood "up and broke me with a terrible breaking, and "[all the time he was doing it] he sang Psalms and "prayed."[1]

128. A brother asked an old man and said, "Why "is it that when I go forth to labour I feel wearied "and disgusted in my soul, and my mind is wholly "empty of spiritual thoughts?" And the old man said unto him, "Because thou dost not desire to fulfil that "which is written, 'I will bless the Lord always, and "'His praises shall be ever in my mouth.' Therefore, "whether thou art inside or outside, and whithersoever "thou goest thou must not cease from blessing God; "not only in actions, but with word and mind thou "shalt bless thy Maker. For God doth not dwell "in any place which hath [Page 465] bounds and "limits, but He is everywhere, and by His Divine "Power He sustaineth all things, and is capable of all "things."

129. A brother asked ABBÂ POEMEN concerning the thoughts which invaded his mind, and he said unto him, "This matter is like unto that of a man who hath "a fire on his left hand, and a tank of water on his "right hand; if he wisheth to extinguish the fire, he

[1] No. 121 in Bedjan's edition (page 485).

"taketh water from the tank and doeth it, and it is "right for a man to act thus at every hour. Now the "fire is the evil thought, which comes from enemies, and "the water is the pouring out of the soul before the "Lord which a man should do."

130. There was a certain monk who did not do any work whatsoever with his hands, but he prayed without ceasing; and at eventide he would go into his cell and find his bread laid there [for him], and he would eat it. Now another monk came to him, who had upon him [materials] for the labour of his hands, and wheresoever he entered in, he worked, and he made the old man, into whose cell he had entered, to work with him. And when the evening had come, he wished, according to his custom, to eat, but he found nothing, and he therefore lay down in sorrow; and it was revealed unto him, saying, "Whilst thou wast "occupied in converse with Me, I fed thee, but now "thou hast begun to work, thou must demand thy food "from the labour of thy hands."

131. They tell the story that on one occasion, whilst the blessed ANTHONY was dwelling in the desert, thoughts of dejection and despair rose up in his mind, and he was in deep gloom of thought, and said unto God, "Lord, I wish to live, but my thoughts will not "permit me to do so. What shall I do in my tribula- "tions to be saved?" And he came a little nearer [to the town] from the place where he was, and he saw a man who was like unto himself, and was in his own form, and he was sitting down and twisting palm leaves into ropes; and this man rose up from his work, and prayed, and afterwards he sat down again and continued his work, and then he stood up once more, and [Page 466] prayed. Now the man was an angel who had been sent from God to correct and to admonish the blessed ANTHONY, who afterwards heard him say unto him, "O ANTHONY, do thou also do thus and live;" and when ANTHONY heard this, the blessed man had great

joy, and afterwards he did as the angel had done, and lived.

132. They said concerning ABBÂ JOHN the LESS that, on one occasion, he steeped the palm leaves for two baskets in water, and sewed one basket to the other without perceiving it until he came to the side of it, for his mind was led captive by the sight of God.

133. And ABBÂ DANIEL used to say concerning ABBÂ ARSENIUS that he would pass the whole night in vigil, and when, for the sake of nature, he wished for the approach of the morning so that he might have some relief, he would struggle against sleep, and say, "Get thee gone, O wicked handmaiden;" then he would snatch a very little slumber and stand up straightway.

134. ABBÂ ARSENIUS used to say, "One hour's "sleep is sufficient for a monk, provided that he be "strenuous."

134A. They used to say about a certain monk who lived in a monastery of the brotherhood, that although he kept frequent vigil and prayed he was neglectful about praying with the congregation. And one night there appeared unto him a glorious pillar of brilliant light from the place where the brethren were congregated, and it reached up unto the heavens; and he saw a small spark which [flew] about the pillar, and sometimes it shone brightly, and sometimes it was extinguished. And whilst he was wondering at the vision, it was explained to him by God, Who said, "The pillar which thou seest is the prayers of the "many [brethren] which are gathered together and go "up to God and gratify Him; and the spark is the "prayers of those who dwell among the congregation, "and who despise the appointed services of the brother-"hood. And now, if thou wouldst live, perform that "which it is customary to perform with the brethren, "and then, if thou wishest to do so, and art able to

"pray separately, do so." And the monk related all these things before the brotherhood, and they glorified God."[1]

CHAPTER IV.

Of how it is meet for us to weep for our sins and to mourn for them always.

135. A brother asked Abbâ Ammon, and said unto him, "Tell me some word whereby I may live;" and Abbâ Ammon said unto him, "Go and make thy mind "like unto the minds of those evil-doers who are in "the prison house, and who ask those, who go to them, "saying, 'Where is the governor? When will he come "'here?' And their minds tremble in fearful expectation. "Thus also is a monk bound to wait in expectation "always, and he must admonish himself, saying, 'Woe "'is me! For how can I stand before the throne of "'Christ? And how shall I be able to make answer "'unto Him?' If thou art able [Page 467] to think thus "always thou wilt be able to live."

136. Abbâ Poemen was once passing through Egypt, and he saw a woman sitting in the cemetery and weeping, and he said, "If every kind of sweet

[1] ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲙⲟⲩ ⲉϫⲱⲥ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲁⲩ

"instrument of music in the world were to come "[here] they would not be able to change the grief "of this woman's soul [into gladness]; even thus it is "meet for a monk to have pain [*or*, grief] within "himself]."

137. Three old men once came to ABBÂ SISOES because they had heard that he was a great man. And the first one said unto him, "Father, how can I "escape from the river of fire?" And ABBÂ SISOES answered him never a word. Then the second old man said unto him, "Father, how can I escape from "the gnashing of teeth, and from the worm which "never dieth?" And ABBÂ SISOES answered him never a word. Then the third old man said unto him, "Father, what shall I do? For the remembrance of "the outer darkness troubleth me." And ABBÂ SISOES answered and said unto them, "I never think on any "of these things, but I believe that God is Merciful, "and that He will shew mercy unto me;" then the old men went away grieved at the answer which ABBÂ SISOES had spoken unto them. Now because he did not wish to send them away sorrowful, he brought them back, and said unto them, "Blessed are ye, O "my brethren, for I have been jealous of you;" and they said unto him, "In what matter hast thou been "jealous of us?" And he said, "The first one[1] of you "spake about a river of fire; and the second spake "about the gnashing of teeth and the worm which "dieth not; and the third spake about the outer dark- "ness; if remembrances of this kind have dominion "over your minds it is impossible for you to commit "sin. What can I do who am stubborn of heart? For "hardness of heart will not allow me to perceive even "that there a punishment for men existeth, and because "of this I sin every hour." And when the old men had heard these words, they offered apologies to him,

[1] Read بَدوصحم.

and said, "In very truth according to what we have "heard, even so [Page 468] have we seen."

138. A certain father said that on one occasion when the brethren were eating the food of grace, one of them laughed at table; and ABBÂ SÎNÛ saw him, and burst into tears, and said, "What can there be in the "heart of this brother who hath laughed? It is meet "that he should weep because he is eating the food of "grace."

139. They say that when ABBÂ SISOES was sick the old man who were sitting with him saw that he was talking [to some one], and they said unto him, "What seest thou, O father?" And he said unto them, "Some people came to take me away, and I entreated "them to leave me [here] a little longer that I might "repent." Then one of the old men said unto him, "What power hast thou in thee now for repentance?" ABBÂ SISOES said unto them, "If I can do nothing else "I can sigh and lament a little over my soul, and this "will be sufficient for me."

140. Certain brethren went to an old man and, making apologies to him, they said, "Father, what shall "we do, for Satan is hunting after us?" And he said unto them, "It is right for you to be watchful and to "weep continually. My own thoughts are always fixed "upon the place where our Lord was crucified, and I "sigh and lament and weep about it always;" and thus having received a good example of repentance the brethren departed and became chosen vessels.

141. A brother asked ABBÂ MAṬÔÂÎS, saying, "Speak "a word to me;" and the old man replied, "Cut off "from thee contention concerning every matter what-"soever, and weep, and mourn, for the time hath come."

142. ABBÂ AMMON said that he saw a young man who laughed, and he said unto him, "Laugh not, O "brother, for if thou dost, thou wilt drive the fear of "God out of thy soul."

143. ABBÂ PAULE used to say, "I had sunk in the mire

"up to my neck, and I wept and spake before God, "saying, 'Have mercy on me.'"

144. They used to say that ABBÂ THEODORE and ABBÂ 'ÔR put on the skins of lambs for clothing; and they said to each other, "If God were to visit us now, "what should we do?" [Page 469] And they left [the skins] and departed to their cells weeping.

145. A blessed Archbishop, when he was about to depart from this world, said, "Blessed art thou, O "ARSENIUS, because thou hast remembered this hour."

146. An old man said, "God dwelleth in the man "into whom nothing alien entereth."

147. A brother asked a certain old man, and said unto him, "My soul desireth tears, even as I have "heard that the old men [desire] them, but they will "not come to me, and my soul is vexed." And the old man said unto him, "The children of Israel entered "into the land of promise [after] forty years; now tears "are the land of promise, and since thou wouldst enter "therein thou must not henceforward be afraid of fight- "ing. For God wisheth to bring tribulation upon the "soul in this manner in order that it may at all times "be wishful to enter into that land [of promise]."

148. A brother asked ABBÂ POEMEN a question, and said unto him, "What shall I do? For my thoughts "disturb me, and they say unto me, 'Thy sins have "'been forgiven thee,' and they make me to pry into "the shortcomings of the brethren?" Then ABBÂ POEMEN spake to him about ABBÂ ISIDORE, who dwelt in a cell and wept over his soul, and his disciple used to dwell in another cell; and the disciple came to the old man, and finding him weeping, said unto him, "My father, "why weepest thou?" And the old man said unto him, "I am weeping for my sins." Then the disciple said unto him, "And hast thou any sins, father?" And the old man said unto him, "Indeed I have, my son, "and if I were permitted to see my sins, not three or "even four men would suffice to weep with me for

"them." Then ABBÂ POEMEN said, "Thus is it with the "man who knoweth himself."

149. I have heard that the old men who lived in Nitria sent to MACARIUS the GREAT who was living in Scete, and entreated him, saying, "In order that all the people "may not be vexed we beseech thee, O our father, "to come to us so that we may see thee before [thou "departest][1] to our Lord." [Page 470] And having gone [to them] they all gathered together to him, and the old men begged and entreated him to speak unto the brethren one word of profit; and the holy old man wept and said unto them, "Let us weep, O my brethren, "and let us make our eyes to overflow with tears be- "fore we go to the place where the tears of our eyeballs "will burn up our bodies." And they all wept, and they fell upon their faces, saying, "Father, pray for us."

150. When the blessed ARSENIUS was about to deliver up his spirit, the brethren saw him weeping, and they said unto him, "Art thou also afraid, O father?" And he said unto them, "The dread of this hour hath "been with me in very truth from the time when I "became a monk, and was afraid." And so he died.

151. And when ABBÂ POEMEN heard that he was dead, that is to say, that ABBÂ ARSENIUS had gone to his rest, he said, "Blessed art thou, O ABBÂ ARSENIUS, "for thou didst weep over thyself in this world. For "he who weepeth not for himself in this world must "weep for ever in the next. He may weep here "voluntarily, or there because of the punishments [which "he will receive], but it is impossible for a man to "escape weeping, either here or there."

152. A brother asked ABBÂ POEMEN and said unto him, "What shall I do in the matter of my sins?"[2] And the old man said unto him, "When ABRAHAM "went into the Land of Promise he bought himself a

[1] Read ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲱⲛϧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ.

[2] Read ⲛⲁϥ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ.

"grave, and through the grave he inherited the land." And the brother said unto him, "What is a grave?" Then the old man said unto him, "Weeping and mourn-"ing are a grave and a place [of burial]."

153. One of the brethren asked ABBÂ POEMEN, saying, "Father, what shall I do in the matter of my "sins?" The old man said unto him, "Whosoever "wisheth to blot out his offences can do so by weep-"ing, and he who wisheth to acquire good works can "do so by means of weeping; for weeping is the path "which the Scriptures have taught us, and the fathers "also have wept continually, and there is no other path "except that of tears."

154. And the same old [*i. e.*, POEMEN] man said, "There are two things [to remember]: "We must fear "our Lord, and do good unto our neighbour."

155. ABBÂ NOAH asked ABBÂ [Page 471] MACARIUS, and said unto him, "Speak to me a word;" and the old man said, "Flee from the children of men." NOAH said unto him, "Father, what doth it mean to flee "from the children of men?" The old man said unto him, "Thou shalt sit in thy cell and weep for thy sins."

156. A brother asked an old man, and said unto him, "What shall I do, father?" The old man said unto him, "It is right that we should sigh and lament "always." Now it happened that one of the old men fell asleep, and that after a long interval he came to himself again, and the brethren asked him, saying, "What didst thou see there, O father?" And he said unto us with many tears, "I heard there the sound of "the weeping of many, who were crying out and wailing "incessantly, and saying, 'Woe is me! Woe is me!' "And it is meet that we should always be saying the "same thing."

CHAPTER V.

Of voluntary poverty.

157. Abbâ Arsenius once fell sick at Scete, and he was in need of a bowl of pottage; and since this was not to be found there, he took the remains of the Eucharist (*or*, food of grace), and said, "I give thanks "unto Thee, O Christ, that, because of Thy Name, I "am able to receive the food of grace."

158. There was a certain holy man whose name was Pîlgarîôs [Philagrius], who lived in Jerusalem, and he worked with his hands and toiled [to earn] the food which he needed; and the old man rose up to see the work of his hands, and he found a purse containing one thousand darics which had dropped from some one [on the road], and he remained in the place where he was, saying, "The man who lost this will "come back seeking for it." And behold the man did come back, and he was weeping, and the old man took him aside and gave him the darics; and their owner laid hold upon him, and wished to give him some small sum of money, but the old man refused to accept anything. Then the owner of the darics began to cry out and say, "Come ye and see what "the man of God hath done;" but the old man [Page 472] fled secretly and departed from the city, lest what he had done should become known, and men should pay him honour because of it.

159. They say that Abbâ Serapion the Bishop went on one occasion to one of the brethren, and found [in his cell] a hollow in the wall which was filled with books; and the brother said unto him, "Speak to "me one word whereby I may live." And the Bishop said unto him, "What have I to say to "thee? For thou hast taken that which belongeth to "the orphans and widows and laid it up in a hole in "the wall."

160. ABBÂ THEODORE OF PARMÊ possessed[1] some beautiful books, and he went[2] to ABBÂ MACARIUS and said unto him, "Father, I have three books, and I gain "profit from them, and the brethren borrow them from "me, and they also have profit from them; tell me, "now, what shall I do with them?" And the old man answered and said, "Ascetic labours are beautiful, but "the greatest of them all is voluntary poverty." And when ABBÂ THEODORE heard these words he went and sold the books and gave the price of them to the poor.

161. They say about a certain monk that when his food came to him he was in the habit of taking so much of it as he needed, [but that if it happened that another man was brought to him he would not accept any of it],[3] saying, "It is sufficient for me; be- "hold, my Lord hath fed me."

162. A certain monk used to live in a cave in the desert, and a message was sent unto him by his kinsfolk, saying, "Thy father is grievously sick, and is "nigh to die, therefore come, and inherit his possess- "ions;" and he made answer unto them, saying, "I died "to the world long before he will die, and a dead "man cannot be the heir of a living one."

163. An old man was asked by a brother the question, "How shall I live?" Then the old man took off his garment, and girded up his loins therewith, and lifted up his hands, and said, "It is meet for a "monk to be as naked in respect of this world's goods "as I am of clothing. And in his striving against his "thoughts he must stand as upright as a vigorous "athlete, and when the athlete contendeth he also "standeth up naked, and when he is anointed with oil "he is quite naked, and hath nothing[4] upon him; and

[1] Read ܙܒܢ.

[2] Read ܐܙܠ.

[3] Add. ܐܘܢ ܕܒܛܠ ܠܗ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܘܬܗ ܘܠܐ ܩܒܠ ܡܢܗ ܡܕܡ.

[4] For ܡܕܡ read ܡܢܐ.

"he learneth from him that traineth him how to contend, "[Page 473] and when the enemy cometh against him "he throweth dust upon him, which is matter of this "world, that he may be able to grasp him[1] easily. In "thyself, then, O monk, thou must see the athlete, and "he who sheweth thee how to contend is God, [for it "is He Who giveth the victory, and Who conquereth "for us; and those who contend are ourselves,][2] and "the striving is [our] opponent, and the dust is the "affairs of the world. And since thou hast seen the "cunning of the Adversary, stand thou up and oppose "him in thy nakedness, being free from any care which "belongeth to this world, and thou shalt overcome "[him]. For when the mind is weighted down with "the care of the world it cannot receive the holy word "of God."

164. They say concerning ABBÂ ARSENIUS that as, when he lived in the world, his apparel was finer than that of any one else, so, when he lived in Scete, he wore raiment which was inferior to that of every one else. And when, at long intervals, he came to church, he used to sit behind a pillar so that no one might see his face, and he might not see the faces of others; now his face was like that of an angel, and his hair was as white as snow, and as abundant as [that of] Jacob (*sic*). His body was dry by reason of his labours, and his beard descended to his belly, but his eyelashes were destroyed by weeping; he was tall in stature, but was somewhat bowed by old age, and he ended his days when he was ninety-five years old. He lived in the world, in the palace, for forty years, in the days of THEODOSIUS, the great king, who became the father of the Emperors HONORIUS and ARCADIUS, and he lived in Scete forty years, and he lived for ten years in

[1] Read ܒܗܘܢ̈ܫ.

[2] Add, after ܡܢ ܕܡܬܚܕ̈ܝܢ ܒܗ ܗܘ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܗܘ ܕܡܫܟ̈ܚ ܢܨ̈ܚܐ ܘܡܬ̈ܚ ܒܥܕ ܟܠ.

the TROJA of Babylon which is opposite the MEMPHIS which is in Egypt, and he dwelt for three years in CANOPUS of ALEXANDRIA, and during the two remaining years he came to TROJA again, where he died. [Page 474] And he finished his career in peace and in the fear of God.

165. On one occasion a certain Bishop came to the fathers in Scete, and a brother went forth to meet him, and having met him, he took him and brought him into his cell; and having set before him bread and salt, he said, "Forgive me, O my father, for I have "nothing else to set before thee." And the Bishop said unto him, "I wish[1] that when I come another year I "may not find even bread and salt in thy cell."

166. One of the old men said, "If thou sittest in "a place and seest people with abundant provisions, "look not at them; but if there be a man who is "destitute, look at him as one who hath no bread, and "thou shalt find relief."

167. ABBÂ ISAAC, the priest of the CELLS, used to say that ABBÂ PAMBO said, "The manner of the apparel "which a monk ought to wear should be such that if "it were cast outside the cell for three days no one "would carry it away."

168. A certain brother asked one of the old men a question, and said unto him, "Dost thou wish me to "keep two darics as provision for the needs of the "feebleness of the body?" And the old man, perceiving his mind and also that he wished to keep them, said unto him, "Yea." Now when the brother had gone to his cell, he became troubled in his mind, and he debated in his thoughts, saying, "Did the old man "speak truthfully or not?" Then he rose up, and went back to the old man, and apologized to him, and said, "For our Lord's sake, tell me the truth, because my "thoughts are troubling me about these two darics."

[1] Read ܒܥܝܬ ܐܢ.

The old man saith unto him, "I spake to thee as I "did because I saw that thy mind was to keep them, "but it is not necessary for thee to keep the two "darics, except only for the need of thy body. But "why is thy hope set upon two darics? If by chance "they were lost would not God take care of thee? "Let us then cast [our] care upon Him, [Page 475] for "it belongeth to Him to take care of us continually."

169. Some of the old men used to tell a story about a gardener who used to work and to give away whatsoever he gained thereby in alms, but subsequently his thoughts said to him, "Gather together a few oboli, "lest when thou hast grown old thou fall into want;" so he gathered together some money, and filled a large vessel therewith. And it fell out that he became sick, and the disease seized upon his foot, and he spent the whole of the money in the vessel on the physicians, and was not in the least benefited thereby. At length another physician came unto him and said, "If thou "dost not cut off thy foot all thy body will putrefy," and he came to consider the cutting off of his foot. And in the night he came to himself, and he groaned, and wept, and said, "Remember, O Lord, my former deeds," and straightway a man appeared behind him, and said unto him, "Where are thy oboli?" And the gardener said immediately, "I have sinned, forgive me;" and straightway the man approached his leg, and it was made whole forthwith, and he rose up, and went to the garden to work. And in the morning the physician came to cut off his foot as he had said, and [the servants] told him, "He went to his work in the night;" and straightway [the gardener] glorified God.

170. Abbâ Agathon saw Abbâ Nastîr wearing two shoulder wrappers, and he said unto him, "If a poor "man were to come, and ask thee for a garment, which "of them wouldst thou give him?" And Abbâ Nastîr replied, "I would give him the better of them;" and Abbâ Agathon said unto him, "And if another poor

"man came, what wouldst thou give him?" ABBÂ NASTÎR saith unto him, "I would give him the half of "that which remained." And ABBÂ AGATHON said unto him, "Supposing yet another beggar came, what wouldst "thou give unto him?" And NASTÎR said unto him, "I would cut the half which remained into two pieces, "and give one to him, and with the other I would "cover my body." And ABBÂ AGATHON said unto him, "And supposing yet another beggar were to come?" and NASTÎR said, "I would give him what was left. "For though I do not wish to receive anything from "any man, yet I would go and sit down in some "[Page 476] place until God sent me wherewith to "cover myself."

171. The blessed woman EUGENIA said, "It is right "for us to beg, but only we must be with Christ. He "who is with Christ becometh rich, but he who honoureth "the things of the body more than the things of the "spirit shall fall both from the things which are first "and the things which are last."

172. One of the old men said, "How can a man "teach unto his neighbour that which he himself doth "not observe?".

173. They say that ABBÂ THEODORE excelled in the three following things more than any other man, and that he attained in their performance a degree which was greater than that of many, namely, voluntary poverty, self-abnegation, and flight from the children of men.

174. ABBÂ POEMEN used to say, "He who laboureth "and keepeth [the result of] his work for himself is a "two-fold grief."

175. ABBÂ ISAAC used to say to the brethren, "Our "fathers and ABBÂ PANBÔ used to wear old garments "which were much mended and were patched with "rags, but at this present ye wear very costly apparel; "get ye gone from this place, for ye have laid the "country waste, and I will not give you commandments, "for ye will not keep them."

176. On one occasion a brother came to the church of the CELLS, wearing a small head-cloth[1] which came down to his shoulders, and when ABBÂ ISAAC saw him, he followed him, and said, "Monks dwell here, but "thou art a man in the world, and thou canst not live "here."

177. A certain man, having made himself remote from the world, and divided his possessions among those who were in need, left to himself the remainder of his riches. And when the blessed ANTHONY heard [this] he said unto him, "Dost thou wish to become "a monk? If thou dost, get thee to such and such a "village, and take some meat, and lay it upon thy body, "and come hither alone;" and having done this the dogs, and the hawks and other birds of prey rent and tore his body. And when [Page 477] he returned to the blessed man, Saint ANTHONY asked him whether he had done as he had commanded him, and when the man had shewn him his body which was rent and torn, the blessed ANTHONY said unto him, "Even thus are "those who wish to go out from the world, and, who "nevertheless, leave themselves certain possessions, "wherefrom arise for their owners war and strife."

178. A brother asked ABBÂ POEMEN the question, saying, "An inheritance hath been bequeathed to me; "what shall I do with it?" ABBÂ POEMEN said unto him, "Go, and after three days come unto me, and I "will give thee counsel." And the brother came, and ABBÂ POEMEN said unto him, "What counsel shall I give "thee, O brother? If I tell thee to give it to the "church, they will make feasts with it; and again, if I "tell thee to give it to thy kinsmen, thou wilt have "no reward; but if I tell thee to give it to the poor, "thou wilt have no [further] care. Therefore go and "do with thine inheritance what thou pleasest, for I am "not able to advise thee rightly."

[1] ⲃⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ = Gr. βηρίον, *or* βιῤῥίον.

179. A certain man entreated an old man to accept from him a gift of grace for his wants, but he refused to do so because the labour of his hands was sufficient for him; and when he who asked him to accept it persisted, saying, "If thou wilt not accept it for thine "own needs, at least do so for the wants of others," the old man answered and said unto him, "It would "be a twofold disgrace [to me]. First, because I should "accept something which I do not want, and secondly, "because I should be giving away with boasting the "charity of another."

180. An old man used to say, "It is not right for "a man to have any care whatsoever except the fear "of God, for," said he, "although I am forced to take "care for the needs of the body, no thought whatsoever "concerning anything riseth in my mind before the time "when I shall require to make use of it."

181. The same old man used to say, "When thou "risest up in the morning, say, "O body, work that "thou mayest be fed; O soul, rouse up that thou "mayest inherit life."

CHAPTER VI.

Of patient endurance.

182. [Page 478] On one occasion certain brethren went to Abbâ Agathon, because they had heard that he took the greatest possible care that his mind should not be disturbed by anything, and they sought to try him, and to see if his mind would rise [to any matter]; and they said unto him, "Art thou thyself Agathon? "We have heard that thou art a whoremonger and a "boastful man." And Agathon said unto them, "Yea, "I am." And again they said unto him, "Agathon, "thou art a garrulous and talkative old man;" and he

said unto them, "Indeed I am." And again they said unto him, "AGATHON, thou art a heretic; and he said unto them, "I am not a heretic." Then they said unto him, "Tell us now why in answer to all these "things which we have said to thee thou hast replied "'Yea,' and that thou hast endured them all with the "exception of the accusation of being a heretic." ABBÂ AGATHON said unto them, "The earlier things I "accounted as profitable to my soul, but heresy meaneth "separation from God, and I do not wish to be sepa- "rated from God." And when the brethren heard [these words] they marvelled at his solicitude, and went away rejoicing.

183. A certain father used to tell the story of a father who had a book wherein were the New Testament and the Old Testament, and the price thereof was more than eighteen darics, and he laid up the book in a hole in the wall; and there came a certain stranger and stayed there, and he coveted the book greatly, and stole it, and departed, but the old man did not go after him, although he knew that he had taken it. And the brother went to a neighbouring village and wished to sell the book, and he asked as its price sixteen darics, and the man who wanted to buy it said unto him, "Give "it to me, that I may shew it [to a friend]," and he took it and carried it to the old man who had lost it. Then the old man said unto him, "How much doth "he ask for it?" And when he heard how much he said to him, "It is well [*or*, "it is a good price"]. Then the man went [Page 479] and said unto the brother who wished to sell the book, "Behold, I have "shewn it to Father so and so, and he hath told me "that thy price is dear." And the brother answered and said unto him, "I did not tell thee any thing to "the contrary;" and the would-be buyer said, "No, thou "didst not." Said the brother, "I will not then sell thee "the book;" and straightway he repented, and came to the old man and made apologies to him, and . . . him

the book, but the old man refused to accept it. And the brother entreated him, saying, "Allow me [to restore "it to thee], O father, for if thou dost not accept it "I cannot obtain life;" so the old man was entreated, and he took it, and that brother remained with him until his death, and through the patient endurance of the old man he gained life.

184. On one occasion certain philosophers came to the desert to try the monks. And there was living there a man who led a life of fair works, and they said unto him, "Come thou hither," and his anger rose and he reviled them. Now there passed by a certain[1] great monk who was a Libyan, and they said unto him, "O thou monk who hast grown grey-"headed in iniquity, come hither;" and he went to them readily, and they smote him on one cheek, whereupon he turned the other to them. And when they saw this they rose up straightway and worshipped him, and they said, "Verily this is a monk;" then they set him in their midst, and asked him, saying, "What "things do ye who are living in the desert do more "than we? [Ye fast, and we also fast; ye lead pure "lives, and we also lead pure lives; whatsoever ye do "we also do; what more do ye who live in the desert "do more than we?][2] The Libyan said unto them, "We keep watch over our minds;" and the philosophers said unto him, "We are unable to keep watch over "our minds."

185. They say that ABBÂ MACARIUS the Egyptian on one occasion went up from Scete to the Nitrian mountain, and as he drew nigh unto a certain place, he said unto his disciple, "Pass on a little in front of me;" and when he had done so there met him a certain

[1] Read ܚܕ ܒܫܒܚܐ.

[2] Add ܐܢܬܘܢ ܕܐܝܬܝܟܘܢ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ ܡܐ ܝܬܝܪ ܡܢ ܐܢܚܢܢ ܐܦ ܐܢܚܢܢ ܨܘܡܐ ܥܒܕܝܢ ܐܦ ܐܢܚܢܢ ܡܫܟܚܝܢ ܐܦ ܐܢܚܢܢ ܡܫܟܚܝܢ ܟܠ ܡܐ ܕܥܒܕܝܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܐܦ ܐܢܚܢܢ ܥܒܕܝܢ ܡܐ ܝܬܝܪ ܡܢ ܐܢܚܢܢ ܕܐܝܬܝܟܘܢ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ ܕܥܒܕܝܢ ܝܬܝܪ ܡܢ ܐܢܚܢܢ.

heathen priest, who was running along and carrying some wood about the time of noon. And that brother cried out to him and said, "O minister unto devils, "whither runnest thou?" And the priest turned round and smote him with many severe blows, and he left him with but very little [Page 480] breath remaining in him, and he took up his wood and went on his way; and when he had gone on a little further, the blessed MACARIUS met him on his journey, and said unto him, "Mayest thou be helped, O man of labours." And the priest was astonished, and came to him, and said, "What fair thing hast thou seen in me that thou "shouldst salute me [in this gracious fashion]?" And the old man said unto him, "I see that thou toilest, "and that thou dost not know that thou art toiling for "nought;" then he said unto the old man, "At thy salu-"tation I also was very sorry, and I learned that thou "didst belong to the Great God. But a wicked monk "met me just before thou didst, and he cursed me, "and I smote him even unto death." And the old man knew that it was his disciple [of whom he spake], and the priest laid hold upon the feet of MACARIUS, and said unto him, "I will not let thee [go] until thou "makest me a monk;" and they came to the place where the brother was lying, and they carried him and brought him to the church of the mountain. Now when the fathers saw the heathen priest with him, they marvelled that he had been converted from the error which he had held; and MACARIUS took him, and made him a monk, and through him many of the heathen became Christians. And ABBÂ MACARIUS said, "'An "'evil word maketh wicked even those who are good, "'and a good word maketh good even those who are "'wicked,' as it is written."

186. On one occasion thieves came to the cell of an old man, and said unto him, "We have come to "take away everything which thou hast in thy cell;" and he said unto them, "My sons, take whatsoever ye

"please," and they took everything which they saw in his cell, and departed. Now they forgot [to take] a purse (*or*, wallet) which was hanging there, and the old man took it, and ran after them, and entreated them, saying, "My sons, take this purse which ye have "left behind in your cell." And when the thieves saw this they marvelled at the good disposition of the old man, and they gave back everything which they had taken from his cell, and they repented, and said to each other, "Verily, this man is a man of God."

187. Abbâ Macarius the monk loved money [Page 481] so little that, on one occasion when thieves came to his cell by night, and took out whatsoever they could find in it, as soon as he perceived what they were doing, he helped them in their work and also to carry [their plunder] out of the desert.

188. They say that once when Abbâ Macarius was absent a thief entered his cell, and that when he returned and found a thief therein loading upon a camel everything which he had in his cell, he also went in and took some of the things and laid them on the camel; and when the thief had loaded the camel, he began to beat it in order to make it rise up, but it would not move. Now when Abbâ Macarius saw that the beast would not stand up, he took a basket which was remaining, and brought it out, and laid it on the camel, and said, "The camel wisheth "to carry off this also, O brother, and because of this "it would not stand up." Then the old man cried out to the camel, "Stand up," and straightway, because of the old man's words, it stood up; but when it had gone forward for a little, it lay down again, and it would not rise up until the thief had emptied the whole of its load.

189. And another of the fathers when he was being plundered said unto the thieves, "Make haste, and be quick, before the brethren come."

190. On one occasion when some men of iniquity,

and doers of wickedness, and thieves, rose up against him on the eve of the day of the congregation, an old man said unto the brethren, "Let them do their "work, and let us do ours."

191. And when certain evildoers rose up against one of the brethren in his cell, he brought forth a basin and entreated them to wash their feet, and the thieves were ashamed and repented.

192. And another brother who was travelling on a journey, and did not know the road, asked a man to shew him the way and to direct him; now the man whom he had asked was an evildoer, and he led the brother out of his road into a waste place, and he made him to arrive at the river Nile, which he commanded [Page 482] the brother to cross over. And when he began to cross over, behold a crocodile was swiftly pursuing the man who was a thief, but the servant of God, not being unmindful of him, cried out to him, and made known to him concerning the fierce attack which the animal was about to make. Then, the thief having been delivered from death, gave thanks to that brother, and marvelled at his affection, and protected him.

193. The blessed PÎÔR was on one occasion working for a man in the fields in the summer time, and he was weary, and reminded the lord of his hire about his wages, and when he delayed [in paying him] ABBÂ PÎÔR returned to his monastery. And on another occasion, when the time of harvest had arrived, ABBÂ PÎÔR went to the same man, and reaped his crops with a good will, and he returned to his monastery, the man having given him nothing. And again in the third year ABBÂ PÎÔR came and helped him to harvest his crops, and when he had made an end of the work of harvest according to custom, and yet received nothing, he departed again to his monastery. Meanwhile the man, who was worthy of blessing, laboured according to his custom in the life and works of spiritual

excellence, and rejoiced that he had been defrauded of his hire; and Christ worked upon the lord of his hire in his house, and he took the wages of the blessed man, and went round about among the monasteries seeking for him, and when, after the greatest difficulty, he found him, he fell at his feet and entreated him to receive his hire. But when the holy man refused the wages and said, "Perhaps thou hast need of them, and "as for me God will give me my hire," the man increased his supplications unto him, and finally the holy man permitted him to give the money to the church.

194. An old man used to say, "We do not advance "because we do not know our capacity, and we have "not sufficient patience in the work which we begin, "and we wish to possess spiritual excellences without "working for them, and we go from place to place, "and expect to find some spot where Satan is not, "[Page 483] and when we see the temptation of Satan "in that place whereunto we have been called, he who "knoweth what the war is will remain in God. For "the kingdom of heaven is within you."

195. An old man used to say, "If it should happen "that a sickness of the body overtake thee, let it not "be grievous unto thee, for if thy Lord wisheth thee "to be sick in the body, who art thou that thou shouldst "be in despair? Doth He not take care for thee in "everything? Couldst thou live without Him? Be "patient, and entreat thou Him to give thee such things "as are helpful, and which are according to His will; "and besides this eat thou His food of grace with long-"suffering."

196. Abbâ Poemen used to say, "The certain sign "that a monk is a monk is made known by trials [*or*, "temptations]."

197. A certain brother was estranged from a fellow monk, and he came to Abbâ Sisoes the Theban, and said unto him, "I am estranged from a fellow monk, and I wish to take vengeance for myself;" and the old

man said "Let us pray." And whilst he was praying, he said in his prayer, "O God, henceforward we have no need of Thee to take care of us, for we will take "vengeance for ourselves;" and when the brother heard these words, he fell down at the feet of the old man straightway, and said unto him, "Henceforward I will "not enter into judgment with that brother. Forgive "me, O father." And thus ABBÂ SISOES healed that brother.

198. They say that ABBÂ JOHN the Less, the Theban, the disciple of ABBÂ AMMON, ministered unto the Abbâ in his sickness for twelve years, and he sat by him when the old man was in a state of exhaustion, and he persevered and endured so patiently, even whilst he was performing great labours, that the old man never once said unto him, "Rest, my son; rest, my son!" And when the old man was about to die, and the old men were sitting before him, ABBÂ AMMON took his hand, and said unto him, "Live, my son, live!" [Page 484] Then he committed him to the old men and said unto them, "This is an angel, and not a man."

199. ABBÂ PAULÊ and ṬÎMÂTH his brother dwelt in Scete, and there was contention between them frequently; and ABBÂ PAŬLÊ said, "How long are we to remain "thus?" ABBÂ ṬÎMÂTH said unto him, "When I come "upon thee bear with me; and when thou comest upon "me I will bear with thee." And from that time they were at peace.

200. Certain brethren asked ABBÂ SISOES a question, and said unto him, "If we are going along a road, and "he who is conducting us forgetteth the way, is it "necessary for us to tell him?" And ABBÂ SISOES said unto them, "No." Then a brother said unto him, "Are "we then to let him lead us astray?" And the old man said unto him, "What then? Thou hast a stick, canst not "thou take it and smite him? Now I knew twelve "brethren who were travelling along the road, and in "the night time he who was leading them lost the

"way, and all the brethren knew that he had done so; "and every one of them struggled with his thoughts, "[and decided] not to tell him. And when the day "had come he who had been leading them learned that "he had wandered off the road, and he apologized and "said unto them, 'Forgive me because I lost the way;' "and they all said, 'We all of us knew it, brother, but "'we held our peace.' And when he heard this he "marvelled, saying, 'The brethren would endure even "'unto death and would utter never a word;' and he "glorified God. Now the distance which they had "wandered from the road was twelve miles."

201. Certain brethren came unto ABBÂ ANTHONY, and said unto him, "Speak unto us a word whereby "we may live;" and the old man said unto them, "Behold, ye have heard the Scriptures, and they are "sufficient for you," and the brethren said, "We wish "to hear [a word] from thee also, O father." ABBÂ ANTHONY said unto them, "It is said in the Gospel, "'If a man smite thee on the [one] cheek, turn to him "'the other also;'"[1] and they said unto him, "We can- "not do this." ABBÂ ANTHONY said unto them, [Page 485], "If ye cannot turn the other cheek, continue [to "be smitten] on the one cheek;" and they said to him, "And this we cannot do." The old man said unto them, "If ye cannot do even this, do not pay back "blows in return for the smiting which ye have received;" and they said, "We cannot even do this;" Then the old man said unto his disciple, "Make then for the "brethren a little boiled food, for they are ill;" and he said to them, "If ye cannot do this, and ye are unable "to do the other things, prayers are necessary forth- "with."

202. They used to say that MOTHER SARÂ, who dwelt above the river and was sixty years old, had never looked out [from her abode] and seen the river.

[1] St. Luke VI. 29.

203. A certain old man dwelt in the desert at a distance of ten miles from the monastery, wherefrom he had always to draw water, and on one occasion the matter became very wearisome to him, and he said, "What is the necessity for me to labour so much? I "will come and will take up my abode by the side of "this stream." And having said this, he turned behind him and he saw a man coming after him, and he was counting his footsteps, and he asked him, saying, "Who "art thou?" And he answered and said unto him, "I "am an angel of the Lord, and I have been sent to "count thy footsteps, and to give thee thy reward;" and having heard this the old man was consoled greatly, and he went five miles further from the place wherein he was, and took up his abode there.

204. They say that three thieves went into the cell of ABBÂ THEODORE, and that two of them laid hold upon him whilst the third carried off the things which he had in his cell; and having taken out even the books which he had there, they were going to carry away his cloak, when he said unto them, "Leave "me this;" and as they refused to do so, he moved his arms and hands and hurled the two men who were holding him from him, and when they saw this they were afraid. Then the old man said unto them, "Fear "ye not, but divide what ye have taken into four parts, "and take three of them, and leave me one."

205. They used to say [Page 486] that the cave in PAṬÂRÂ which belonged to ABBÂ CHAEREMON who was in Scete, was forty miles distant from the church, and twelve miles further from a spring of water. And he used to bring to the church, with the labour of his hands, two pitchers of water, one for each day, and when he was tired he would set one down by the road side and go back afterwards and fetch it.

206. They used to say that the cell of the blessed ARSENIUS also was two and thirty miles from the church,

but he never went anywhere and others brought him whatsoever he required.[1]

207. The blessed ARSENIUS never changed the water [wherein he soaked] the leaves which he twisted into ropes except once a year, but he used to add frequently to it, for he twisted palm leaves and sewed them together until the sixth hour [daily]. And the fathers entreated him, saying, "Tell us why thou dost "not change the water of the leaves, for it is very "foetid;" then the old man answered, and said, "It is "right that I should endure this foetid smell in return "for the odours of the sweet scents, and oils, and "delightful odours, which I enjoyed when I was in the "world."

208. It is related of a certain old man that if he heard a brother speak evilly to him he would labour very hard to make something which would please the brother who had spoken to him, and that if that brother did not live with him, the old man would send whatsoever he had made to the place where he was.

209. A certain old man used to say, "It is a dis- "grace for a monk to enter into judgment with the "man who hath done him an injury."

209A. A brother asked a certain old man, saying, "Tell me one thing, whereby, if I keep it, I shall live." The old man said unto him, "If thou canst endure "being reviled and cursed, this command is the greatest "of all the commandments."

210. A brother asked ABBÂ POEMEN, saying, [Page 487] "What shall I do to my heart which flaggeth "and is frightened if a little toil, and tribulation over- "take me, or if temptation come upon me?" The old man said unto him, "Therefore we should wonder and "admire the righteous man JOSEPH who, being only a "very young man, that is to say—seventeen years of

[1] Read for ܫܡܫܐ ܫܡܫܐ.

"age—was sold into slavery into the land of Egypt, "the land of the worshippers of idols, and he endured "temptations, and God made him glorious to the end."

211. And he said also, "We may consider also the blessed JOB, who never became slothful, for he persevered in his trust in his God, and his enemies were not able to shake him from his hope."

212. On one occasion the brethren who were in Scete were cleaning and dressing palm leaves, and there was among them a man who had become ill through his excessive spiritual labours, and he was coughing, and bringing up clots of phlegm[1] and spittle; and as he spat, involuntarily, some of the spittle fell upon a certain brother. Then the mind of that brother on whom the spittle had fallen said unto him, "Tell "that brother not to spit upon thee;" but straightway he licked up the spittle, and he turned and said to his mind, "Thou hast not licked up the spittle, there- "fore do not tell him not to spit upon thee."

213. ABBÂ POEMEN used to say that JOHN COLOB, who made entreaty unto God, and [his] passions[2] were removed from him, and he was set free from anxious care, went and said unto a famous old man, "I perceive "that my soul is at rest, and that it hath neither war "nor strife [to trouble it]." Then the old man said unto him, "Go and entreat God to let war and strife "come unto thee again, [for it is through war and "strife][3] that the soul advanceth in spiritual excellence." And afterwards, whensoever war stood up before him, he did not pray, "O Lord, remove striving from me," but he made supplication unto God, saying, "O Lord, "give me patience to endure the strife."

214. [Page 488] There was a certain man who had within himself love and affection for the brotherhood,

[1] Bedjan's text has ܡܠܟܡܬܐ *i. e.*, Gr. μαλάγματα.

[2] The word is ܣܥܪ.

[3] Read ܒܥܘܬ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܩܪܒܐ ܘܦܠܓܐ.

and who never had in his mind any evil thought whatsoever; and a certain brother stole some things and brought [them] and deposited them with him, and the man did not consider or perceive by what means the brother had obtained them. Now some days later the matter was discovered, and it was pointed out to the owner of the things that they had been deposited with the old man, who made apologies to them, saying, "Forgive ye me, for I repent." And after a few days the brother who had stolen the things came to him, and he began to demand [them from] the old man, and said unto him, "Thou thyself didst take the things;" and the old man[1] made apologies to him, saying, "For-"give me;" and the old man brought out all the work of his hands, and gave it to him, and the brother took it and departed. Now the disposition of the old man was such that, if one of the brethren committed a fault, and denied it, he would make apologies for him, saying, "It was I who did this thing;" thus meek and humble was the holy man, and he never wronged any man even by the least word.

215. A certain brother lived by himself, and he was disturbed in his mind, and went and revealed the matter to ABBÂ THEODORE of PARMÊ; and the old man said unto him, "Go and humble thy mind, and submit "thyself to live with the brethren," and he went and did as the old man had told him, and took up his abode with other men. And he went back to the old man, and said unto him, "Father, I am not content to "dwell with other men;" then the old man said unto him, "If thou art not content to live either by thyself or "with others, why didst thou come out to be a monk? "Is it not necessary for thee to endure trials? Tell "me, how long hast thou lived this life?" And the brother said unto him, "Eight years." The old man said unto him, "Verily I have led the life I lead now

[1] Add, ܘܥܕܡ ܗܘ ܟܕ ܟܗܝܢ ܡܛܠ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝܒ ܚܛܝܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܠܐ ܟܕ ܝܕܥ ܐܢܫ ܟܝ ܐܬܬ.

"for seventy years, and not one pleasure hath come "in my way [the whole time], and yet thou wishest to "find pleasure [or, rest] in eight years!"

216. A certain brother, who had vanquished Satan in everything subsequently, had his eyes blinded by Satan [Page 489] so that he could not see, yet this blessed man did not pray for himself, and that he might be able to see, but he only prayed that he might be able to endure patiently his trial; and through his constancy his eyes were opened.

217. A monk was smitten by a man on the leg and was severely injured, but the holy man was neither angry nor wroth with him that had smitten him, [but he nursed the place wherein he had been wounded, and made apologies to the man who had struck him].[1]

218. ABBÂ ARSENIUS used to say, "When an un- "baked [*or*, moist] brick is laid in the foundations of "a building by the river side, it will not support it, "but if it be burnt in the furnace it will support the "building like a stone; even so is it with the man who "possesseth a carnal mind, and who doth not become "hot and burn with heat, even as did Joseph with the "word of God, for when he cometh to have dominion "he will be found to be wanting. For very many of "those upon whom trials have come have straightway "been swept away and have fallen. It is therefore a "good thing for a man to know the gravity of domi- "nion, and to be required to bear trials, which are like "the onset of many mighty waters, so that he may "remain firm and be unmoved." And of this holy man JOSEPH—if a man wisheth to have the story told—ARSENIUS used to say that "he was not a being of "earth at all—so much was he tempted. And [consider] "the country [of Egypt] wherein formerly there was "not even a trace of the fear of God! But the God "of his fathers was with him, and He delivered him

[1] Add, ܕܐܒܐ ܐܪܣܢܝ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢ ܐܓܘܪܐ ܕܐܬܪܡܝ ܒܬܪ ܢܗܪܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܒܐܬܘܢܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܝܩܕ ܒܐܬܘܢܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܕܐܢܫ ܕܠܒܘ ܒܣܪ ܐܠܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܚܡ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܩܛܪ ܒܚܡܬܐ ܕܝܘܣܦ ܒܡܠܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܠܡܫܠܛ ܢܫܬܟܚ ܕܠܐ ܫܠܡ ܐܬܪ ܠܡܗܘܐ ܕܣܓܝܐܝܢ ܡܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܢܣܝܢ ܘܢܦܠܘ ܛܒ ܠܐܢܫܐ ܕܢܬܝܕܥ ܟܒܕ ܫܠܛܢܐ ܕܢܣܝܢ ܕܐܦ ܗܘ ܐܬܪܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܪ ܐܦ ܠܕܚܠܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܠܗ ܐܒܗܝ ܗܘܐ ܥܡܗ ܘܐܦܩܗ

"out of all his tribulations, and JOSEPH is now with his "fathers in the kingdom of heaven; and let us also "make supplication with all our might that we too may "in the same manner be able to flee from and escape "from the righteous judgment of God."

219. They say that there was with ABBÂ ISIDORE, the priest of Scete, a certain brother who was infirm in his mind, and he was a man who used abusive language and possessed very little intelligence, and ABBÂ ISIDORE wished to turn him out from his abode; but when that brother came to the door of the monastery, the old man said once again, "Bring him to me," and he rebuked him, [Page 490] saying, "Brother, be "silent, lest through thy little intelligence and thine "impatience thou provoke our Lord to anger;" and thus by his longsuffering ABBÂ ISIDORE quieted that brother.

220. A lover of ascetic labours saw a man carrying a dead person on a bier, and he said unto him, "Dost thou carry a dead man? Go and carry the "living."

221. They say that there was a certain monk who, whenever he found a man reviling and cursing him, used to run towards him with all his power, saying, "These [words] are the causes of spiritual excellence "for those who are strenuous, for those who ascribe "blessing to a man disturb the soul, for it is written, "'Those who ascribe blessing to you lead astray your "'soul.'"

222. Certain old men came unto an old man who dwelt in the desert that they might reveal unto him their thoughts, and might profit by his knowledge, and they found some young men outside his cell who were pasturing sheep, and they were saying unto one another words which were unseemly. And the old men said unto the old man, "Father, how is it that thou dost

[1] Read ⲥⲩⲛⲁⲙⲟ.

"not command these young men not to curse?" And the old man said unto them, "My brethren, believe me, "I have many times wished to command them [not to "do so], but I have rebuked myself, saying, 'If thou "'canst not endure this little thing, how couldst thou "'bear some severe trial if it were to come upon thee?' "I have therefore never said anything to them, so that "the matter might be a cause of remembering that I "have to endure the things which are to come."

223. A certain brother ministered unto one of the fathers who was sick, now his disease was decline of the body, and he used to bring up foetid pus; and the mind of the brother said unto him, "Flee from "him, for thou canst not endure this foetid smell." Then the brother took an earthen vessel and put into it some of the water in which the old man had washed, and when he was thirsty he used to drink some of it; and his mind began to say unto him, "Flee not, but "drink not of this [Page 491] filthy water." But that brother laboured on greatly in respect of the water in which the sick man had washed, and although his soul shrank from that filthiness, he persevered in drinking it; and God saw his labour and his tribulation, and He changed the filthy washing water which was in the earthen vessel into clean water, and He healed that old man.

224. One of the monks wished to go out from his monastery and to wander about so that he might have a little relaxation and enjoyment, and when they saw him, the old man said unto him, "Seek not grati- "fication in this world, O my son, but work rather "and persevere therein in the invincible power of the "Holy Trinity."

225. ABBÂ MOSES used to say, "Secret withdrawal[1] "[from work] maketh dark the mind, but for a man "to endure and to persevere in his works maketh

[1] Syr. ܐܬܪܚܝܩܘܬܐ, a word of doubtful meaning.

"watchful[1] the mind in our Lord, and it strengtheneth "and fortifieth the soul."

226. And he used to say also, "Bear disgrace and "affliction in the Name of Jesus, with humility and a "troubled heart; and shew before Him thy feebleness, "and He will become unto thee might."

227. Certain people praised one of the brethren before the blessed ANTHONY, and when that brother came to the blessed man the old man put him to the test, and he found that he could not bear contempt and contumely. And the old man said unto him, "Thou "art like unto a palace the front of which is decorated "and beautiful, but the back whereof hath been broken "into by thieves and plundered."

228. A brother asked an old man a question, saying, "What shall I do?" And the old man said unto him, "Go and learn to love putting restraint upon "thyself in everything."

229. One of the old men said concerning LAZARUS, the poor man, "We cannot find that LAZARUS ever did "one excellent thing except that he never murmured "against the rich man as being one who had never "shewn him an act of mercy; but he bore his infirmity "with the giving of thanks, and because of this God "took him to Himself."

230. ABBÂ MACARIUS used to say, "If contumely be "esteemed by thee as an honour, [Page 492] and blame "as praise, and poverty as wealth, thou wilt not die."

231. A certain brother asked ABBÂ POEMEN, saying, "What mean the words, 'If a man be angry with his "'brother in vain?'" The old man said unto him, "If "thy brother make use of oppression, and wrong, and "fraud in respect of thee, and thou art angry with "him [because of them], thou art angry with him in "vain. And if he tear out thy right eye, or cut off "thy right hand, and thou art angry with him, thou

[1] The better reading is ܡܫܒܚ *i. e.*, "maketh light."

"art angry with him in vain; but if a man wisheth to "separate thee or to put them away from God then "to be angry and wroth with him is a good thing."

232. There were two men in the desert who were brethren in the flesh, and a devil came to separate them from each other; and one day the younger brother lit a lamp and set it upon a candlestick, but, by the agency of the Evil One, he overturned the candlestick and extinguished the lamp. Then the elder brother was angry and smote him, and the younger brother made apologies to him, saying, "Have a little patience "with me, and I will light the lamp again." Now when God saw his patient endurance, He punished that devil until the morning, and the devil came and told the prince of devils what had happened; and there was with the prince of devils a certain priest of idols, and straightway this man left everything, and he went and became a monk. And at the very beginning he laid hold upon humility, saying, "Humility is able to bring to nought "all the power of the Adversary, even as I have heard "from the devils, who said, 'Whensoever we stir up "'the monks, they turn to humility, and they make "'apologies one to the other, and thus they do away "'all our power.'"

233. Abbâ Poemen said, "Abbâ Isidore, the priest "of the church, on one occasion spake to the people "saying, My brethren, when ye are working in a certain "place it is not strength to depart therefrom because "of the labour; and as for myself, I wrap myself up in "my cloak and I go to the place where labour is, and "labour becometh unto me a pleasure" [Page 493].

234. Paesius, the brother of Abbâ Poemen, had an affection for the people who were outside his monastery, and Abbâ Poemen did not wish this to be, and he rose up and fled to Abbâ Ammon, and said unto him, "My brother Paesius hath made a promise of "love to certain folk, and I am not pleased thereat." Abbâ Ammon said unto him, "Poemen, thou art still

"alive. Go, and sit in thy cell, and meditate in thy "mind, saying, 'Behold, there is a year for thee in the "'grave.'"

235. There were two monks who lived in one place, and an old man came to them, and wishing to put them to the test, he took a stick, and began to beat to pieces the garden herbs of one of them; and when the monk saw him doing this, he hid himself. And when only one root was left, the other brother said unto him, "Father, if it please thee, leave me this root that "I may boil it and we may eat together." Then the old man made apologies to that brother, and said unto him, "The Spirit of God hath rested upon thee, O "my brother."

CHAPTER VII.

Of obedience towards God, and towards our fathers and brethren.

236. They say that Abbâ John, the disciple of Abbâ Paulê, possessed great obedience. Now in the place where they used to live there was a sepulchre, wherein dwelt a savage panther, and Abbâ Paule saw in it a few little heaps of goods, and he said unto John, "Go "to the sepulchre and bring me some of the things "from there;" and John said unto him, "My father, "what shall I do with the panther?" And the old man laughed and said unto him, "If he cometh against "thee, tie him up and bring him here;" so John went there at eventide, and the panther came against him, and when he went to lay hold of him the animal fled from him. Then John pursued him, saying, "My father "told me to fetter thee," and he seized him, and bound him with cords. Meanwhile the old man was very much troubled [Page 494] about John, and he was sitting waiting for him anxiously; and behold, he came

dragging along the panther which was tied with ropes, and the old man saw and marvelled. Then the brother said unto him, "Father, behold, I have taken prisoner "the panther according as thou didst command, and I "have brought him here;" and the old man, wishing to remove from him the occasion for boasting, smote him, and said, "Thou hast brought a wandering dog!" and he untied the animal and let him depart.

237[1]. ABBÂ JOSEPH used to say, "There are three "things which are held in honour before God: first, "when a man is sick, and he addeth to his toil, and "receiveth it with thanksgiving; secondly, when a man "maketh all his works to be pure before God, and when "he hath in them no human consideration; thirdly, when a "man submitteth himself to authority, and obeyeth his "father, and setteth aside his own will. Such a man "hath one crown the more, but I personally would "choose the sickness."

238. They used to say that ABBÂ SYLVANUS had in Scete a disciple whose name was MARK, and that he possessed to a great degree the faculty of obedience; he was a scribe, and the old man loved him greatly for his obedience. Now SYLVANUS had eleven other disciples, and they were vexed because they saw that the old man loved MARK more than they, and when the old men who were in Scete heard [of this] they were afflicted about it. And one day when they came to him to reprove him about this, SYLVANUS took them, and went forth, and passing by the cells of the brethren, he knocked at the door of each cell, and said, "O "brother, come forth, for I have need of thee;" and he passed by all their cells, and not one of them obeyed him quickly. But when they went to the cell of Mark, he knocked at the door and said, "Brother "MARK," and as soon as MARK heard the voice of the old man, he jumped up straightway, and came out, and

[1] The scribe has written ܐܒܐ twice.

SYLVANUS sent him off [Page 495] on some business. Then SYLVANUS said unto the old men, "My fathers, "where are the other brethren?" And they went into MARK'S cell, and looked at the quire of the book which he was writing, and they saw that he had begun to write [one side of] the Greek letter o (*or*, ω), and that as soon as he heard the voice of his master, [he ran out] and did not stay to complete the other side of the letter. Now when the old men perceived these things, they answered and said unto SYLVANUS, "Verily, "O old man, we also love the brother whom thou "lovest, for God also loveth him."

239. On another occasion the mother of MARK came to see him, and she had with her an abundant company of members of her household; and an old man went forth to her, and she said unto him, "Abbâ, tell my "son to come forth and see me;" and the old man went in, and said to him, "Go forth and see thy "mother." Then MARK wrapped himself up in rags, and blackened his face by standing up in the sooty chimney, and he went forth thus fulfilling the behest of his master, and shutting his eyes, he said unto those [who were with his mother], "Live ye! Live ye!" but he did not look at them. Now his mother did not recognize him, and she sent in again to the old man a message, saying, "Send me my son, O father, so "that I may see him." Then the old man said unto MARK, "Did I not tell thee to go out and see thy "mother?" And he said unto him, "Father, I went "forth according to thy word, but I beseech thee do "not tell me to go forth again, lest peradventure I feel "myself compelled to disobey thee;" and [the old man] spake with her, and quieted her, and sent her away in peace.

240. And they used to tell about two brethren who lived in a monastery, and who both had arrived at a high grade in the ascetic life; the one devoted himself to an austere life of self-denial and poverty,

and the other was obedient and humble. And being angry with each other they wished to know which of the two [kinds of] service was the greater, and they went down to the river where there were [Page 496] many crocodiles, and that brother who possessed the faculty of obedience went in, and stood up among them, and they all worshipped him. Then he cried out to his fellow who was a mourner, and said unto him, "Forgive me, O my brother, I have not yet "attained to such a high degree of faith as thou hast;" and when they returned to the monastery, the Archimandrite heard a voice, saying, "The man who obeyeth "is better than the man who leadeth a life of voluntary "poverty."

241. ABBÂ DANIEL used to say, "On one occasion "ABBÂ ARSENIUS called me and said unto me, 'Make "'thy father to be gratified, so that when he goeth to "'our Lord, he may make entreaties to Him on behalf "'of thee, and good shall be unto thee.'"

242. A certain brother was engaged in a war, and he told the matter to ABBÂ HERAKLES; and wishing to strengthen and confirm him the old man told him the following story:—There was a certain old man who had a disciple, and he had been very obedient unto him for many years, and when the war came upon him, he made a request to his master, saying, "I be-"seech thee to make me a monk." And his master said unto him, "Seek out a place for thyself, and we "will build a cell for thee, and thou shalt become a "monk." So the disciple went and found a place, which was distant from his master about one hundred paces, and he made himself a cell. Then the old man said unto that brother, "Whatsoever I say unto thee, that "do. When thou art hungry, eat; and when thou art "thirsty, drink; and sleep, but thou must not go out "from thy cell until the Sabbath Day, when thou shalt "come to me." Then the old man went back to his cell. And the brother did according as the old man

told him for two days, but on the third day he became dejected, and wearied, and said, "What hath the old "man done for me, seeing that he hath not commanded "me to make prayers?" Then he rose up and sang more Psalms than usual, and after the sun had set he ate his food, and he rose up, and went, and lay down upon his mat; and he saw, as it were, an Ethiopian who stood up and gnashed his teeth at him, and the monk, by reason of his great fear, ran quickly [Page 497] to his master, and he knocked hastily at his door, saying, "Father, have mercy upon me, and open to me "immediately." Now because the old man knew that he had not kept his commandment he refused to open the door to him until the morning, and when he opened the door in the morning, he found him [there], and as the brother entreated him to be allowed to enter, the old man had compassion upon him and brought him in; then he began to say unto the old man, "I beseech "thee, O father, [to believe me]. When I went to lie "down to go to sleep, I saw a black Ethiopian on my "bed." The old man said unto him, "This [happened] "because thou didst not keep my words." Then he laid down a rule for him which was suitable to his strength and to the monastic life, and dismissed him,[1] and little by little he became an excellent monk.

243. A man who wanted to be a monk came to Abbâ Sisoes the Theban, and the old man asked him, if he had any possession whatsoever in the world, and he said, "I have one son;" and the old man, wishing to find out if he possessed the faculty of obedience, said unto him, "Go, and throw him in the river, and "then come, and thou shalt be a monk," and because the man was obedient he went straightway to do it. Now when he had departed the old man sent another brother to prevent him from doing this thing, and when the man had taken up his son to throw him into

[1] Read ⲙⲟⲩⲁⲭⲟ.

the river, the brother said unto him, "Thou shalt not "cast him in." Then the man said unto him, "My "father told me that I was to cast him in," and the brother replied, "He told me that thou wast not to "cast him in," so the man left him, and came [unto the old man], and through his obedience he became a chosen monk.

244. The ABBÂ who was in ÎLÎÛ used to say, "Obedience cometh into existence because of obedience;[1] "for if a man obeyeth God, God also will obey him."

245. On one occasion four brethren came to ABBÂ PANBÔ from Scete, and they were wearing skins, and each one of them, whilst his neighbour was absent, recounted [to him] his works, [saying], the first one fasteth very often, and the second leadeth a life of poverty, [Page 498], and the third possesseth great love, and concerning the fourth the other three said, "He hath been in subjection to the old men for twenty- "two years." Then ABBÂ PANBÔ said unto them, "I say "unto you that the spiritual excellence of this man is "great. Each of you hath chosen the ascetic virtue "which he possesseth according to his own wish, but "this man hath cut off his own desire, and hath per- "formed the will of others; and those who are thus "will, if they keep these things to the end, become "confessors."

CHAPTER VIII.

OF SCRUPULOUS WATCHFULNESS IN OUR THOUGHTS, AND WORDS, AND DEEDS.

246. ABBÂ POEMEN used to say, "Satan hath three "kinds of power which precede all sin. The first is "error, and the second is neglect (*or*, laxity), and the

[1] *I. e.*, "obedience for obedience."

"third is lust. When error hath come it produceth "neglect, and from neglect springeth lust, and by lust "man fell; if we watch against error neglect will not "come, and if we be not negligent, lust will not appear, "and if a man worketh not lust, he will, through the "help of Christ, never fall."

247. They used to say that there was a certain father who was [occupied] in great works, and that [on one occasion], when he was singing the Psalms and praying, one of the holy men came unto him, and he heard him striving with his thoughts, and saying, "How long for the sake of one thought wilt thou go "through all this?" Then the man who had come thought that the father was striving with another man, and he knocked at the door before going in to make peace between them; but when he had gone inside he saw that there was no other man there. And, because he possessed some authority over the father, he said unto him, "Father, with whom wast thou striving?" And he said, "With my thoughts. For I can repeat "fourteen Books, but if I hear one little word [Page 499] "outside it will make useless my service to me, and "[the repetition] of all these Books will be in vain. "And this word only cometh and standeth before me "at the season of prayer, and it is because of this that "I strive." And when the holy man heard [these things], he marvelled at the spiritual excellence and purity of the old man, and how openly he had told him about his war.

248. One of the old men used to say, "The Pro- "phets compiled the Scriptures, and the Fathers have "copied them, and the men who came after them "learned to repeat them by heart; then hath come this "generation and [its children] have placed them in "cupboards as useless things."

249. A disciple of Abbâ Ammon told the following story: "On one occasion when we were singing the "service, my mind became confused, and I forgot the

"verse in the Psalm; and when we had ended the service, "AMMMON answered and said unto me, 'Whilst I was "'standing up during the service it seemed to me that "'I was standing on fire and was being consumed, and "'my mind was unable to make me turn aside either "'to the right hand or to the left. And as for thee, "'where was thy mind when we were singing the "'service? for thou didst omit a verse from the "'Psalm. Didst thou not know that thou wast standing "'in the presence of God, and that thou wast speaking "'unto Him?'"

250. A certain brother came to dwell in a cell with one of the fathers, and he told him of a thought whereby he was afflicted; and the old man said unto him, "Thou hast left upon the earth the excellent ser-"vice of the fear of God, and thou hast taken and hast "laid hold upon a staff made of a reed, that is to say, "evil thoughts. Take unto thyself the fear of God, "which is the fire, and as soon as they come nigh unto "thee they shall be burned like reeds." Now this man was, according to what his disciple related about him, a great old man, and for twenty years he never lay upon either of his sides, but slept upon the seat whereon he sat to work. Sometimes he ate once in two days, and at other times once in four days, and at others once in five days, and in this manner he passed twenty years. Now I [Page 500] said unto him, "What "is this which thou doest, O father?" And he said unto me, "Because I set the judgment of God before my "eyes I cannot be negligent, for I keep in remembrance "[the fact that] my sins are many."

251. Whilst ABBÂ ARSENIUS was dwelling in CANOPUS of ALEXANDRIA a certain noble lady came to him; she was a virgin, and was exceedingly rich, and she feared the Lord, and she was from Rome and had come to see ABBÂ ARSENIUS. Now THEOPHILUS, Archbishop of Alexandria, received her, and she begged him to entreat the old man to receive her. Then THEOPHILUS went

to ABBÂ ARSENIUS and entreated him, saying, "Such "and such a noble lady hath come from ROME and she "wisheth to see thee, and to be blessed by thee;" but the old man refused to receive her. And when THEOPHILUS informed her that the old man refused to receive her, she commanded them to make ready the beasts [for travelling], and she said, "By God, I believe that "I shall see him. I did not come to see men, for there "are men in my own city, but I came to see a prophet." And when she came outside the cell of the old man, he happened, through the working of God, to be there, and she saw him, and fell down at his feet; then he lifted her up eagerly, and looking at her said, "If thou "wishest to look upon my face, behold, look;" but she, by reason of her bashfulness, was not able to look upon his face. Then the old man said unto her, "Hast thou "not heard about my works, and that I am a sinner? "For it is these which it is necessary for thee to see. "How didst thou dare to travel hither by ship? Didst "thou not know that thou wast a woman, and that it "was incumbent[1] upon thee not to go forth anywhere? "Wouldst thou go back to Rome and make a boast to "the women [there] that thou hast seen ARSENIUS, and "dost thou wish to make the sea into a road whereby "women shall come unto me?" And the lady said unto him, "Please God I will [Page 501] not let any "woman come unto thee; but pray for me that God may "have me in remembrance always." Then ABBÂ ARSENIUS said unto her, "I will pray to God that He may blot "out the memory of thee from my heart;" and when she heard these words she went forth, being afraid. Now as soon as she had come to the city a fever began to come upon her because of her grief of mind, and the people told the Bishop, saying, "That noble "lady is ill;" and he came to her, and entreated her that he might learn the cause of her sickness. Then

[1] Read ܒܥܝܢ.

she said unto him, "Would that I never had journeyed "thither! For I said unto the old man ARSENIUS, 'Make "'mention of me in prayer,' and he said unto me, 'I will "'pray unto God that He may blot out the remembrance "'of thee from my heart,' and behold, I shall die of "grief." And the Archbishop said unto her, "Dost thou "not know that thou art a woman, and that the Enemy "doeth battle with the holy men by means of women? "It was for this reason that the old man spake as he "did; for thy soul, however, he will pray always." And the noble lady remembered [these things] in her mind, and she rose up, and went to her country with gladness.

252. They say that ABBÂ HÔR (*or*, 'ÔR) of the CELLS dwelt for twenty years in the church, and that he never once lifted his eyes and saw the roof thereof.

253. ABBÂ AMMON asked ABBÂ POEMEN about the unclean thoughts which a man begetteth, and about vain lusts; ABBÂ POEMEN said unto him, "Peradventure "shall an axe boast itself without him that heweth "therewith?[1] Do not henceforward aid these thoughts, "and they will come to an end."

254. They say concerning ABBÂ PAPHNUTIUS, the disciple of ABBÂ MACARIUS, that when he was a youth he used to look after the oxen with others of his companions; and they went to take some cucumbers to the animals, and as they were going along one of the cucumbers fell, and ABBÂ PAPHNUTIUS took it up and ate it, and whensoever he remembered this thing, he used to sit down and weep over it with great feeling.

255. One of the fathers went to ABBÂ AKÎLÂ [Page 592] and saw that he was throwing up blood from his mouth, and he asked him, saying, "What is this, O "father?" And the old man said unto him, "It is a "word. I was vexed with a certain brother, and I was

[1] Isaiah x. 15.

"engaged in a strife of which I knew nothing, and I "made supplication to God that it might be taken from "me; and straightway that word became blood in my "mouth, but when I spat it up I was relieved, and I "forgot my vexation."

256. One of the old men used to say:—"We were "going [on one occasion] to the mountain of the blessed "ANTHONY to visit ABBÂ SISOES, and when we sat down "to eat there came up to us a young man who begged "for alms; and when we were beginning to eat, the "old man said, 'Ask that young man if he wisheth to "'come in and eat with us.' Now when one had said "this to him, the young man refused [to do so], and "the old man said, 'Let whatsoever is left over by us "'be given to him to eat outside.' Then the old man "brought out a jar of wine which he kept for the "Offering, and he mixed for each one of us a cup, but "he gave to the young man two cups, whereat I smiled, "and said unto him, 'I also will go outside, and thou "'shalt give me two cups of wine also.' ABBÂ SISOES "said, 'If he had eaten with us he would have drunk the "'same quantity as ourselves, and he would have been "'convinced that we did not drink more than he did; "'but now he will say in his mind, 'These monks enjoy "'themselves more than I do.' It is good therefore "'that our conscience should not hold us in contempt.'"

257. One of the old men come to another old man who was his companion, and as they were talking together one of them said, "I have died to the world;" and his companion said, "Have no confidence in thyself "that this is so until thou goest forth from the world, "for although thou sayest, 'I have died,' Satan is not "dead."

258. A brother asked ABBÂ SISOES, saying, "Tell "me a word [whereby I may live]." The old man saith unto him, "Why dost thou urge me, O brother, to "speak a useless word? Whatsoever thou seest me do, "that do thyself."

259. A brother asked ABBÂ POEMEN, saying, "Is it "possible for a man to keep hold upon all [Page 503] "thoughts, and not to give any of them to the Enemy?" The old man said unto him, "There are some who "give ten and keep one, and there are some who give "one and keep ten." And the brother told this saying to ABBÂ SISOES, who said, "There are some who do "not give even one [thought] to the Enemy."

260. ABBÂ JOSEPH asked ABBÂ SISOES, saying, "How "many times is it right for a man to cut off his pas- "sions?" The old man said unto him, "Dost thou "wish to learn when thou must cut them off?" and JOSEPH said unto him, "Yes." ABBÂ SISOES said unto him, "Whensoever passion cometh cut it off immediately."

261. ABBÂ NASTÎR and a certain brother were walking together in the desert, and they saw a serpent, and both took to flight; and the brother said unto NASTÎR, "Father, art thou also afraid?" The old man said unto him, "My son, I am not afraid, but it was "a beneficial thing for me to flee, for otherwise I "should not have been able to escape from the thought "of the love of approbation."

262. Certain men who lived in the world came to see ABBÂ SISOES, and though they spoke much he held his peace and answered them never a word; at length one of them said to his companions, "My brethren, "why do ye trouble the old man? He eateth not, "and for this reason he is not able to talk." And when the old man heard this, he made answer unto them straightway, and said, "My sons, I eat whensoever "I feel the need of eating."

263. On one occasion a certain judge of the country wished to see ABBÂ POEMEN, but the old man refused [to see him]. And, like a crafty man, the judge made an excuse, and seized Abbâ's nephew, and threw him into prison, saying, "Unless Abbâ cometh and "maketh entreaty on his behalf he shall not go out." Then Abbâ's sister came and stood by the door of

his cell, and wept for her son, but although she importuned him greatly, he did not give her an answer; now when the woman saw this she began to revile him, saying, "O thou who possessest mercy of brass, "have mercy upon me, for my son is the only [child] "I have." [Page 504] And ABBÂ POEMEN sent her a message, saying, "POEMEN hath no sons," and thus she departed. And when the judge heard [these things] he answered and said, "If Abbâ will only give the order "I will release him;" and after this the old man sent him a message, saying, "Examine and consider his case "according to the Law, and if he be worthy of death, "let him die; and if he be not do whatsoever thou "pleasest with him."

264. They say that in the mountain of ABBÂ ANTHONY seven brethren dwelt, each of whom used to watch in the date season and drive away the birds; and among them was an old man who, when it was his day for watching [the dates], used to cry out, saying, "Depart, O ye evil thoughts, from within, and "depart, O ye birds, from without."

265. On one occasion the Arabs came and plundered ABBÂ SISOES and the brother who was with him of everything they had, and being hungry, the brethren went out into the desert to find something to eat. And when they were some distance from each other, ABBÂ SISOES found some camel dung, and he broke it, and found inside some grains of barley; and he ate one grain and placed the other in his hand; and when the brother came, and found that he was eating, he said unto him, "Is this love? Thou hast found food, "and thou eatest it by thyself and hast not called me "[to share it with thee]." ABBÂ SISOES saith unto him, "I have not defrauded thee, O brother, for behold, I "have kept thy share in my hands."

266. MOTHER SARAH used to say, "Whensoever I "put my foot on the ladder to go up, before I ascend "it I set my death before mine eyes."

267. A certain brother came to ABBÂ THEODORE and entreated him to shew him[1] how he twisted palm leaves, and he sent him away, saying, "Go away, and "come here to-morrow morning." Then the old man rose up straightway, and put some leaves to soak in water, and made ready, and when the brother came in the morning he shewed him [how to make] one or two bundles, and he said to him, "Work thus;" and the old man left him and went to his cell. And at the proper season the old man took him food and made him eat, and he rose up and went away; and when [Page 505] he came [back again] in the morning, the old man said unto him, "Why didst thou not take "some palm leaves with thee? Take some now, and "get thee gone, for thou hast made me fall into the "temptation of caring about things," and he did not allow him to come inside [his cell] again.

268. On one occasion ABBÂ MATÔAÎS [MUTHUÉS] went from RE'ÎTH to MOUNT GÉBÊL,[2] and he had with him his brother 'AWSÂBH, and KÂNṬÎRSÂ, the Bishop, took the old man and made him a priest; and when they were eating together the Bishop said unto him, "Forgive me, Abbâ, for I know that thou didst not "wish for this thing, but I ventured to do this thing "that I might be blessed by thee." Then the old man said unto him with a meek spirit, and with a sorrowful mind, "I will labour in this work, though I must be "separated from this my brother who is with me, for "I cannot endure the making of all the prayers." The Bishop said unto him, "If thou knowest that he is "worthy I will make him a priest also;" and ABBÂ MATÔAÎS said unto him, "Whether he be worthy [or "not] I do not know, but one thing I know, and that

[1] Adding ܠܗ ܕܢܚܘܐ.

[2] Abba Muthues venit aliquando de loco qui vocatur Ragitham, in partibus Gebalonis; Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 527, col. 2. No. 188.

"is, that he is better than I am," so the Bishop laid his hands upon him and made him a priest also. And they ended their lives together, but one of them never approached the altar for the purpose of offering up the Offering, for the old man used to say, "By God, "I hope that ordination doth not make it obligatory "on me to do so, because I cannot offer up the Offer-"ing, for ordination belongeth unto those who are pure "[only]."

269. A certain brother in Scete called one of his companions to come to him to his cell to wash his feet, and he did not go; and twice and thrice he said, "Come to [my] cell, and wash thy feet," and he went not. And at length the brother went to him, and made apologies to him, and entreated him to go with him, and he rose up and went; and the brother said unto him, "How is it that thou didst not come when "I entreated thee so often[1] to do so?" And he answered and said unto him, "Whilst thou was speaking "my will would not consent to my coming, but when "I saw that thou wast doing the work of monks, that "is to say, repentance, then I rejoiced and came."

270. On one occasion when the old man ZÎNÔN [ZENO] was walking in Palestine, he became weary, and he sat down by the side of a cucumber bed to eat; and his thought said unto him, "Take a cucumber[2] and "eat, for of what value is one cucumber?" And he answered and said to his thought, "Those who steal "go to torment; try thy soul, then, and see if it be "able to endure the torment." And he crucified himself in the heat for five days, and having tortured himself he said unto his thought, "I cannot endure that "torment; how then can the man who cannot do this "steal and eat?"

271. They say that on one occasion, when it was

[1] For ⲥⲁⲛⲁⲥ read ⲥⲁⲛⲁϥ.

[2] Read ϭⲓⲙⲁⲥ.

time for ABBÂ POEMEN to go to the congregation for the service, he sat down for about one hour examining and passing judgment upon his thoughts, and that at the end of this time he went forth.

272. They say that a certain old man dwelt by himself in silence, and that a son of the world used to minister unto him continually; and it happened that the son of that son of the world fell sick, and his father entreated the old man to go with him to his house and to pray over him, and, when he had entreated him to do so often, the old man went forth and departed with him. And the man went before him and entered the village, and he said unto the people thereof, "Come "forth to meet the monk;" now when the old man saw the people from afar off, and perceived that they had come forth to meet him carrying lanterns, straightway he stripped off his garments, and dipped them in the river, and he began to wash them, being naked. And when the man who ministered unto him saw [this], he was ashamed, and he entreated the people of the village, saying, "Get ye back, for the old man hath "certainly gone mad;" then he approached the old man, and said unto him, "Father, what is this which thou "hast done? For all the people are saying that the "old man hath a devil." And the old man said, "This "is what I wished to hear."

273. PAESIUS on one occasion had strife [Page 507] with the brother who was with him whilst ABBÂ POEMEN was sitting by, and they strove with each other until the blood ran down from both their heads; and although the old man saw [them] he uttered no word whatsoever. Then ABBÂ JOB came and found them fighting, and he said to POEMÉN, "Why hast thou let "these brethren fight, and hast said nothing to them "whilst they have been fighting?" ABBÂ POEMEN said unto him, "They are brethren, and will become recon-"ciled again;" ABBÂ JOB said, "What is this that thou "hast said? Thou seest that they continue to fight,

"and yet thou sayest that they will be reconciled again." ABBÂ POEMEN said unto him, "Thou must think in thy "heart that I am not here."

274. MOTHER SARAH sent a message to ABBÂ PAPHNUTIUS, saying, "Dost thou think that thou art doing "God's work in allowing thy brother to be reviled?" ABBÂ PAPHNUTIUS saith, "PAPHNUTIUS is here doing the "work of God, and I have no concern whatsoever "about man."

275. The old man POEMEN used to say, "Thou shalt "have no dealings whatsoever with a child of the world, "and thou shalt hold no converse with women;" and he also said, "Thou shalt possess no knowledge of the "judge [*or*, governor], lest, when thou hearest his words, "thou perform his work."

276. One of the old men used to say, "I have "never taken one step forwards without first of all "learning where I was about to set my foot, and I "have neither crossed my boundary to walk on a height, "nor have I descended into a deep place, and been "troubled by so doing; for my only care hath been to "beseech God until He brought me forth from the "old man."

277. On one occasion the brethren were gathered together in Scete that they might enquire into the history of MELCHISEDEK, and they forgot to invite ABBÂ ḲÎÔPRÔS [COPRES] to be with them; finally, however, they did call him, and they enquired of him concerning the matter. And he smote three times on his mouth, and said, "Woe be to thee! Woe be to thee, O ḲÎÔPRÔS "[COPRES], for thou hast left undone what God com- "manded thee to do, and thou art enquired of con- "cerning the things which God hath not demanded "of thee;" [Page 508] and they all left [the place] and fled to their cells.

278. An old man used to say, "Freedom of speech "[*or*, boldness] is a wind which parcheth, and it smiteth "the fruit at the harvest."

279. An old man used to say, "The act of despis-
"ing oneself is a strong fence for a man."

280. The old man said, "The withdrawal[1] in secret
"[from works] maketh dark the understanding, but the
"persisting in endurance with vigilance illuminateth and
"strengtheneth the soul of a man."

281. An old man used to say, "Laughter and fami-
"liar talking are like unto the fire which kindleth among
"the reeds."

282. Certain heretics came on one occasion to ABBÂ POEMEN, and they began to calumniate the Archbishop of Alexandria, and to speak evil things concerning him, and they sought to prove that as they had received[2] consecration from the priests, they were consecrated like [other] priests; and the old man held his peace. Then he called his brother, and said unto him, "Make ready a table and make them eat," and he dismissed them that they might depart in peace.

283. Some of the old men asked ABBÂ POEMEN, saying, "If we see one of the brethren committing sin,
"wouldst thou have us rebuke him?" And the old man said unto them, "If I had some business which
"made me pass by him, and in passing by him I saw
"him committing sin, I should pass him by and not
"see him."

283A. And the old man also said, "It is written,
"'Whatsoever thine eyes have seen, that declare.' But
"I say unto you, that unless ye have not first touched
"with your hands, ye shall not testify. For on one
"occasion the devil led astray a brother in a matter
"of this kind. This brother saw a brother committing
"sin with a woman, and the war being strong against
"him, he went to them, thinking that what he saw

[1] Read ܒܚܝܢܐ.
[2] Read ܒܝܫܘ.

"was really a man and a woman, and he kicked them "with his foot, and said, 'Enough, enough, how long "'[will ye act thus]?' And suddenly he discovered "that the things were sacks of wheat. For this reason "I say unto you that unless ye have felt with your "hands ye should not offer rebuke."

284. One of the fathers [Page 509] related a story, saying:—On one occasion in Scete when the clergy were offering up the Offering, something which was like unto an eagle descended upon the Offering, and no man saw the appearance except the clergy; and one day a brother questioned the deacon about the matter, and the deacon said unto him, "I am not at "leisure now [to discuss it]." And afterwards when the time arrived for the Offering, and the clergy went in as usual to offer It up, the form of the eagle did not appear as it did before; and the priest said unto the deacon, "What is this? The eagle hath not come as "usual, and the fault of this lieth either upon me or "thee. But get thee gone from me, and if the eagle "then appeareth and descendeth, it will be evident that "it did not come down now because of thee, and if "it doth not descend thou wilt know that the fault is "mine." Now as soon as the deacon had departed, the eagle appeared as usual, and after the Office had been said, and the service was ended, the priest said unto the deacon, "Tell me what thou hast done?" And the deacon, wishing to shew him everything, made apologies, saying, "I am not conscious in my soul of "having committed any sin, except when a brother came "to me, and asked me a question on the matter, and "I made answer to him, saying, 'I am not at leisure "'[to talk] with thee.'" Then the priest said, "It was "because of thee that the eagle came not down, for "the brother was offended at thee;" and straightway the deacon went to the brother, and expressed his contrition, and entreated him [to forgive] him his offence.

285. They used to speak about a certain father, who for seven years asked God to give him a certain gift, and [at length] it was given unto him; and he went to a great old man and told him about the gift, and when the old man heard thereof, he was grieved, and said, "What great labour!" Then he said unto the father, "Go and spend seven years more in entreat-"ing God that the gift may be taken away from thee, "for it will do thee no good;" and the old man went, and did as he had told him until the gift was taken away from him [Page 510].

286. A certain brother dwelt in a cell outside his village, and he had passed many years without going into the village; and he said unto the brethren who were with him, "Behold, how many years have I lived "here without going into the village, whilst ye are "always going therein." Now ABBÂ POEMEN was told about this man, and that he used to say words of this kind to the brethren, and he said, "If I were [that "man] I would go up and walk round about in the "village during the night, so that my thoughts might "not be able to boast themselves that I had not gone "into it."

287. One of the fathers said, "God beareth with "the sins of those who live in the world, but He "will not endure the sins of those who live in the "desert."[1]

288. ABBÂ JOB used to say, "Since the time when "I[2] was [first] called by the Name of Christ, false-"hood hath never gone forth from my mouth."

289. ABBÂ POEMEN used to say, "If a man dwelleth "with a youth, however much he may guard his thoughts "he maketh a means for sin."

290. A certain brother asked an old man, saying,

[1] The better reading is بجدحثم.

[2] For بكم read بكى.

"What shall I do because of my negligence?" The old man said unto him, "If thou wilt root out this small "plant, which is negligence, a great forest will come "into being."

291. ABBÂ POEMEN used to say, "Do not dwell in "a place wherein thou seest that there are those who "have envy[1] against thee, for if thou dost, thou wilt "never advance."

292. ABBÂ ḲARNÔN [CRONIUS] used to say, "The "man who dwelleth with a youth will, unless he be "mighty, go downwards, and if he be mighty, even "though he doth not go downwards temporarily, yet "he will never advance in spiritual excellence."

293. ABBÂ ANTHONY used to say, "There are some "monks who vex their bodies with the labours of ab- "stinence and self-denial, and who, because they have "not found understanding, are remote from the path "of God."

294. ABBÂ POEMEN used to say, "Teach thy heart "to keep that which thy tongue teacheth."

[294A. ABBÂ POEMEN used to say, "One man is "thought to be silent, yet his heart condemneth "others, and he who is thus speaketh everything; and "another speaketh from morn until evening, and yet "keepeth silence, but such a man speaketh not without "profit."][2]

295. I have heard that there were two old men who dwelt together for many years, and who never quarrelled, [Page 511] and that one said to the other, "Let us also pick a quarrel with each other, even as "other men do." Then his companion answered and

[1] Read ܚܫܝܕ.

[2] ܚܝ. ܐܒܐ ܒܪ ܩܘܡ: ܕܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܫܬܝܩ ܒܐܬܪܗ: ܘܟܕ ܡܬܝ ܟܬܫ ܡܠܝ. ܘܐܚܪܢ ܡܡܠܠ ܥܡ ܦܘܡܗ ܥܕ ܪܘܓܙܐ ܘܥܕ ܪܘܓܙܐ: ܚܕ ܡܕܡ ܡܫܟܚ. ܘܐܚܪܢ ܡܬܟܠܡ ܘܡܫܟܚ ܠܐ ܦܘܡܗ ܥܕ ܥܪܒܐ ܘܥܕ ܨܦܪܐ: ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܟܕ ܝܬܝܪ ܡܡܠܠ ܡܫܟܚ.

said unto him, "I know not how a quarrel cometh," and the other old man answered and said unto him, "Behold, I will set a brick in the midst, and will say, "'This is mine,' and do thou say, 'It is not thine, "'but mine;' and from this quarrelling will ensue." And they placed a brick in the midst, and one of them said, "This is mine," and his companion answered and said after him, "This is not so, for it "is mine;" and straightway the other replied, and said unto him, "If it be so, and the brick be thine, "take it and go." Thus they were not able to make a quarrel.

296. There was a certain brother who lived a life of very strict seclusion, and the devils, wishing to lead him astray, [used to appear] to him, when he was sleeping at night, in the form of angels, and wake him up to sing the Psalms and pray, and they would shew him a light. And he went to an old man, and said unto him, "Father, the devils come to me with a light and wake me up to sing and pray;" and the old man said unto him, "Hearken not unto them, O my son, "for they are devils, but, if they come to wake thee "up, say unto them, 'When I wish to rise up I will "'do so, but unto you I will not hearken." And when they came, to wake him he said unto them what the old man had told him, and they said unto him forthwith, "That wicked old man is a liar, and he hath led "thee astray. For a certain brother came to him and "wished to borrow some oboli on a pledge, and al- "though he had money to lend, he lied and said, 'I "'have none,' and he gave him none, and learn[1] from "this thing that he is a liar." Then the brother rose up early in the morning and went to the old man and related unto him everything which he had heard, and the old man said unto him, "The matter is thus. I had "some oboli, and a brother came and asked me for

[1] Add بجد.

"some money, and I would not give him any, because "I saw that if I did so we should arrive at the loss "of [our] soul[s]. And I made up my mind that I "would treat with contempt one of the commandments, "and not ten, and [therefore] we came to enmity [with "each other]. But do thou [Page 512] hearken not "unto the devils who wish to lead thee astray." And when he had been greatly confirmed by the old man, that monk departed to his cell.

297. Abbâ Isaac, the priest of the Cells, said, "I saw a certain brother reaping the harvest in the "field, and he wanted to eat one ear of wheat; and "he said to the owner of the field, 'Dost thou wish "'me to take one ear of wheat to eat?' And the owner of the field wondered (now he profited greatly therefrom), and said unto him, 'My son, the field is thine, "'and dost thou ask [my] permission to eat?' To this "extent did that brother shew scrupulous care."

298. A brother asked an old man, and said unto him, "What shall I do? For the thoughts which make "war with me are many, and I know not how to "contend against them." The old man said unto him, "Do not strive against them all, but against one, for "all devilish thoughts have only one head, and it is "necessary for a man to understand and to make war "upon this head only, for afterwards all the rest will "perforce be brought low. Just as in war, if on one "side a very mighty man appear, the men on the other "side use every means in their power to set up in "opposition to him a mighty man who is stronger than "he is, because, if he be able to hurl down that chief, "all the rest will take to flight and be vanquished. "In this same manner there is one head to all the "thoughts which come from devils, whether it be for-"nication, or riotous living, or love of money, or "wandering about from place to place, for if thou wilt "first of all recognize it, and wilt drive it out, it will "not lead thee astray in respect of other things." And

[when] that chief thought came, and stood up, and fought against him, he recognized which it was, and contended against it only.

299. ABBÂ LÔṬ went to ABBÂ JOSEPH, and said unto him, "Father, according to my strength I sing a few "Psalms, and I pray a little, and my fasting is little, "and my prayers and silent meditations [are few], and "as far as lieth in my power I cleanse my thoughts, "what more [Page 513] can I do?" Then the old man stood up, and spread out his hands towards heaven, and his fingers were like unto ten lamps of fire, and he said unto him, "If thou wishest, let the whole of "thee be like unto fire."

300. A certain brother entreated one of the old men to interpret to him some words which he had asked him, saying, "If I see a man doing something, "and I tell others about it, I mean not by way of "passing judgment upon him, but merely for the sake "of conversation, would this be [considered] as evil "talk of the thoughts?" The old man said unto him, "If there be any motion of passion the repetition is "wicked, but if it be free from passion, the repetition "is not wicked, but speak in such a way that evil "increase not." And another brother made answer to the old man, and said, "If I come to one of the old "men and ask him, saying, 'I wish to dwell with such "'and such a man, [may I do so?]' and I know at the "same time that it will not be profitable for me, what "answer must he make me? If he saith,[1] 'Thou shalt "'not go,' hath he not condemned [that man] in his "mind?" Then the old man answered and said unto him, "This refinement [of thought] is not [given] to many, "and I do not regard it as a sure matter. If there "be any passion in the motion of the soul I should "say that he would injure himself; but in word there "is no power [to do so]. And as to 'What is he bound

[1] Read ܐܡܪ ܠܗ.

"'to say?' I say that I do not know, if his soul be "[not] free [from passion]; but if it be free from pas- "sions he will not condemn any man, and he will "condemn himself, and say, 'I am a changeable person,' "now perhaps [this] will not help thee, but if he be a "man of understanding he will not go." Now the old man did not speak concerning wickedness, but only that wickedness might not be multiplied.

301. ABBÂ ARSENIUS said unto ABBÂ ALEXANDER, "When thou hast finished the work of thy hands, come "to me and we will eat; but if strangers come, eat "with them, and do not come to me." Now ALEXANDER continued at his work late, and when the time for the meal had arrived, and palm leaves were still standing before him, although he was anxious to keep the word [Page 514] of the old man, he also wanted to finish up the leaves, and then to go to him. Now when the old man saw that ABBÂ ALEXANDER delayed [in coming] to eat, he thought that it was because strangers had come[1] to him. And when ABBÂ ALEXANDER had finished his work he went to the old man, who said unto him, "Did strangers come to thee?" And ALEXANDER said unto him, "No, father." Then the old man said unto him, "Why hast thou delayed [in coming]?" And ALEXANDER answered and said unto him, "Because "thou didst say unto me, 'When thou hast finished thy "'leaves come to me;' and paying heed to thy word, "and having finished [my work], behold, I have come." And the old man marvelled at this scrupulous obedience, and said unto him, "Make haste and perform thy service "of praise and prayer, and bring it to an end, and "drink some water, for if thou dost not do it quickly "thy body will become sick."

302. ABBÂ POEMEN used to say often, "We need "nothing except a watchful and strenuous heart."

303. A brother asked ABBÂ POEMEN, saying, "How

[1] The better reading is ܐܬܝ.

"is it right for me to live in the place wherein I "am?" The old man saith unto him, "Acquire the "thought of sojourning in the place where thou livest, "and desire not to cast thy word among the mul- "titude, or to be the first to speak, and thou wilt find "rest."

304. ABBÂ AGATHON said concerning ABBÂ MÛAÎN that, on one occasion, he made fifty bushels of wheat into bread for the needs of the community, and then laid it out in the sun, but before it became dry and hard he saw something in the place which was not helpful to him, and he said to the brethren who were with him, "Arise, let us go hence;" and they were greatly grieved. And when he saw that they were grieved, he said unto them, "Are ye troubled about "the bread? Verily I have seen men take to flight "and forsake their cells, although they were well "whitewashed, and contained cupboards which were "filled with books of the Holy Scriptures and service "books, and they did not even shut the cupboard doors, "but departed leaving them wide open."

305. ABBÂ ḲÎÔPRÊ used to say, "Blessed is the man "who beareth temptation with thanksgiving."

306. ABBÂ POEMEN used to say, "The mighty ones "have been many, [Page 515] and those who never "felt envy have been many, and they have neither "been jealous in an evil way, nor have they stirred "up their own passions."

307. ABBÂ SISOES used to say, "Seek the Lord, and "search [Him] out, but not only in the place where "[thou] dwellest."

308. An old man used to say, "Eat not before "thou art hungry; lie not down to sleep before thou "art sleepy; and speak not before thou art asked a "question."

309. An old man used to say, "Prepare not a "table before the time when thou art alone, and speak "not before thou art asked a question, and if thou art

"asked a question, speak that which is fair and helpful, "and not that which is evil and destructive."

310. ABBÂ EUPREPIUS said, "If thou art not certain "in thyself that God is faithful and mighty, believe in "Him, and associate thyself with those who are His, "but if thou art doubtful thou canst not believe. For "we all believe and confess that God is mighty, and "we are certain that all things are easy for Him [to "do]; do thou then also shew thy belief in Him by thy "works, for in thee also He worketh miracles, and "doeth wonders, and sheweth forth marvels."

311. ABBÂ THEODORE used to say, "If thou hast "affection for a man, and it happeneth that he fall "into temptation, stretch out thy hand to him, and lift "him up therefrom; but if he fall into heresy, and "will not be persuaded by thee to return, cut him off "from thee immediately, lest, if thou tarry long with "him, thou be drawn unto him, and thou sink down "into the uttermost depths."

312. One of the fathers used to tell the story of ABBÂ JOHN, the Persian, who by reason of the abundance of his spiritual excellence arrived at goodness; now this man used to dwell in the ARABIA of EGYPT. And on one occasion he borrowed one dînâr from a brother, and bought some flax to weave, and a brother came and entreated him, saying, "Give me a little flax "that I may make a tunic for myself;" and he gave it to him with joy; and then another [brother] entreated him, saying, "Give me a little flax that I may make "[Page 516] myself a turban," and he gave unto him also, and the man departed. And many other brethren borrowed from him, and he gave them [the flax] with rejoicing; but finally the owner of the dînâr came, and wanted to take it back. Then the old man said unto him, "I will go and will bring it to thee," but as he had no place wherefrom he could give it to him, he rose up and went to ABBÂ JACOB, so that he might persuade him to give him a dînâr wherewith to

repay the brother; and as he was going he found a dînâr lying on the ground, but he was not disposed to offer it to him, so he prayed and returned to his cell. And the brother came again and pressed him to let him have what was his own, and the old man said unto him, "Have patience with me this time[1] only, "and I will bring it to you." And he again rose up and went to that place where he had found the *daric*, and, having made a prayer, he took it. And he came to the old man JACOB, and said unto him, "As I was "coming to you, O father, I found this *dînâr* on the "road. Do now, O father, an act which is worthy of "love, and make a proclamation[2] throughout these "borders, for perhaps some one hath lost the *dînâr*, "and if its owner be found give it unto him." Then the old man went, and made a proclamation for three days, and he could not find the man who had lost the *dînâr*. Then the old man said unto ABBÂ JACOB, "If "no man hath lost the *dînâr* give it unto that brother "to whom I owe one, for I was coming to obtain one "from thee for the Lord's sake, when I found it." And the old man JACOB marvelled at him, because, although he owed a *dînâr*, and had found one, he did not immediately take it and pay his debt. Now this habit also was found with that old man who owed the *dînâr*: if any man came and wanted to borrow something from him, he did not give it unto him with his own hands, but he said unto him, "Take for thyself "whatsoever thou wishest;" and when the man brought back that which he had taken the old man would say unto him, "Place it where thou didst take it from," and if he did not bring it back he would say to him nothing at all [Page 517].

313. ABBÂ DANIEL used to say that on one occasion

[1] For ܙܒܢܐ read ܙܒܢ.

[2] The better reading is ܟܪܘܙ.

[3] The better reading is ܒܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܡܢ.

certain fathers came from Alexandria to see ABBÂ ARSENIUS, and one of them was the brother of TIMOTHY, Patriarch of Alexandria, and they were taking his nephew also. Now the old man was ill at that season, and he did not wish to spend much time with them, lest, peradventure they should come to visit him another time and trouble him; and he was then living in PATÂRÂ of ESṬÔRÎS,[1] and the fathers went back sorrowfully. And it happened on one occasion that the barbarians invaded the country, and then ABBÂ ARSENIUS came and dwelt in the lower countries; and when those same fathers heard [of his coming] they went to see him, and he received them with gladness. Then the brother who belonged to them said unto him, "Father, knowest thou not that when [these fathers] "came to thee on the first occasion at ESṬÔRÎS thou "didst not protract thy conversation with us?" The old man said unto him, "My son, ye ate bread, and "ye drank water, in very truth, but I refused to eat "bread and to drink water, and I would not sit upon "my legs through torturing[2] myself, until the time when "I knew from experience that ye must have arrived "at your homes, for I knew that for my sake ye had "given yourselves trouble." Thus they were pleased and gratified in their minds and they departed rejoicing.

314. ABBÂ DANIEL used to say:—ABBÂ ALEXANDER dwelt with ABBÂ AGATHON, and the old man loved ABBÂ ALEXANDER because he was a man of labour, and he was gentle and gracious. And it happened that all the brethren were washing their linen armcloths in the river, and ALEXANDER was quietly washing his with them; but the brethren said unto ABBÂ AGATHON, "Brother ALEXANDER doeth nothing," and the old man, wishing to quiet his disciples, said unto him,

[1] The better reading is ܒܝܬ ܚܦܝܪܐ ܕܐܣܛܘܪܝܣ.

[2] The better reading is ܕܡܣܟܢ.

"Wash well, O brother, for the arm-cloth is [made] of "linen." Now when ALEXANDER heard [this] he was grieved, [Page 518] and afterwards the old man entreated him, saying, "What then? Do I not know that "thou canst wash well? But I spake as I did to thee "before them so that I might rebuke their minds by "thine obedience."

315. They used to say that one day when ABBÂ JOHN came to the church which was in Scete he heard the brethren quarrelling with each other, and that he went back to his cell, and went round it three times, and then entered it; now the brethren saw him, and they expressed their contrition to him, saying, "Tell us why thou didst go round thy cell three times." And he said unto them, "Because the sound of the "quarrel was still in my ears, and I said, 'I will first "'of all drive it out from them, and then I will go into "'the cell.'"

316. They used to say about ABBÂ 'ÔR that whilst other monks would give a pledge[1] for the palm leaves which they wished to buy, he would never give any pledge whatsoever, but whensoever he required leaves he would send the price of them, and take them. Now his disciple went on one occasion to buy leaves, and the gardener said unto him, "A man gave me a deposit, "but he hath not taken away his leaves, and therefore "thou mayest take them;" and having bought them he came to the old man and related unto him the matter as it had happened. And when the old man heard it, he wrung his hands, and said, "'ÔR will not work this year," and he did not cease [to importune] his disciple until he had returned the palm leaves to their [proper] place.

317. They used to tell the story of a certain brother who never ate bread, but only unleavened cakes soaked in water; and whenever he visited the monks when they sat down to eat he would set before himself

[1] *I. e.*, a deposit.

unleavened cakes and eat [them]. And it happened that one day he went to a certain great old man, and there also visited him at the same time other strangers, and the old man boiled a few lentiles for them; and when they sat down to eat [Page 519] that brother also brought out his soaked cakes, and set them before himself, and ate them. Now when the old man saw this, he held his peace and did not rebuke him before the brethren who happened to be there, but when they rose up from the table, he took him aside privately, and said unto him, "O brother, if thou goest to visit "a man do not reveal thy rule of life, but eat with "the brethren that thou mayest not think within thyself "that thou art better than they, and so condemn them. "But if thou wishest to keep hold upon thy self-denial, "sit in thy cell and do not go out of it." Then the brother was persuaded by the old man, and he ate with the brethren what they ate so as to deceive them, according to what the old man had said.

318. A certain father whose name was EULOGIUS, having led a life of great austerity and labour in Constantinople, obtained great fame and reputation; and he came to Egypt in order that he might see something more excellent, and when he heard about ABBÂ JOSEPH he came to him, expecting to see a very much more laborious form of life than his own. And the old man received him with gladness, and said unto his disciple, "Make some distinction in the food which ye "have to prepare, and let it be suitable for strangers." Now when they had sat down to eat, those who were with ABBÂ EULOGIUS said, "Bring a little salt, for the "father will not eat this;" but ABBÂ JOSEPH ate, and drank, and held his peace. And EULOGIUS passed three days with him, but he never heard them singing the Psalms, and he never saw them praying, for every act of worship which they performed was in secret; and he went forth from them having profited in no wise. And by the Providence of God it happened that they

lost their way, and they returned the same day, and they came and stood at the door of the old man's cell; and before they could knock at the door, EULOGIUS heard them singing the Psalms inside, and having waited for a long time, they knocked, [Page 520] and immediately those of the company of JOSEPH who were singing inside stopped. Now when EULOGIUS and those who were with him had gone inside the old man received them again with gladness, and because of the heat which they had endured, ABBÂ JOSEPH'S monks gave EULOGIUS [some] water to drink; and this water was a mixture, part being sea water and part being river water, and when EULOGIUS had tasted it he was unable to drink it. Then he repented within himself, and he went in to ABBÂ JOSEPH and fell down at his feet, and entreated him to be allowed to learn his rule, for he wished so to do, and he said, "What does this "mean? When we were with you ye sang no Psalms, "but as soon as we have left you ye perform services "overmuch. And when I want to drink water I find "it to be salt." The old man said unto him, "It was "brother SYLVANUS who did this, and he mixed the "water without knowing;" and EULOGIUS entreated him [to tell him about it], for he wished to learn the truth. Thereupon ABBÂ JOSEPH said unto him, "That mixture "of wine which we drink we drink for the sake of "the love of Christ, but the brethren always drink this "water." And ABBÂ JOSEPH taught him the difference [between their rules of life], and that he toiled in secret and not before the children of men; and he ate a meal at the same table with them, and he partook of whatsoever was set thereupon; and EULOGIUS learned that, even as the old man had said, ABBÂ JOSEPH performed his ascetic labours in secret, and having profited greatly he departed with gladness, giving thanks unto God.

319. On one occasion there was a feast, and the brethren were eating in the church; and there was

among them a brother who said unto him that ministered at the tables, "I do not eat boiled food, but "bread and salt," and the servant cried out to certain other brethren before the whole assembly, saying, "Such "and such a brother doth not eat boiled food, there- "fore bring him salt." Then one of the old men came to that brother, and said unto him, "It would have "been better for thee this day [Page 521] to have "eaten flesh in thy cell than that this word should have "been heard before the whole assembly."

320. On one occasion AMMON came to the brethren, and the brethren expressed contrition, saying, "Tell us "a word [whereby we may live]." The old man saith unto them, "It is this: we must travel along the path "of God with due order."

321. They used to say that the face of ABBÂ PANBÔ never smiled or laughed. Now one day when the devils wished to make him laugh, they hung a feather on a piece of wood, and they carried it along and danced about therewith in great haste, and they cried out, "Hâilâw, Hâilâw." Now when ABBÂ PANBÔ saw them, he laughed, and the devils began to run and jump about, saying, "Wâwâ, ABBÂ PANBÔ hath laughed." Then ABBÂ PANBÔ answered and said unto them, "I did "not laugh [for myself], but I laughed at your weak- "ness, and because it needeth so many of you to carry "a feather."

322. On one occasion a certain brother committed an offence in the coenobium, and in the places which were therein a certain old man had his abode; now he had not gone out of his cell for many years. And when the Abbâ of the coenobium came to the old man he told him and informed him concerning the folly (*or*, offence) of that brother, and about his transgression. Then the old man answered and said, "Drive him out "from you;" and when that brother was driven out, he departed and went into a reedy jungle, and as some brethren happened to pass by to go to ABBÂ

POEMEN, they heard the voice of the brother weeping; and they went in and found him in great labour, and they entreated him to let them take him with them to Abbâ POEMEN, but he would not be persuaded [to go], and said, "I will die here." And when they came to ABBÂ POEMEN they told him about him, and he entreated them, saying, "Go to that brother, and say ye unto him, "ABBÂ POEMEN [Page 522] calleth thee;" now when the brother learned that ABBÂ POEMEN had sent the brethren to him, he rose up and went. And when ABBÂ POEMEN saw that he was sorrow-stricken, he rose up and gave him the salutation of peace, and, smiling with him, gave him [food] to eat. Then he sent his brother to the old man, saying, "For many "years past I have greatly longed to see thee, because "I have heard about thee, but through negligence both "of us have been prevented from seeing each other. "Now therefore that God wisheth it, and the oppor- "tunity calleth, I beg thee to trouble thyself [to come] "hither, and we will each welcome the other." Now, as I have already said, the old man had up to that time never gone out of his cell. And when the old man heard the message, he said, "If God had not "worked in him he would not have sent for me;" and he rose up and came to him; and having saluted each other, they sat down with gladness. And ABBÂ POEMEN said unto him, "There were two men living in one "place, and both of them had dead, and one of them "left weeping for his own dead and went and wept "over that of his neighbour;" and when the old man heard these words he repented, and he remembered what he had done, and said, "ABBÂ POEMEN is above "in heaven, but I am down, down,[1] on the earth."

323. An old man used to say:—"It is right for a "man to keep his work in all diligence so that he may "lose nothing thereof; for if a man worketh even a

[1] The better reading is كمسه كمسه هؤذ.

"very little, and keepeth it, his work remaineth and "abideth." And the old man used to narrate the following matter: An inheritance was left unto a certain brother, and whilst he was wishing to make therefrom a memorial to him that had died, a certain brother who was a stranger came to him, and he roused him up in the night saying, "Arise, and help "me to sing the service." Then the stranger entreated him, saying, "Leave me, O my brother, for I am away "from labour, and I cannot [get up];" and the brother who had welcomed him said [Page 523], "If thou wilt "not come, get up and depart from this place," and the stranger rose up and departed. And at the turn of the night he saw in his dream him who had driven him out giving wheat to the baker, and that the baker did not give him [back] even one loaf of bread; and he rose up and went to an old man and related unto him the whole matter even as it had taken place, and the old man said to him, "Thou hast performed a "beautiful action, but the Enemy hath not allowed thee "to receive the reward [thereof]." And after these things the old man said that [this] story was a proof according to which it is right for a man to be watchful and to guard his work with great care.

324. An old man said, "The Calumniator is the "Enemy, and the Enemy will never cease to cast into "thy house, if he possibly can, impurity of every kind, "and it is thy duty neither to refuse nor to neglect "to take that which is cast in and to throw it out; "for if thou art negligent thy house will become filled "with impurity, and thou wilt be unable to enter therein. "Therefore whatsoever the Enemy casteth in little by "little do thou throw out little by little, and thy house "shall remain pure by the Grace of Christ."

325. On one occasion ABBÂ POEMEN entreated ABBÂ MACARIUS with frequent supplication, saying, "Tell me a word [whereby I may live];" and the "old man answered and said unto him, "The matter

"which thou seekest hath this day passed from the "monks."

326. ABBÂ NICETAS used to tell about two brethren who had met together, and who wished to dwell[1] together; and one of them thought, saying, "Whatsoever "my brother wisheth that will I do," and similarly the other meditated, saying, "Whatsoever will gratify my "brother that will I do." Now when the Enemy saw this, he went to them and wished to separate each from the other, and as he was standing before the door, he appeared unto one of them in the form of a dove, and to the other in the form of a [Page 524] raven. Then one of them said unto his companion, "Seest thou this dove?" and the other replied, "It is "a raven." And they began to quarrel with each other, neither of them yielding to his companion, and they stood up and fought with each other even unto blood, and at length, to the joy of the Calumniator, they separated. And after three days they came to themselves and were sorry for what had happened, and they went back and lived together in peace as they did formerly, and each expressed his sorrow unto the other. And each of them devoted himself to performing the will of his companion, and they lived[2] together until the end.

327. One of the old men used to say, "If thou "seest a man who hath fallen into the water, and thou "canst help him, stretch out thy staff to him, and draw "him out, lest, if thou stretch out thy hand to him, "and thou art not able to bring him up, he drag thee "down and both of you perish." Now he spake this for the sake of those who throw themselves into helping other people who are being tempted, and who, through wishing to help [others] beyond their power, [themselves] fall. It is right for a man to help his

[1] Read كمِيدِيْدَ.

[2] Read حِيْدَه.

brother according to the power that he hath, for God demandeth not from a man that which is beyond his strength.

328. A brother asked an old man, and said unto him, "Supposing that I find sufficient for my daily "wants in any place, dost thou wish me not to take "care for the work of my hands?" The old man said unto him, "However much thou mayest have, do not "neglect the work of thy hands; work as much as thou "canst, only do not work with an agitated mind."

329. An old man used to say, "When the soldier[1] "goeth into battle he careth for himself only, and so "also doth the watchman; let us then imitate these "men, for riches, and family, and wisdom, without a "correct life and works, are dung."

330. An old man used to say [Page 525], "I await "death evening, and morning, and every day."

331. The same old man used to say also, "As he "who is a stranger is not able to take another stranger "into[2] the house of one by whom he hath not been "entreated to enter, so also is it in the case of the "Enemy, for he will not enter in where he is not "welcomed."

332. ABBÂ EPIPHANIUS said, "He who revealeth[3] and "discovereth his good work is like unto the man who "soweth [seed] on the surface of the ground, and doth "not cover it up, and the fowl of the heavens cometh "and devoureth it; but he who hideth his good works "is like unto the man who soweth his seed in the "furrows of the earth, and he shall reap the same at "harvest."

332A. ABBÂ EPIPHANIUS used to say, "Whensoever "a thought cometh and filleth thy breast, that is to

[1] Read قُدَّام.

[2] The better reading is جَنِيد.

[3] Read مِكَيِّل.

"say, thy heart, with vain glory or pride, say thou unto "it, 'Old man, behold thy fornication.'"[1]

333. And he also said, "O monk, take thou the "greatest possible care that thou sin not, lest thou "disgrace God Who dwelleth in thee, and thou drive "Him out of thy soul."

334. The old men said, "Let no monk do anything "whatsoever without first of all trying his heart [to "see] that what he is about to do will be [done] for "God's sake."

335. One of the fathers asked a youthful brother, saying, "Tell us, O brother, is it good to hold one's "peace or to speak?" then that young brother spake unto him, saying, "If the words [to be said] be useless, "leave them [unsaid], but if they be good, give place "to good things, and speak [them]. Yet, even though "the words be good, prolong not thy speech, but cut "it short, for silence is best of all."

336. RABBÂ PAUL the Great, the Galatian, used to say, "The monk who living in his cell hath some "small need, and who goeth out to provide therefor, "is laughed at by the devils."

337. The blessed woman EUGENIA said, "It is help- "ful to us to go about begging, only we must be with "Jesus, for he who is with Jesus is rich, even though "we be poor in the flesh. For he who holdeth the "things of earth in greater honour than the things of "the Spirit [Page 526] falleth away both from the "things which are first and the things which are last. "For he who coveteth heavenly things must, of necessity, "receive the good things which are on the earth. "Therefore it belongeth unto the wise to await not "the things which now exist [here], but the things "which are about to be, and the happiness which is

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[1] ... From Bedjan's edition, p. 569.

"indescribable, and in this short and troublesome life[1] "they should prepare themselves therefor."

338. On one occasion when ABBÂ ARSENIUS was living in the lower lands, and was troubled, he determined to leave his cell without taking anything from it, and he departed to his disciples in the body,[2] that is to say, to ALEXANDER and ZÔLÔS [ZOILUS]. Then he said to ALEXANDER, "Arise, and go back to the "place where I was living;" and ALEXANDER did so; and he said to ZOILUS, "Arise; and come with me to "the river, and seek out for me a ship which is going "to Alexandria, and then come back, and go to thy "brother." Now ZOILUS marvelled at this speech, but he held his peace; and thus they parted from each other, and the old man ARSENIUS then went down to the country of Alexandria, where he fell ill of a serious sickness. And his disciples went back and came to the place where they had been formerly, and they said to each other, "Perhaps one of us hath offended the "old man, and it is for this reason that he hath separated "from us;" but they could not find in themselves anything with which they had ever offended him. Now the old man became well again, and he said, "I will "arise and go to the fathers," and he journeyed on and came to PAṬÂRÂ where his disciples were. Now when the old man was nigh unto the river side a young Ethiopian woman saw him, and she came behind him, and drew near him, and plucked his raiment; and the old man rebuked her. Then the maiden said unto him, "If thou art a monk, depart to the mountain." Now the old man being somewhat sad at this remark, said within himself, "ARSENIUS, if thou art a monk, "[Page 527] depart to the mountain;" and afterwards his disciples Alexander and ZOILUS met him, and they fell down at his feet, and the old man threw himself

[1] For حتى read حتى.

[2] The better reading is فيحتمل.

down [on the ground] also, and he wept himself, and his disciples wept before him. And the old man said unto them, "Did ye not hear that I have been sick?" And they said unto him, "Yes." And the old man said, "Why did ye not seek to come and see me?" And Abbâ Alexander said, "Because the way in which "thou didst leave us was not clean, and because of it "many were offended, and they said, 'If they had not "'wearied [*or*, pressed] the old man in some way he "'would never have separated from them.'" The old man saith unto them, "I know that myself, but men "will also say, 'The dove could not find rest for the "'sole of her foot, and she returned to Noah in the "'ark;'" thus the disciples were healed, and they took up their abode with him again.

339. Abbâ Daniel used to tell concerning Arsenius that he never wished to speak about any investigation into the Scriptures, although he was well able to speak [on the subject] if he had been so disposed, but he could not write even a letter quickly.

340. A certain old man used to say, "Vaunt not "thyself over thy brother in thy mind, saying, 'I possess "'a greater measure of self-denial than he doth, and I "'can endure more than he,' but be subject unto the "Grace of Christ, with a humble spirit, and love which "is not hypocritical, lest through thy haughty spirit "thou destroy thy labours. For it is written,[2] 'Let him "'that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall;' and, "'A man must be seasoned with Christ as with salt.'"

341. An old man used to say, "Let there be not "unto thee free converse with the governor or the "judge, and be not with him continually; for from such "freedom of speech [*or*, boldness] thou wilt acquire "[freedom], and from merely thinking thou wilt covet."

342. Abbâ Agathon used to say, "I have never

[1] Read ܕܢܚܙܘܢ ܠܗ ܒܦܘܡ ܕܟܠ ܥܡܐ.

[2] 1 Corinthians x. 12.

"lain down to sleep and kept anger in my heart, or "even a thought of enmity against any man; and I "have never allowed any man to lie down to sleep "[Page 528] keeping any anger against me."

343. The old man HYPARCHUS used to say, "Do "not abuse thy neighbour, and drive not away a man "who turneth towards thee, so that thou mayest be "able to say to our Lord, 'Forgive us our sins, even "'as we also forgive those who trespass against us.'"

344. One of the fathers used to say, "If a man "ask thee for anything, and thou givest it to him "grudgingly, thou wilt not receive a reward for that "which thou hast given, as it is written, 'If a man ask "'thee to go with him a mile, go with him two;' and "the meaning of this is, 'If a man asketh anything of "'thee give [it] unto him with all thy soul and spirit.'"

345. One of the fathers related that there were three things which were especially honoured in monks: that is to say, with fear, and trembling, and spiritual gladness they thought it meet to draw nigh, I mean to the participation in the Holy Mysteries, and the table of the brethren, and the washing of one another, according to the example which their true RABBÂ CHRIST shewed unto them, before the great day of His Resurrection was fulfilled. And the old man himself produced an illustration [of this], saying, "There was a certain great old man who was a seer "of visions, and he happened to be sitting at meat "with the brethren, and whilst they were eating, the "old man saw in the Spirit as he was sitting at the "table that some of the brethren were eating honey, "whilst others were eating bread, and others dung; "and he wondered at these within himself. And he "made supplication and entreaty unto God, saying, 'O "'Lord, reveal unto me this mystery, and tell me why, "'when the food is all the same, and when the various "'things which are laid upon the table are only different "'forms thereof, the brethren appear to be eating different

"'kinds of food, for some seem to be eating honey, "'and others bread, and others dung.' Then a voice "came unto him from above, saying, 'Those who are "'eating honey are those who [Page 529] eat with "'fear, and with trembling, and with spiritual love when "'they sit at the table, and who pray without ceasing, "'and whose praise goeth up to God like sweet incense; "'for this reason they eat honey. And those who eat "'bread are those who confess and receive the Grace "'of God, which is given unto them by Him for these "'things. And those who eat dung are those who "'complain, and say, This is sweet and pleasant, and "'that is not seemly and prospereth not.' Now it is "not right to think about these at all, but we should "glorify and praise God the more, and receive [*or*, "welcome] His abundant provisions which come to us "without labour, so that there may be fulfilled in us "that which was said by the blessed Apostle, 'Whether "'ye eat, or whether ye drink, or whether ye do any-"'thing else, do all things unto the glory of God.'"[1]

346. They say that ABBÂ 'OR never told a lie, and never swore, and never cursed a man, and never spoke unless it was absolutely necessary.[2]

347. And it was he who said unto his disciple, "Take heed that thou never bringest an alien word "into this cell."

348. An old man used to say, "As far as I have "been able to overtake my soul when it hath trans-"gressed[3] I have never slipped [*or*, committed an "offence] a second time."

349. An old man used to say, "Strive with all thy "might so that thou mayest never in any way do evil

[1] 1 Corinthians x. 31.

[2] Bedjan adds here, One of the old men said, "That "which thou observest not thyself, how canst thou teach to "another?" (p. 575, No. 348).

[3] Read ܕܡܥܒܪܢܝ.

"to any man, and make thine heart to be pure with "every man."

350. ABBÂ AGATHON used to say to himself, whensoever he saw any act or anything which his thought wished to judge or to condemn, "Do not commit the "thing thyself," and in this manner he quieted his mind, and held his peace.

351. The old men used to say, "For a man to be "so bold as to condemn his neighbour resembleth the "sweeping of the lawgiver, or the judge, [Page 530] "from off his seat, and the wishing to pass judgment "in his place, and it is as if a man were to bring an "accusation against the weakness of the judge and to "condemn him, and such an act will be found to be the "rebellion of the slave[1] against his Lord, and against "the Judge of the living and the dead."

352. An old man used to say, "From the greatest "to the least of the things which I perform, I care-"fully consider the fruit which will be produced from "it, whether it be in thoughts, or in words, or in "deeds."

353. They used to tell the story about ABBÂ PACHOMIUS and say that on many occasions he heard the devils repeating many evil things of various kinds, some of which were to come upon the brethren. First of all[2] he heard one of them saying, "I have [strife] "with a man who constantly [defieth] me, for when-"soever I approach to sow thoughts in his mind, im-"mediately he turneth to prayer, and I depart from "him being consumed with fire." And another devil said, "I have [strife] with a man who is easy to per-"suade, and he doeth whatsoever I counsel him to do, "and I love him dearly." It is right then, O my brethren, that we should keep ourselves awake always, and that, making ourselves mighty men in the Name of

[1] Read ܕܒܥܠ.

[2] Read ܩܕܡܝܬ.

the Lord, we should strive against the devils, and then they will never be able to overcome us.

354. One of the holy men used to say, "Through "holding small wickednesses in contempt we fall into "great ones; consider then attentively the following "story which is told even as it took place. A certain "man laughed in an empty manner, and his companion "rebuked and condemned him; another [brother] hap- "pened to be there, and he set aside the fear,[1] saying, "'This is nothing; for what is it for a man to laugh?' "[And the brother replied, 'From laughter] pleasure is "'produced, and next empty words, and filthy actions, "'and iniquity, and so from the things which are "'thought to be small that wicked devil bringeth in "'great wickednesses. And from great wickednesses a "'man cometh to despair, for [Page 531] this cruel and "'wicked evil hath the Evil One discovered [*or*, in- "'vented] through the malignity of his craftiness, for "'for a man to commit sin is not so destructive as for "'a man to cut off hope from his soul. [For he who "'repenteth in a fitting manner, and according to what "'is right blotteth out his offences; but he who cutteth "'off hope from his soul][2] perisheth because he will not "'offer unto it the binding up of repentance. There- "'fore let not a man hold in contempt small wicked- "'nesses. For this is the seed which the Calumniator "'soweth, for if he made war openly it would not be "'difficult to fight, and victory would be easy; and "'even now, if we be watchful and strenuous, it will "'be easy for us to conquer, for it is God Who hath "'armed us, and He teacheth us and entreateth us not "'to hold even the smallest wickednesses in contempt. "'Hearken thou unto Him as He admonisheth [us], saying,[3]

[1] *I. e.*, thought lightly of the matter.

[2] Adding from B. ܘܐܡ ܠܐ ܢܫܒܩ ܐܢܫ ܡܢ ܚܛܝܬܗ ܕܡܝܬ ܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܫܒܩ ܐܢܫ ܡܢ ܚܛܝܬܗ ܕܚܝ ܗܘ.

[3] St. Matthew v. 22.

"'Whosoever shall say unto his brother, 'Râḳâ,' shall, "'be guilty of the fire of Gehenna;' and, 'He who "'looketh upon a woman to desire her hath already "'committed adultery with her in his heart.'[1] And in "another place he rebuked and admonished[2] those who "laugh, and concerning the idle word also He said, "'Its answer is given;' and on account of this the "blessed Job,' because of the thoughts which were in "the hearts[3] of his sons, offered up an offering. Now, "therefore, since we know all these things, let us "take good heed to ourselves [and avoid] the begin-"ning of the movement of our thoughts, and then we "shall never fall.'"

355. A brother said unto an old man, "Dost thou "not see that I have not even one war in my heart?" The old man said unto him, "Thou hast an opening "in thee at each of the four points of the compass, "and whatsoever wisheth can go in and come out "without thy perceiving it. But if thou wilt set up a "door, and wilt shut it, and wilt not allow evil thoughts "to enter, thou wilt then see them standing outside; "for if our minds be watchful and strenuous in loving "God, the Enemy who is the counsellor of wickednesses "will not approach [us]."

356. A certain Mother of noble rank said, "As the "stamped silver coin which is current loseth its weight "and becometh less, so doth the spiritual excellence "which is apparent and is made manifest become "destroyed; and as wax melteth [Page 532] before the "fire, so also doth the soul become lax and confused, "and strenuousness departeth from it."

357. One of the old men used to say, "The man "who doeth many good deeds doth Satan cast down "by means of small matters into pits, so that he may

[1] St. Matthew v. 22.

[2] The better reading is ܐܰܟ݂ܺܝ.

[3] Read ܒ݁ܠܒ݁ܰܒ݁ܰܝ.

"destroy the wages of all the good things which he "hath performed."

358. A brother asked ABBÂ POEMEN, saying, "For "what purpose were spoken the words, 'Take no thought "'for the morrow?'" The old man said unto him, "For the man who is under temptation, and is in "affliction; for it is not meet that such a man should "take thought for the morrow, or should say, 'How "'long shall I have to endure this temptation?' but he "should think upon patient endurance, saying, 'It is to-"'day, and the temptation will not remain thus for a "'long time.'" And the old man said, "It is good that "a man should be remote from temptation of the body, "for he, who is nigh unto the temptation of the body, "is like unto him that standeth upon the mouth of a "deep pit, and whom, whensoever his enemy wisheth, "he can easily cast therein. But if he be remote from "the temptation of the body, he is like unto a man "who is far away from the pit, and even though his "enemy may wish to cast him into it, he is not able "to do so because the pit is far away from him, and "whilst he is either urging him or dragging him "thereto, God, the Merciful One, sendeth him a helper."

359. And a brother said unto ABBÂ POEMEN, "My "body is weak, and I am not able to perform ascetic "labours;[1] speak to me a word whereby I may live;" the old man said unto him, "Art thou able to rule thy "thought and not to permit it to go to thy neighbour "in guile?"

360. And a brother also asked him, "What shall I "do? For I am troubled when I am sitting in my cell." The old man said unto him, "Think lightly of no man; think no evil in thy heart; condemn no man; "and curse no man; then shall God give thee rest, "and thy habitation shall be without trouble."

361. And the same old man used to say, [Page

[1] *I. e.*, "I am unable to rule myself."

533] "The keeping of the commandments, and the "taking heed to oneself in everything, and the ac- "quisition of oblations, are the guides[1] of the soul."

362. ABBÂ PÔEMEN said, A brother asked ABBÂ MOSES, saying, "In what manner is a man to keep him- "self from his neighbour?" The old man said unto him, "Except a man layeth it up in his heart that he hath "been already three years in the grave, he will not be "sufficiently strong [to keep] this saying."

363.[2] ABBÂ POEMEN said, "If thou seest visions, and "hearest rumours, repeat them not to thy neighbour, "for this is victory of the war."

364. The same old man also said, "The chief of "all wickednesses is the wandering of the thoughts."

365. ABBÂ POEMEN said, "If a man perform the "desire, and pleasure, and custom of these, they will "cast him down."

366. A brother asked ABBÂ POEMEN, saying, "If a "brother owe me a few oboli, shall I remind him of it?" The old man saith, "Remind him once." And the brother said unto him, "And if I have reminded him, "and he hath given me nothing, [what am I to do then?]" The old man saith unto him, "Let the thought perish, "only do not harass the man."

367. A brother asked ABBÂ JOSEPH, saying, "What "shall I do? For I cannot be disgraced, and I cannot "work, and I have nothing [wherefrom] to give alms." The old man said unto him, "If thou canst not do "these things, keep thy conscience from thy neighbour, "and guard thyself carefully against evil of every kind, "and thou shalt live; for God desireth that the soul "should be without sin."

368. A brother asked ABBÂ SISOÈS of SHĔḲÎPÂ[3]

[1] Read ⲛⲉⲥⲧⲁⲩ.

[2] In Bedjan's edition (p. 580) Saying No. 365 precedes No. 364.

[3] *I. e.*, "Abbâ Sisoes of the Rock."

about his life and works, and the old man said unto him that which DANIEL spake, "The bread of desire "I have not eaten," that is to say, "A man should not "fulfil the lust of his desire" [Page 534].

369. On one occasion ABRAHAM said unto ABBÂ SISOES, "Abbâ, thou hast grown old, let us draw nigh "unto the habitations of the children of men for a little;" and ABBÂ SISOES said unto him, "Let us go where "there is no woman;" then his disciple said unto him, "And what place is there without a woman except the "desert?" The old man said unto him, "Then let us "go to the desert."

370. On one occasion certain brethren came to ABBÂ PAMBÔ, and one of them asked him, saying, "Father, I fast two days at a time, and then I eat two "bread-cakes; shall I gain life, O father, or am I mak- "ing a mistake?" And another asked him and said, "I perform work with my hands [each] day to the "value of two *ḳîrâṭs*,[1] and I keep a few oboli by me "for my food, and the remainder I spend upon the "relief of the poor; shall I be redeemed, O father, or "am I making a mistake?" And the other brethren asked of him many things, but he answered them never a word. Now after four days they were wishing to depart, and the clergy entreated them, saying, "O "brethren, trouble not ye yourselves, for God will give "you a reward. The custom of the old man is not to "speak immediately, for he doth not speak until God "giveth him permission to do so." Then the brethren went to the old man and said unto him, "Father, pray "for us;" and he said unto them, "Do ye wish to depart?" And they said unto him, "Yes." Then he took their actions into his consideration, and he put himself in the position of one who was writing on the ground, and said, "PAMBÔ, one fasteth two days at a time, and

[1] The ⲕⲓⲣⲁⲧⲟⲛ, Arab. قيراط, Gr. κεράτιον, in English *carat,* is the third part of an obolus.

"then eateth two bread-cakes; shall he become a monk "by such things as these? No! PAMBO, [another] "worketh for two *ḳîrâṭs* a day, and giveth to those "who are in need, shall he become a monk by such "things as these? No!" And he said, "[Thy] actions "are good, and if thou preservest thy consience with "thy [good actions] thou shalt live;" and being consoled by these words, the brethren departed rejoicing.

371. Certain of the old men used to say, "If temp- "tation cometh upon thee in the place where thou "dwellest, forsake not the place in the time of temp- "tation, lest peradventure thou findest wherever thou "goest that from which thou fleest; but endure until "the period of temptation be overpast, [Page 535] and "thy departure can be [effected] without offence and "without affliction, for thou wilt have departed in a "time of peace. Now if thou departest during a period "of temptation, many will be afflicted because of thee, "and will say that thou didst depart because of the "temptation, and this will be unto them a source of "grief."

372. On one occasion when ABBÂ SISOES was sitting down with a certain brother, he sighed unknowingly, aud he did not perceive that the brother was with him, because his mind was carried away by the noon-day [prayer]; and he made apologies to that brother, and said unto him, "Forgive me, O my brother, that "I heaved a sigh before thee [proves] that I have not "yet become a monk."

373. An old man used to say, "Whensoever I bring "down the bar of the loom, and before I raise it up "again I always set my death before mine eyes."

374. Another old man used to say, "When I am "plaiting [*or*, sewing] a basket, with every stitch which "I put into it I set my death before my eyes before "I take another stitch."

375. ABBÂ DANIEL used to say, "On one occasion

"we went to ABBÂ POEMEN, and having eaten together, "he said unto us subsequently, 'Go ye, and rest your-"'selves a little, O my brethren;' and when the brethren "had gone to rest themselves I remained that I might "be able to talk to the old man privately. And I rose "up and came to his cell, and I saw that he was sitting "outside on a mat, and seeing me he lay down, now "he did not know that I had seen him seated, and he "pretended to be asleep. And this was the custom "of the old man, for everything which he did was done "by him in secret."

376. One of the fathers asked ABBÂ SISOES, saying, "If I am living in the desert, and the barbarians come "against me to kill me, supposing that I have the "strength may I kill one of them?" The old man said unto him, "No. Commit thyself unto God, and "leave [it to Him]. For with every trial which "cometh upon a man he should say, 'It hath come "'because of my sins;' but if something good hap-"peneth to him, let him say, 'It is of the Providence "of God'" [Page 536].

377. One of the old men used to say, "When the "eyes of the ox are covered over then is he sub-"jugated by the yoke bar, but if they do not cover "[his] eyes he cannot be made to bow beneath the "yoke; and thus is it with Satan, for if he can cover "over the eyes of a man he can bring him low with "every kind of sin, but if his eyes be able to see [*or*, "shine], he is able to flee from him."

378. ABBÂ ANTHONY said, "It is not seemly for us "to remember the time which hath passed, but let a "man be each day as one who beginneth his toil, so "that the excessive weariness [which we shall feel] may "be to our advantage. And let him say as PAUL said, "'That which is behind me I forget, and I reach out "'to that which is before me.'[1] And let him also

[1] Philippians III. 13

"remember the word of ELIJAH, who said, 'As the Lord "liveth, before Whom I stand this day.'"[1]

379. And the same old man said also, "Let us "not consider the time which is past, but let a man "be even as he who beginneth, and let him take care "in such wise that he shall make himself stand before "God."

380. ABBÂ PAPHNUTIUS said, "A monk is bound to "keep not only his body pure, but his soul free from "unclean thoughts. Now we find that the body is "consoled by thoughts, and unless the thoughts with-"draw themselves they will sink the body; and the "manner in which the thoughts work is as follows. "They feed all lusts of the flesh, which is ruled by "them, and in welcoming the lusts they stir up the "body also in revolt, and they cast it down, like a "pilot who is caught in a storm, and they make the ship "to sink. And is it fitting that we should know that "if one man loveth another he will say nothing evil "about him? for if he doth speak against him he is "not his friend; similarly he who loveth lust will not "speak anything evil against it, and if he doeth so, he "is not its friend. But if a man [speak] against that "which he knoweth not, [*or*, against that which causeth "him no affliction],[2] or against that which causeth him "no pain, [he may speak evil], but against that which "he hath suffered [Page 537] and that wherewith he "hath been tried by the Enemy, he will speak evil, "and he will not talk about him as a friend, but as an "enemy. Thus whosoever speaketh evil of and who "despiseth lust is not a friend of lusts.

381. And he also said, "As judges [*or*, governors] "slay the wicked even so do labours slay evil lusts; "and as wicked slaves fly from their lords even so "do lusts fly from the exhaustion [caused by] ascetic

[1] I Kings XVII. 1.

[2] B adds ܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܫܐ.

"labours. But good slaves hold their masters in honour "as sons hold in honour their fathers. For the exhaustion "[caused by ascetic labours] produceth good works, and "from it the virtues spring up, even as the passions "[are produced] from dainty meats. Exhaustion then "begetteth good works, when a man hath wearied "himself with [all] his soul, and it bringeth forth vir- "tues, and destroyeth vices, even as a righteous judge "[destroyeth the wicked]."

382. A brother asked ABBÂ POEMEN, saying, "Since "I suffer loss in spirit when I am with my Abbâ, dost "thou wish me to live with him any longer?" Now that old man knew that the brother was suffering loss through living with his Abbâ, and the old man marvelled how the brother could ask him the question, "Dost thou wish me to dwell with him any longer." And the old man said unto him, "If thou wishest, "dwell [with him]," and the brother went and did so, but he came again to the old man, and said, "I am "suffering loss in spirit;" and the old man said unto him nothing. And, when for the third time the brother came and said unto him, "Indeed, I cannot henceforth "dwell with him;" ABBÂ POEMEN said unto him, "Now "thou knowest how to live; depart, and dwell with him "no longer."

383. Therefore the old man said, "If there existeth "a man who knoweth how to suffer loss in his spirit, "and who still [feeleth] the need to ask a question "about [his] secret thoughts, it is a good thing that "he should ask; and it belongeth unto the old men to "search into and investigate a matter of this kind, "for concerning open sins a man doth not feel it "necessary to enquire, but he cutteth them off im- "mediately."

384. A brother asked one of the fathers, saying, "Tell me [Page 538] a word whereby I may live;" and the old man answered and said, "We must be careful "to work a little, and we must be neither negligent

"nor contemptuous, and then we may be able to live." And an old man told him the following story, saying, "There was a certain prosperous husbandman who was "exceedingly rich, and wishing to teach his sons hus- "bandry he said unto them, 'My sons, behold, see how "'I have become rich, and if ye will be persuaded by "'me, [and will do as I have done], ye will become "'rich also.' Then they said unto him, 'Father, we will "'be persuaded [by thee], tell us how [to become rich].' "Now although the husbandman knew well that he who "laboureth always becometh rich, yet because he thought "that they might be negligent, and despise [work], he "made use of cunning in his words, and said unto "them, 'There is one day in the year whereon if a "'man worketh he will become rich, but because of my "'exceedingly great old age I have forgotten which it is; "'therefore, ye must work continually, and ye must not "'be idle even one day, and ye must by every possible "'means in your power go forwards. But if ye are "'neglectful and disinclined to work, even for one day, "'take good heed to yourselves lest the day whereon "'ye do not work be that very day, and that lucky "'day pass you by, and your labour for all the rest of "'the year be in vain.'" Thus also, O my brethren, if we labour and work each day, and we do not make use of sloth, and negligence, and contempt, we shall find the way of life.

385. Abbâ Agathon asked Abbâ Alônîs, saying, "I wish to hold my tongue that it may not speak "falsehood, [what shall I do?]" Abbâ Alônîs said unto him, "If thou dost not lie, thou art about to commit "many sins." Agathon said, "How?" And the old man said unto him, Behold, two brethren are going to "commit a murder, and one of them will flee to thee. "And it will happen that the judge will come and search "for him, and he will ask thee, saying, 'Did this murder "'take place in thy presence?' And if thou dost not "wish to tell a lie thou wilt deliver up to death the

"other man, whom it would be right for thee to let "go free, [Page 539] so that he might be reserved "for the judgment hall of God, Who knoweth all things."

386. A certain brother was travelling on a road, and his aged mother was with him, and they came to a river which the old woman was not able to cross; and her son took his shoulder cloth and wound it round his hands so that they might not touch his mother's body, and in this manner he carried her across the river. Then his mother said unto him, "My son, why "didst thou first wrap round thy hands with the cloth, "and then take me across?" and he said, "The body "of a woman is fire, and through thy body there would "have come to me the memory of [the body of] another "woman, and it was for this reason that I acted as "I did."

CHAPTER IX.

Of love, and charity, and of the welcoming of strangers.

387. A certain old man used to dwell with a brother in a cell in a friendly manner, and he was a man of compassionate disposition; now a famine broke out, and the people began to be hungry, and they came to him that they might receive charity, and he gave bread unto them all. And when the brother saw that he was giving away large quantities of bread, he said unto the old man, "Give me my portion of "the bread;" and the old man said unto him, "Take "[it]," and he divided [what there was] and gave him [his share], and the brother took it from him for himself. And the old man was compassionate, and gave away bread from his portion, and many folk heard [that he was doing this] and came unto him, and when God saw the generosity of the old man He blessed

his bread; but the brother took[1] all his portion and ate it up, and when he saw that his bread was finished, and that the portion of the old man was still lasting, he made entreaty unto him, saying, "My portion hath "come to an end, and this [bread of thine is all] that "I have; receive me as a partner [therein]." And the old man said unto him, "Good," and he associated him with himself again. And when there was abundance [again], the people came to take [bread] from him, and he gave it unto them again. Now it came to pass that they lacked bread, and the brother went and found that bread was wanting, [Page 540] and a poor man came for some, and the old man said unto the brother, "Go in and give him some," and the brother said, "There is none;" for he was filled with bread. The old man said unto him, "Go in and search [for "some]," and having gone in he found that the place wherein they used to set [the bread] was filled with loaves to the very top, and he took [some] and gave to the poor man, and he was afraid. Thus that brother knew the excellence and the faith of the old man, and he gave thanks unto God and glorified him.

388. Two brethren went to the market to sell their wares, and whilst one of them had gone[2] to perform the service, he who was left by himself fell into fornication; and the other brother came and said unto him, "My brother,[3] let us go to the cell," but he said unto him, "I cannot go, for I have fallen into for-"nication." Now whilst he was seeking to do better, the brother began to swear to him, saying, "I also, "when I was away from thee, fell in the same manner, "nevertheless, come, and let us repent together, and "it may happen that God will pardon us." And when they came to their cells they informed the old men

[1] The better reading is ܢܬܩܒܠ.

[2] Read ܐܙܠ.

[3] Read ܐܚ.

about the temptation which had come to them, and whatsoever the old men told them to do the two brothers did, and the one brother repented with the other, just as if he had sinned with him. Now God saw the labour of his love, and in a few days He sent a revelation unto one of the old men concerning the matter, saying, "For the sake of the love of that "brother who did not sin, forgive thou him that did "commit sin." This is what is meant by the words, "A man should lay down his soul for his friend."

[And they also say that there was a certain self-denying and ascetic brother who wished to go to the city to sell his handiwork, and to buy the things which he needed; and he called a brother, and said unto him, "Come with me, and let us go and return together." And when they had gone as far as the gate of the city, the man of abstinence said unto his companion, "Sit thou down here, O my brother, and wait for me "while I go in and perform my business, and I will "return speedily." And having gone into the city, and wandered round about in the streets, a certain rich woman tried her blandishments upon him, and he stripped off his monk's garb, and took her to wife. Then he sent a message to his companion, saying, "Arise, get thee to thy cell, for I can never see thee "again;" now the man who had been sent to him with this message related unto him the whole matter, even as it had happened, and he said to the messenger, "God forbid that such things should be spoken about "my holy brother, and God forbid that I should depart "from this place until my brother cometh, according "to his word to me." And having tarried there a long time, and ceasing not from weeping and praying either by night or by day, the report of him was heard throughout the city, and the clergy, and the monks, and the governors of the city entreated him to depart to his monastery, but he would not hearken unto their supplication, and he said, "I cannot

"transgress my brother's command, and I cannot leave "this place until we go back together to the monas-"tery." So he stayed there for seven years, being burned by heat in the summer, and dried up by the cold and ice in the winter, and with hunger, and thirst, and weeping, and watching, he made supplication on behalf of his brother. Then at length one day his former companion himself came unto him, dressed in costly garments, and said unto him, "O So-and-so, I "am he who was with thee the monk So-and-so, arise, "get thee gone to thy monastery;" and the brother looked at him and said, "Thou art not, for he was a monk, and thou art a man in the world." Then God looked upon the trouble of that brother, and at the end of the seven years the woman died, and the brother [who had married her] repented, and again put on the garb of the monk, and went out to his companion; and when he saw him, he rose up, and embraced him and kissed him, and he took him with gladness, and they went forth to the monastery. Then that brother renewed his former ascetic works, and he was worthy of the highest grade of perfection. Thus by the patience of one man the other lived, and the saying, "A brother is helped by his brother, even as "a city is helped by its fortress," was fulfilled]."[1]

[1] The above section is translated from Bedjan's edition, page 590.

ܟܝ. ܗܘܐ ܐܦܠܓ ܗܘ ܕܒܗ ܐܚܘܗ ܕܥܒܪ ܠܗ ܡܕܡ ܕܠܐ ܢܫܒܩ ܠܗ ܕܐܙܠ ܥܡܗ ܠܒܝܬ ܕܝܪܬܐ ܕܐܚܘܗ ܕܒܥܝ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܥܡܗ ܒܗܕ ܫܢܝܢ ܫܒܥ ܒܩܝܛܐ ܕܡܬܚܡ ܒܫܪܒܐ ܘܒܣܓܝ ܕܩܪܝܪܐ ܘܒܪܥܒ ܘܒܨܡܐ ܘܒܒܟܝܐ ܘܒܫܗܪܐ ܘܒܬܚܢܢܐ ܥܒܕ ܒܥܘܬܐ ܠܐܚܘܗ. ܒܣܘܦ ܫܢܝܢ ܒܚܕ ܝܘܡܐ ܐܬܐ ܠܘܬܗ ܗܘ ܚܒܪܗ ܕܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܠܒܘܫ ܡܠܒܘܫܐ ܝܩܪܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢܐ ܐܢܬ ܦܠܢ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܗܘܐ ܥܡܟ ܒܝܬ ܕܝܪܬܐ ܦܠܢ ܐܢܬ ܗܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܝܬ ܕܝܪܬܟ ܘܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܒܥܝ ܠܡܗܘܐ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܘܒܥܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܥܝܢ ܒܬܪ ܥܠ ܥܠܒܗ ܕܗܘ ܐܚܘ ܕܢܦܫ ܘܒܟܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܐܘܝ ܠܝ ܕܐܬܬ ܐܢܬ ܐܢܐ ܒܥܠ ܐܢܬ ܐܢܐ ܒܥܠ ܐܢܬ ܐܢܐ ܒܥܠ

389. On one occasion two old men came to an old man, whose custom was not to eat every day; and when he saw them he rejoiced, and said, "Fasting "hath its reward, and he who eateth for the sake of "love fulfilleth two commandments, for he setteth aside "his own desire, and he fulfilleth the commandment, "and refresheth the brethren."

390. They used to tell the story of a certain brother who fell into sin, and he came unto ABBÂ LÔṬ, and he was perplexed and confused, and was going in and coming out, and was unable to rest. And ABBÂ LÔṬ [Page 541] said unto him, "What is "the matter with thee, O my brother?" And he said, "I have committed a great sin, and I am unable "to confess it before the fathers." The old man said unto him, "Confess it unto me, and I will bear it;" and then the brother said unto him, "I have fallen "into fornication, and I thought[1] that thou hadst dis-"covered the matter." And the old man said unto him, "Be of good courage, for there remaineth repen-"tance; get thee gone and sit in thy habitation, and "fast for two weeks, and I will bear with thee one "half of thy sin;" and at the end of three weeks it

[1] The better reading is ⲙⲁϥϫⲓⲥⲉ.

was revealed into the old man that God had accepted the repentance of that brother, and he remained with the old man, and was subject unto him until the day of his death.

391. Certain of the fathers came to JOSEPH of PHILIP (?) to ask him a question about welcoming the strangers who came to them, that is to say, whether it was fitting for a man to forsake his work, and to be with them in the ordinary way or not; and before they asked him, he said unto his disciple, "Lay to "heart that which I am about to do this day, and wait." Then the old man placed two pillows, one on his right hand, and the other on his left, and he said unto the fathers, "Sit ye down;" and he went into his cell, and put on the apparel of beggars, and went forth to them; and again, he took this off, and put on the beautiful apparel of the monks, and he went forth again, and passed among them; and he went in again and took this off, and having put on his own clothes, he sat down in their midst, and they marvelled at the doings of the old man. Then he said unto them, "Have ye "understood what I did?" and they said unto him, "Yes." He said unto them, "What is it?" And they said unto him, "Thou didst put on first of all the "apparel of beggars;" he said unto them, "Peradventure "I have been changed by that disgraceful apparel?" and they said unto him, "No." The old man said unto them, "Since I have not myself been changed by "all these changes of raiment, for the first change "brought no loss upon me, and the second did not "change me, so are we in duty bound [Page 542] "to welcome the brethren, according to the command "of the Gospel, which saith, 'Give to Caesar the "'things of Caesar, and to God the things of God.'[1] "Therefore, whensoever strange brethren arrive we "must welcome them gladly, for it is only when we

[1] St. Matthew XXII. 21.

"are alone that it is necessary for us to suffer." Now when the fathers heard [these words] they marvelled that he had spoken unto them that which was in their hearts before they asked him, and they glorified God, and departed with rejoicing; and they received his word as if it had [come] from God, and they accepted what he had said, and did it.

392. They used to speak about an old man, who was from Syria, and who used to dwell on the road of the desert of Egypt, and whose work was as follows:— At whatever time a monk came to him he would welcome him. And it came to pass that on one occasion a man came from the desert and asked him to allow him to rest, but he would not permit him to do so, and said unto him, "I am fasting." Then the blessed man was grieved and said unto him, "Is this thy "labour, that thou wilt not perform thy brother's desire? "I beseech thee to come, and let us pray, and let us "follow after him with whom this tree, which is here "with us, shall bow." Then the man from the desert knelt down, and nothing happened, but when he who received strangers knelt down, that tree inclined its head at the same time, and seeing this he profited, and they glorified God.

393. On one occasion Abbâ Ammon came to a certain place to eat with the brethren, and there was there a brother who had with him some bad news, for it had happened that a woman had come and entered his cell; and when all the people who were living in that place heard [of this], they were troubled, and they gathered together to expel that brother from his cell. Now when they learned that the blessed Bishop Ammon was there, they came and entreated him to go with them. But when the brother learned [this], he took the woman and hid her under an earthenware vessel; and when much people [Page 543] had assembled, and Abbâ Ammon understood what that brother had done, for the sake of God he hid the

matter. And he went in and sat upon the earthenware vessel, and commanded that the cell of the brother should be searched, but although they examined the place they found no one there. Then Abbâ Ammon answered and said, "What is this that ye have done? "May God forgive you;" and he prayed and said, "Let all the people go forth," and finally he took the brother by the hand, and said unto him, "Take heed "to thy soul, O my brother," and having said this he departed, and he refused to make public the matter of the brother.

394. There were two brethren who lived in the wilderness, and they were neighbours, and one of them used to hide whatsoever he gained from his work, whether it was bread or whether it was oboli, and place it with his companion's goods; now the other brother did not know this, but he wondered how it was that his goods increased so much. One day however, he suddenly caught him doing this, and he strove with him, saying, "By means of thy corporeal things "thou hast robbed me of my spiritual goods;" and he demanded that he should make a covenant with him never to act in this manner again, and then he left him.

395. On one occasion Abbâ Macarius went to visit a certain monk, and he found him to be ill, and he asked him if he wanted anything to eat, for he had nothing whatsoever in his cell, and the monk said unto him, "I want some honeycakes;" and when the wonderful old man heard [this] he set out for Alexandria, and he did not regard the journey as a trouble, although [the city] was sixty miles away from them, and he brought the honeycakes to give to the sick monk. And this he did himself, and did not tell any one else to bring them, and the old man thus made manifest the solicitude which he felt for the monks.

396. They used to tell the story of an old man who lived in Scete; now he had fallen sick, and wished to eat a little fine bread. And when a certain brother

heard [this], he took his cloak [Page 544] and placed in it some dry bread, and he went to Egypt and changed it [for fine bread] and brought [it] to the old man, and the old men looked upon him and wondered. But the old man refused to eat it, saying, "This is "the bread of blood, O my brother," and the old men entreated him to eat lest the offering of the brother should be in vain, and having pressed him the old man was persuaded and he ate the bread.

397. The blessed ANTHONY never deemed it right to do that which was convenient for himself to the same extent as that which was profitable for his neighbour.

398. An old man used to say, "I have never de- "sired any work which doeth good to myself and harm "to my neighbour, and I have the hope that what is "of benefit to my brother will be labour that is bene- "ficial to me, and that it will be a thing that will in- "vite a reward for me."

399. A certain brother from the Great Monastery was accused of [committing] fornication, and he rose up and came to father ANTHONY; and there came brethren after him from that monastery to persuade him [to give the brother up] and to take him away, and they began to accuse him, saying, "Thus hast thou "done," and the brother made apologies, and said, "I "never acted in this manner." Now ABBÂ PAPHNUTIUS happened to be there, and he spake a word unto them, saying, "I saw a man in the river with the mud up "to his knees, and some men came to give him help "and to drag him out, and they made him to sink up "to his neck." And when ABBÂ ANTHONY heard [him say this], he spake concerning ABBÂ PAPHNUTIUS saying, "Behold, indeed, a man who is able to still [contention] "and to redeem souls;" and the eyes of those brethren were opened, by the word of the old men, and they took that brother, and he departed with them to their monastery.

400. They used to say about ABBÂ THEODORE that when he was a young man he dwelt in the desert, and that he went to make his bread in the same place as the monks made theirs; and he found a certain brother who wished to make bread, but he had no one to do the work for him, and he was unable to do it for himself. Then ABBÂ THEODORE left his own bread and made that of the brother, [Page 545] and a second brother came and he made his bread also, and a third brother came, and he did likewise; and finally when he had satisfied them, he made bread for himself.

401. A brother asked an old man, saying, "There "were two brethren, and one of them led a life of "silent contemplation in his cell, and used to fast six "days at a time, and to devote himself to great labour, "and his companion used to minister to the sick; which "of them will receive the [greater reward for] his ser-"vice?" The old man saith, "If he who fasted were "to lift himself up upon profitable labour (?), he would "not find himself equal before God with him that visited "the sick."

402. There was a certain archimandrite in the monastery in the desert, and it happened that the brother who ministered unto him had a desire to leave the monastery, and he departed and dwelt in another monastery; now the old man was unwilling to let him go, and on this account he was always going to him to visit him, and he entreated him to return to his monastery, and the brother refused to do so. And for three whole years the old man used to go to the brother and entreat him to return, and finally he was constrained, and he departed with him. One day the old man told him to go out and bring in some fuel for the fire, and whilst he was gathering the firewood, by the agency of Satan, a stick stuck in his eye and it was put out; and when the old man heard of this he was greatly grieved, and being full of sorrow he

began to speak to him words of good cheer. And the brother answered, and said, "Be not afflicted, O "father, for I was the cause of this myself, for this "hath happened to me through all the toil and labour "which I brought upon thee when thou usedst to go "and come to me." And after a little time, when the brother had recovered from the sickness caused by the injury to his eye, the old man said unto him, "Go out "and bring in some palm leaves from the ground," for this was the work which the monks who dwelt there had to do; and whilst the brother was cutting them, [Page 546] once again, as it were by the agency of Satan, a stick sprang up in the air, and smote the man in the other eye, and it was put out, and he came to the monastery in grief, and he was perforce idle and useless because he was unable to do any work. Thus the old man was deprived [of a servant], and he had no one with him, because each of the brethren dwelt in his own cell. And after a short time the day of his departure, which he had known beforehand, drew nigh and he sent and called all the brethren and said unto them, "The day of my departure hath drawn "nigh. Watch ye yourselves, and take good heed to "the service of your lives [*or*, life's work], and treat "not lightly your ascetic labours." And each one of them began to say to him sorrowfully, "Father, why "art thou leaving us?" and the old man held his peace. Then he sent and brought the blind man, and revealed to him concerning his departure, and the blind man wept and said unto him, "Wherefore leavest thou me, "the blind man?" The old man saith unto him, "Pray "that I may have openness of face with God, and that "I may find mercy before Him, and I have hope "through His help, that on the First Day of the Week "thou wilt be able to perform the service with thy "companions;" and straightway the old man died. And, according to his word, a few days later he appeared unto that brother, and his eyes were opened,

and he became an Abbâ and a head of monks. Now these things were related unto us by those who were acquainted with the period wherein the old man lived.

403. A certain man of abstinence saw a man who had a devil, and who was unable to fast, and he was exceedingly sorry for him; and by reason of the love for Christ with which he was filled, and because he not only took care for himself, but for his companion also, he prayed and entreated God that the devil might come to him, and that the man might be released from him. Now God looked upon his prayer and upon his good will, and saw that the holy man was carrying a great load on behalf of that demoniac,[1] and since that brother began to prolong his fasting and prayer, and to practise continually self-denial, in a few days [Page 547] that evil spirit departed.

404. They used to say concerning ABBÂ POEMEN that when he was pressed by any man to go with him to eat at an unusual time, he would go, with the tears streaming from his eyes, so that he might not resist the wish of that brother and cause him annoyance; for he would forego his own will, and he would humble himself and go.

405. There was an old man in the CELLS whose name was APOLLO, and when one of the brethren came to call him to work, he would go joyfully, saying, "I "go to-day with the King Christ to work on my own "behalf, for this is the reward of this labour."

406. On one occasion ABRAHAM, the disciple of ABBÂ SISOES, was tempted by Satan, and the old man saw him fall down, and straightway he spread out his hands towards heaven, and said to God, "My Lord, "I will not let Thee go until Thou hast healed him," and straightway ABRAHAM was healed.

407. A certain monk was sitting by the monastery,

[1] The better reading is ܒܥܝܢ.

and whilst he was occupied in great labours, it happened that strangers came to the monastery, and they forced him to eat with them contrary to his usual custom; and afterwards the brethren said unto him, "Father, wast thou not just now afflicted?" And he said unto them, "My affliction is to break my "will."

408. On one occasion three old men went to ABBÂ AKÎLÂ, and on one of them [rested] some small suspicion of evil; and one of them said unto him, "Father, "make me a net," and he replied, "I will not make "thee a net." Then another said unto him, "Do [us] "an act of grace, and make us a net, so that we may "be able to keep thee in remembrance in our monas-"tery;" and AKÎLÂ said again, "I am not at leisure [to "do so]." Then the third brother, on whom [rested] the suspicion of evil, also said unto him, "Father, make "me a net which I can possess [direct] from thy hands;" and AKÎLÂ answered straightway, and said to this man, "I [Page 548] will make one for thee." And afterwards the [other] two brethren said unto him privately,[1] "[Consider] how much we entreated thee, and yet thou "wouldst not be persuaded to make [a net] for us, and "thou didst say to this man, 'I will make thee [one] "immediately!" The old man said unto them, "I told "you that I would not make one, and ye were not "grieved, because I had not the leisure; but if I had "not made one for this man, he would have said, 'It "'was because the old man had heard about my sins "'that he was unwilling to make a net for me."

409. On one occasion three brethren went to harvest, and the three of them undertook to reap the harvest [in certain fields] together for a certain sum of money; but one of them fell sick on the first day, and was unable to work, and he went back and lay down in his cell. Then one of the two brethren who

[1] The better reading is ⟨syriac⟩.

remained said unto his companion, "Behold, O my "brother, thou seest that our brother hath fallen sick, "let us exert ourselves a little, thou and I, and let us "believe that by his prayers we shall be sufficiently "strong to do his share of the work of harvest for "him." Then when the harvest was ended, and they came to receive their hire, they called the [sick] brother, and said unto him, "Come, brother, and take also the "hire of thy harvesting;" and he said, "What hire can "there be for me since I have not been harvesting?" And they said unto him, "Through thy prayers the "harvest hath been reaped; come now, and take [thy] "hire." Then the contention between them waxed strong, for the [sick] brother contended that he ought not to receive [any wages], and they said, "We will "not leave thee until thou dost;" so they went, that they might be heard by a certain great old man, and that brother answered and said, O father, three of us "went to harvest, but I fell sick on the first day, and "went and lay down in my cell, and, although I did "not work even one day, these brethren urge me, "saying, 'Come and take the hire for which thou didst "'not work.'" Then the two brethren said, "Three of "us went to the harvest, and we took certain fields "[to reap] together, and if we had been thirty we should "[Page 549] have succeeded in reaping them with great "labour; but through the prayers of this our brother "the two of us reaped them quickly, and we said to "him, 'Come, take thy hire, because, through thy pray-"'ers, God helped us, and we reaped quickly,' but he "would not take [it]." Then the old man said unto the brethren who were with him, "Beat the board, and "let all the brethren be gathered together," and when they were assembled he said unto them, "Come, O "ye brethren, and hear this day a righteous judg-"ment," and he related before them the whole matter, and they decided that the brother was to receive his hire, and that he might do whatsoever he wished

[therewith]. And the brother went away weeping[1] and distressed.

410. On one occasion a certain demoniac came to Scete, and having passed a long time there without being healed, he complained about the matter to one of the old men, who made the sign of the Cross over him, and healed him. But the devil was angry, and said unto the old man, "Now that thou hast cast me out "I will come upon thee;" and the old man said unto him, "Come gladly, and I shall rejoice." And the old man passed twelve years with the devil inside him, vexing him, now he used to eat twelve dates each day, and after these years that devil leaped out of him, and departed from him. Now when the old man saw that he was taking to flight, he said unto him, "To whom dost thou flee? Continue [with me] longer;" and the devil answered and said unto him, "By Jupiter, "God hath made thee useless, O old man; God alone "is equal to thy strength."[2]

411. The old man THEODORE asked ABBÂ PANBO, saying, "Tell me a word;" and with much labour[3] he said unto him, "THEODORE, get thee gone, and let thy "mercy be poured out on every man, for [thy] loving "kindness hath found freedom of speech [*or*, boldness] "before God."

412. A certain brother went to buy some linen from a widow, and as she was selling it to him, she sighed; the brother said unto her, "What aileth thee?" and the widow said unto him, "God hath sent thee "this day that my orphans may be fed." Now when that brother heard [these words] he was [Page 550] distressed, and he took secretly from the linen which

[1] Read ܒܟܝ.

[2] The better reading is ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܫܠܡ ܐܢܬ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܣܒ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܥܝ ܠܟ.

[3] Read ܒܥܝܢܐ ܣܓܝܐ.

was his, and threw[1] it on to the widow's side of the scales until he fulfilled an act of charity towards her.

413. A certain brother came to ABBÂ ÔR, and said unto him, "Come with me to the village, and buy me "a little wheat of which I am in need;" now the old man was greatly troubled at this, because he was not accustomed to go to the village, nevertheless, being afraid [of transgressing] the commandment, he rose up and went with him. And when they arrived at the village, the old man saw[2] a man passing by, and he called him and said unto him, "Do an act of kindness, "and take this brother and satisfy his need," and in this way he was able to flee to the mountain.

414. On one occasion ADLÊP, Bishop of NEAPOLIS, went to visit ABBÂ SISOES, and when he wished to depart the old man made him and the brethren who were with him to eat in the morning; now the days were the first days of the fast. And when they had made ready the table to eat, behold, certain men from the plough knocked at the door, and the old man said unto his disciple, "Open to them, and put some of the boiled "food in a dish, and set it before them to eat, for "they have just come from labour." The Bishop said, "Let it alone, or perhaps they will say that ABBÂ "SISOES eateth at this time." And the old man looked at the youth, and said unto him, "Go, and give them "the food;" and when the strangers saw the boiled food, they said unto him, "Have ye strangers with "you? Peradventure Abbâ is also eating with them?" And the disciple said unto them, "Yes." Then they cried[3] out and spake words of condemnation to the company, saying, "May God forgive you, for ye have "made[4] the old man to eat at this time of the day.

[1] Read ܡܥܒܪ.

[2] The better reading is ܚܙܐ.

[3] The better reading is ܩܥ ܒܟܝܢ.

[4] Read ܕܐܟܠܗ ܠܫܝܚܐ.

"Perhaps ye are unaware that ye are causing him "much vexation thereat?" And when the Bishop heard these things he expressed contrition, and said unto him, "Forgive me, I have behaved after the manner "of a man, but thou hast acted like God."

415. They used to say that, [on one occasion] when ABBÂ AGATHON came to the city to sell his handiwork, he found a stranger [Page 551] lying sick in the market, and he had no man to care for him, and the old man stayed with him; and he hired a room in the town and remained therein working with his hands, now [what he received therefor] he spent on the rent of the room and on the needs of the sick man, for a period of four months, and when the sick man was made whole the old man departed to his own cell.

416. And a old man used to say, "It is a defect "in a man if, when he is reviled by his brother, or "when any evil cometh to him from him, he cannot "strengthen his love before he meeteth him."

417. A brother was, on one occasion, sent from Scete by his Abbâ on a camel to Egypt to fetch palm leaves for [making] baskets, and having gone down and brought the camel, another brother met him, and said unto him, "Had I known that thou wast coming "up I should have begged thee to bring a camel for "me also;" and when the brother came and told his Abbâ what had been said unto him by his companion, his Abbâ said unto him, "Take the camel and lead it "to that brother, and say unto him, 'We have taken "'counsel, and we have given up the intention of "'bringing up palm leaves at present, but do thou "'take [the camel], and bring some up for thyself.'" Now the brother did not wish to accept the camel, but [his companion] entreated him [to do so], saying, "If thou dost not take him, we shall waste what we "have paid in hire for him." So the brother took the camel and brought up his palm leaves. And after he

had gone up[1] to Egypt that brother took the camel a second time, and he came back that he himself might go up; and the brother said unto him, "Where "takest thou the camel?" and he said unto him, "To "Scete, so that we also may bring[1] up our palm leaves;" and that brother repented and was very sorry, and he expressed contrition, and said, "Forgive me, my "brethren, for your great charity hath taken away my "hire."

418. One of the brethren said, "Whilst we were "sitting and talking about love, ABBÂ JOSEPH said, 'Do "'we know what love is?' And he said that ABBÂ "AGATHON [Page 552] had a little knife,[2] and that a "certain brother came to him, and said, 'Father, the "'little knife which thou hast is pretty;' and ABBÂ "AGATHON did not let him depart until he had "taken it."

419. ABBÂ AGATHON used to say, "If I could find "an Arian to whom I could give my body and take "his in its place, I would do so, because this would be "perfect love."

420. A brother asked ABBÂ MAṬÂÂÎS, saying, "What "shall I do if a brother come unto me, and it be a "time of fast or the morning, and I am in tribulation?" The old man said unto him, "If thou art afflicted, and "dost eat with the brother, thou doest well; but if "thou dost not look at the man, and dost eat, this is "a matter of thy will only."

421. MOTHER SARAH used to say, "It is a good "thing for a man to give alms, even though he do so "for the approbation of the children of men, for from "this he will come to do it for God's sake."

422. A brother asked ABBÂ POEMEN, saying, "If I "find a place wherein there is pleasure for the brethren,

[1] Read ذهكب.

[2] Read جنصب.

[3] The better reading is جنسه ٥٥٦ ذه ومكتب. ٥٥٨٤ كمه٦٥ ٥٥٨٤ سج.

"dost thou wish me to dwell there?" The old man said unto him, "Where thou wilt not do harm to thy "brother, there dwell."

423. ABBÂ POEMEN used to say that whenever ISIDORE, the priest of Scete, used to address the brethren in the church, he spake the following words only:— "My brethren, it is written, Forgive thy brother that "thou also mayest be accounted worthy of forgive- "ness."

424. They used to say that at the beginning ABBÂ ZENO refused to take anything from any man, and that those who brought him things used to go away sorrowfully because he would not be persuaded to accept them from them. And other men used to come and ask him to give them gifts as of a great old man, and they also went away sorrowfully because he refused to do so.[1] Then the old man said within himself, "Those who bring go away in sorrow, and those who "beg also go away grieving because they have received "nothing; I will, therefore, act as follows, If any man "bringeth me anything I will take it, and if any man "asketh me for anything, I will give it;" and he did so, and pleased everyone.

425. The disciple of ABBÂ THEODORE said, "A cer- "tain man on one occasion came to sell onions, and "he filled a basin with some of them, and gave them "to us; and the old man said to me, 'Fill [the basin] "'with wheat, and give it to him.' Now there were "two baskets of wheat there, one full of clean wheat, "and the other was full of wheat which was dirty, "and I filled the basin with the dirty wheat and gave "it to him. Then the old man looked at me in wrath "and anger, and in my fear I fell down, and broke "the basin; and the old man said unto me, 'Arise, thou "'art not akin to me, but I know well what I said "'unto thee.' And the old man went in and filled his

[1] Adding, ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܗܟܢܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܐܢܬ ܠܝ ܗܟܢܐ ܕܐܥܒܕ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܗܟܢܐ.

"garment with clean wheat, and gave it to the man "with the onions, together with his onions."

426. A certain monk used to dwell by the side of a coenobium, and he was occupied in great ascetic labours, and led a life of hard work, and strangers came to the coenobium, and forced him to eat before his time; and afterwards the brethren said unto him, "Art thou not now afflicted, father?" He said unto them, "Although I am afflicted I have cut off my "desire."

427. A certain old man used to say, "It is right "for a man to take up the burden for those who are "akin [*or*, near] to him, whatsoever it may be, and, "so to speak, to put his own soul in the place of that "of his neighbour, and to become, if it were possible, "a double man; and he must suffer, and weep, and "mourn with him, and finally the matter must be ac- "counted by him as if he himself had put on the "actual body of his neighbour, and as if he had ac- "quired his countenance and soul, and he must suffer "for him as he would for himself. For thus is it "written:—'We are all one body,' and this [passage] "also affordeth information concerning the holy and "mysterious kiss."

428. An old man said that the father had a custom of going to the cells of the new brethren, who wished to live by themselves, to visit them, lest one of them might be tempted[1] [Page 554] and injured in his mind by the devils, and if they found any man who had been harmed they would bring him to the church, and would place a wash-basin full of water [in the midst], and when prayer had been made on behalf of him that had been brought there, all the brethren would wash themselves and then pour some of the water upon him, and immediately that brother was cleansed.

429. A brother asked an old man, saying, "If I

[1] Read ܢܬܦܬܐ.

"find a brother concerning whom I have heard [that "he hath committed] some offence, I never rest until "I have brought him into my cell; but if I see a man "who leadeth a good life I bring him unto myself "gladly." The old man said unto him, "Do that which "is good twice over unto the former man, for he is "sick, and he needeth help."

430. An old man used to say, "Defeat cometh to "a man if, when he is reviled and treated with con- "tempt by his brother, he doth not shew him evenness "of heart before he repenteth and asketh him to for- "give him."

431. There was a monk, and away on the mountain, which was about ten miles distant from him, was another monk; and the first monk had some bread in his cell, and he meditated in his mind and determined to invite the other monk to come and partake of his bread. And again he thought in his mind, saying, "Since the bread is with me I shall give my brother "the labour [of walking] ten miles [if I invite him to "come here], but it will be more helpful [to him] if I take "one half of the bread which I possess, and carry it to "to him;" so he took the bread to carry it to the cell of the other brother. Now as he was journeying along, he tripped up, and fell, and injured one of his fingers, and as the blood was running down he began to cry because of the pain; and there appeared unto him suddenly an angel who said unto him, "Why weepest "thou?" And the monk said unto him, "I have hurt "my finger, and it paineth me;" and the angel said unto him, "Dost thou weep because of this? Weep "not, for the number of every step which thou takest "for our Lord's sake is written down, [Page 555] and "is estimated at a great reward [*or*, hire] before Him, "and the report of the labour of such things goeth up to "Him. And that thou mayest be certain that such is the "case, behold, in thy presence I will take some of this "blood and carry [it] to our Lord;" and immediately the

monk was healed, and with rejoicing and thanksgiving to God he set out again on his journey to go to his companion. And having come to him and given him the bread, he related unto him concerning the love for man which is found in the good Lord, the Creator of the universe, and then went back to his cell. Now after one day he took the other half of the bread and went to carry it to another monk. And it happened that he also was found to be burning with anxiety to emulate works of this kind, and he wanted to do even as the other monk had done; and having set out to go and carry the bread of the first monk, they happened to meet each other on the way. Then the first monk who had done good to the other monk began to say unto him, "I possessed a certain treasure, and thou "wishest to rob me [of it];" and the other monk said unto him, "Where is it written that the strait and "narrow door is sufficient for thyself alone? Let us, "even us, go in with thee." Then straightway, whilst they were holding converse, the angel of the Lord appeared, and said unto them, "Your contending hath "ascended unto the Lord even as a sweet smell."

432. On one occasion, a certain excellent man, who feared God in his life and works, and who was living in the world, went to ABBÂ POEMEN, and some of the brethren, who were also with the old man, were asking him questions [wishing] to hear a word from him. Then ABBÂ POEMEN said to the man who was in the world, "Speak a word to the brethren;" but he entreated him, saying, "Forgive me, father, but I came to learn." And the old man pressed him [to speak], and, as the force of his urging increased, he said, "I am a man "living in the world, and I sell vegetables, and because "I do not know how to speak from a book, listen ye "to a parable. There was a certain man who had "[Page 556] three friends, and he said to the first, "'Since I desire to see the Emperor come with me;' "and the friend said unto him, 'I will come with thee

"'half the way.' And the man said to the second "friend, 'Come, go with me to the Emperor's presence;' "and the friend said unto him, 'I will come with thee "'as far as his palace, but I cannot go with thee inside;' "and the man said the same unto his third friend, who "answered and said, 'I will come with thee, and I will "'go inside the palace with thee, and I will even stand "'up before the Emperor and speak on thy behalf.'" Then the brethren questioned him, wishing to learn from him the strength of the riddle [*or*, dark saying], and he answered and said unto them, "The first friend "is abstinence, which leadeth as far as one half of the "way; and the second friend is purity and holiness, "which lead to heaven; and the third friend is loving-"kindness, which stablisheth a man before God, and "speaketh on his behalf with great boldness."

433. A brother went to visit a certain monk, and when he went forth from him, he said unto him, "For-"give me, father, for having made thee to desist from "thy rule;" and the monk said unto him, "My rule is "to refresh thee, and to send thee away in peace."

433A.[1] On one occasion a command was given to the brethren who were in Scete, and it was said unto them, "Fast ye this week, and celebrate the Passover." And it happened that some brethren came from Egypt to Abbâ Moses, and whilst he was boiling for them a little food, his neighbours saw the smoke [of his fire] rising up, and they said to the clergy, "Behold, Moses "hath abrogated the command, and hath boiled some "food in his cell;" and they said unto them, "Hold ye "your peace, and when he cometh to us we will speak "to him." Now when the Sabbath arrived, the clergy, having regard to his great ascetic labours, said unto him before the whole assembly, "O Abbâ Moses, though thou dost abrogate the command of men, thou stablishest "[that] of God."

[1] In Bedjan's edition this Saying is No. 436 (p. 613).

434. They used to tell the story of a certain brother who, when he was throwing away [Page 556] the ears[1] of his baskets, heard his neighbour say, "What "shall I do? For the festival draweth nigh, and I have "no ears to put on my baskets;" and the brother went straightway and picked up the ears of his baskets, and brought them to his companion, saying, "Behold, I have "these [ears] which are superfluous, take them and put "them on thy baskets;" and he left his own work and completed that of his companion.

435. Certain of the old men went to ABBÂ POEMEN, and said unto him, "Dost thou wish us if we see brethren "sleeping in the congregation, to smite them so that "they may wake up?" And he said unto them, "If I "see my brother sleeping, I place his head upon my "knees, and I give him a place to rest upon;" then an old man said unto him, "And what dost thou say "unto God?" ABBÂ POEMEN said unto him, "I say "unto Him thus: Thou Thyself hast said, 'First of all "'pluck the beam out of thine own eye, and then thou "'wilt be able to see to take the mote out of the eye "'of thy brother.'"

CHAPTER X.

OF HUMILITY, AND OF HOW A MAN SHOULD THINK LIGHTLY OF HIMSELF, AND SHOULD ESTEEM HIMSELF THE INFERIOR OF EVERY MAN.

436. ABBÂ ISAAC, the priest of the CELLS, used to say:—When I was a young man I used to dwell with ABBÂ CRONIUS, and he never at any time told me to do any work; now he was an old man and he trembled, but he would stand up and give water with his hands to me, and to all of us alike. And with ABBÂ THEO-

[1] *I. e.*, handles.

DORE OF PARMÊ it was the same, for he never told me to do any work whatsoever, but he would make ready the table with his own hands, and would say, "Brother, "come [and] eat." And I said unto him, "Father, I "came that I might assist thee, and how is it that thou "dost not tell me to do something?" But the old man in all this held his peace. And I went up and informed the old men, and they came to him, and said [Page 558] unto him, "Father, this brother came unto "thy holiness that he might be assisted [by thee], and "why dost thou not tell him to do something?" Then the old man said unto them, "Am I the head of a "monastery that I should give him a command? I shall "say unto him nothing except that [I] wish him to do "that which he seeth me do." And from that time I was always before him in doing that which the old man was going to do; now whatsoever he did, he did in silence, and in this manner he made me to know and taught me to work in silence also.

437. There was a certain Egyptian monk in Constantinople under the reign of THEODOSIUS the LESS, and he used to dwell in a little cell, and when the Emperor went forth [on one occasion] to take his pleasure, he came by himself to the monk; now the following of men who were with him waited for him at a distance. And the Emperor took off his crown from his head, and hid it, and he knocked at the door of the monk, and when he opened to him he knew that it was the Emperor, but he [feigned] forgetfulness and would not recognize him, and he welcomed him as one of his own rank in life, and he prayed and sat down. Then the Emperor began to question him, saying, "How are the fathers who are in Egypt?" And the monk said unto him, "They all pray for thy health." And the Emperor examined his cell, and saw nothing there except a small basket wherein was bread, and the monk said to him, "Eat," and he dipped the bread in water, and threw [some] oil on it, and salt, and he

gave it to the Emperor, who ate it; and he gave him some water, and he drank. Then the Emperor said unto him, "Knowest thou who I am?" [and the monk said unto him, "God knoweth who thou art." And the Emperor said unto him,[1]] "I am THEODOSIUS, "the Emperor," and straightway the monk paid homage unto him. Then the Emperor said unto him, "Blessed "art thou in that thou hast none of the cares of this "world; verily I was born to kingship and before this "day I have never been satisfied with bread and water, "and they have pleased me greatly;" and the Emperor began to pay honour to him. And straightway that monk fled to Egypt with all the speed that was possible [Page 559].

438. A certain brother came to ABBÂ MACARIUS, the Egyptian, and said unto him, "Father, speak to "me a word whereby I may live." ABBÂ MACARIUS saith unto him, "Get thee to the cemetery and blas- "pheme the dead;" and he went and blasphemed them, and stoned them with stones, and he came and informed the old man [that he had done so]. And the old man said unto him, "Did they say nothing unto "thee?" and the brother said unto him, "No." And again the old man said unto him, "Go to-morrow and "praise them, and say, 'Apostles, Saints, and Righteous "'Men;'" and he came to the old man, and said, "I "have praised them." And the old man said unto him, "And did they return thee no answer?" and he said, "No." And the old man said unto him, "Thou seest "how thou hast praised them, and that they said nothing "to thee, and that although thou didst revile them they "returned thee no answer. And thus let it be with "thyself. If thou wishest to live, become dead, so that "thou mayest care neither for the reviling of men nor "for [their] praise, for the dead care for nothing; in this "wise thou wilt be able to live."

[1] Adding, ܐܢܐ ܬܐܘܕܘܣܝܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܝܕܥ ܡܢ ܐܢܬ ܐܢܬ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܢܐ ܬܐܘܕܘܣܝܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ.

439. One of the fathers used to relate that he had an old man in a cell, who performed many ascetic labours, and who clothed himself in a palm leaf mat; and this old man went to Abbâ Ammon, who, seeing that he wore a palm leaf mat only, said unto him, "This will profit thee nothing." And the old man asked him, saying, "Three thoughts vex me. Shall I "go to the desert, or shall I go forth into exile, or "shall I shut myself up in a cell, and receive no man, "and eat once every two days?" Abbâ Ammon said unto him, "Thou art not able to do any one of these "things, but go, sit in thy cell, and eat a very little "food each day, and let there be in thine heart always "the word[s] of the publican, 'God, be merciful to me "'a sinner,'[1] and thus thou shalt be able to live."

440. Abbâ Daniel used to relate a story, saying:— There was with us in Babylon of Egypt the daughter of a man who was the captain of a *numerus* of soldiers, who was possessed of a devil, and her father took her to many places, but she [Page 560] could not find healing. Now her father had a friend who was a monk, and he said unto him, "No man is able to cure "her except those monks of whom I spake unto thee, "but even if we entreat them to do this they will not "agree to do it, because they flee from the love of "the approbation [of men]. Nevertheless, when they "come to sell [their] baskets, ye shall pretend that ye "wish to buy some, and when they come to sell and "to take the price of the baskets from thy house, we "will say unto them, 'Put up a prayer, and this maiden "'shall be healed;'" and the man did so. And they came as it were to buy baskets, and they found the disciple of these holy men sitting down and selling [them], and they took him and the baskets, and carried him to their houses, and then they set another man in his place, and commanded him when the monks

[1] St. Luke xviii. 13.

came to bring them to them. Now when their disciple entered the house, the maiden who was possessed of a devil went forth and smote him on the cheek, but that brother fulfilled the commandment and turned to her the other cheek, and straightway that devil, who was unable to bear the blow of the commandment of Christ which was fulfilled, cried out with a loud voice, and departed. And when the monks came [the people in the house] related unto them the reason for what had happened, and they glorified God, and said, "It is customary for the boasting of the Evil One "to fall before the humility of the commandments of "Christ."

441. On one occasion ABBÂ AMMON went to ABBÂ ANTHONY, and he lost the way, and sat down for a little and fell asleep; and he rose up from his slumber, and prayed unto God, and said, "I beseech Thee, O "Lord God, not to destroy that which Thou hast "fashioned." Then he lifted up his eyes, and, behold, there was the form of a man's hand above him in the heavens, and it shewed him the way until he came and stood above the cave of ABBÂ ANTHONY; and when he had gone into the cave to the old man, ABBÂ ANTHONY prophesied unto him [Page 561], saying, "Thou shalt increase in the fear of God." Then he took him outside the cave, and shewing him a stone, said, "Curse this stone, and smite it," and he did so, and ABBÂ ANTHONY said unto him, "It is thus "that thou shalt arrive at this state, for thou shalt "bear heaviness, and great abuse;" and this actually happened to ABBÂ AMMON. Now, through his abundant goodness ABBÂ AMMON knew not wickedness. And after he had become a Bishop, through his spiritual excellence they brought unto him a virgin who had conceived, and they said unto him, "So-and-so "hath done this deed; let them receive correction;" but he made the sign of the Cross over her belly, and ordered them to give her six pairs of linen cloths,

and he said, "Peradventure when she bringeth forth "either she or the child will die, [and if either dieth] "let them be buried." Then those who were with him said unto him, "What is this that thou hast done? "Give the command that they receive correction." And he said unto them, "See, O my brethren, she is nigh[1] "unto death, and what can I do?" Then he dismissed her. And the old man never ventured to judge any one, for he was full of lovingkindness and endless goodness to all the children of men.

442. They used to say that [on one occasion] when ABBÂ ARSENIUS the GREAT fell ill in Scete, a priest went and brought him to the church, and he spread a palm leaf mat for him, and [placed] a small pillow under his head; and one of the old men came to visit him and saw that he was lying upon a mat and that he had a pillow under his head, and he was offended and said, "And this is ARSENIUS lying upon such things!" Then the priest took the old man aside privately, and said unto him, "What labour didst thou do in thy "village?" and the old man said unto him, "I was a "shepherd." And the priest said unto him, "What "manner of life didst thou lead in the world?" and he said unto him, "A life of toil, and sore want." And when the old man had described all the tribulation which he had endured in the world, the priest said unto him, "And here [Page 562] what manner of life "dost thou lead?" And the old man said unto him, "In my cell I have everything comfortable, and I have "more than I want;" and the priest said unto him, "Consider [the position of] ABBÂ ARSENIUS when he "was in the world! He was the father of kings, and "a thousand slaves, girt about with gold-embroidered "vests, and with chains and ornaments round their "necks, and clothed in silk, stood before him; and he had the most costly couches and cushions [to lie upon].

[1] The better reading is وَيُخْدِمُ.

"But thou wast a shepherd, and the comforts which "thou didst never enjoy in the world thou hast here; "but this man ARSENIUS hath not here the comforts "which he enjoyed in the world, and now thou art at "thine ease whilst he is troubled." Then the mind of that old man was opened, and he expressed contrition and said, "Father, forgive me; I have sinned. Verily "this is the way of truth. He hath come to a state "of humility, whilst I have attained to ease." And the old man having profited went his way.

443. They used to say that on one occasion ABBÂ MACARIUS was passing along the road when Satan met him, and the Devil wished to cut him down with the scythe which he held in his hand, but he was unable to do so, and he said unto him, "MACARIUS, I "am dragged along by thee with great force, but I "cannot overcome thee. Now, behold, every thing "which thou doest I can do also. Thou fastest, and I "never eat at all. Thou watchest, and I never go to "sleep, and there is one thing only wherein thou dost "conquer me." Then MACARIUS said unto him, "And "what is that?" And Satan said, "It is thy humility, "for it is because of this that I cannot vanquish thee;" then MACARIUS spread out his hands in prayer, and the Devil was no more seen.

444. On one occasion a devil took a knife and stood over ABBÂ MACARIUS wishing to cut off his leg, and when he was unable to do so on account of the humility [of the old man], he answered and said unto him, "Everything which ye possess we possess also, "and it is only in humility [Page 563] that ye are "superior to us, and [it is only by means of it] that "ye conquer us."

445. ABBÂ ANTHONY said, "I saw all the snares of "the Enemy laid out upon the ground, and I groaned "and said, 'Who can escape from these?' And the devils "said unto me, 'Humility maketh a man to escape from "'these, for we cannot attain unto it.'"

446. An old man said, "Whensoever a man is praised "it is meet for him to think upon his sins, and he "should consider, saying, 'I am unworthy of the things "'which are said about me.'"

447. The blessed MACARIUS behaved towards all the brethren without any wicked suspicion, and certain people said unto him, "Why dost thou act in this "manner?" And he said, "Behold, for twelve years I "have been supplicating my Lord to give me this gift, "and would ye advise me to relinquish it? If it hap- "pen that one of the brethren commit a sin before "the eyes of him who possesseth no wickedness, and "he know that it is an evil thing, it is not right that he "should bear some of the pain of him that hath fallen."

448. ABBÂ POEMEN used to say, "No monk should "condemn any man in any thing, and no monk should "reward a man with [evil for] evil, and no monk should "be a man of anger."

449. An old man asked ABBÂ POEMEN, saying, "Some brethren dwell with me; dost thou wish me to "give them commandments?" And he said unto him, "No, but thou thyself must first do work, and if they "wish to live, they will observe [it] and do [it]." The old man said unto him, "Ought they also to wish me to "govern them?" And ABBÂ POEMEN said unto him, "No, be unto them an example, and not a lawgiver."

450. ABBÂ POEMEN said, "If a brother come unto "thee, and thou be not benefited by his coming in [to "thee], enquire in thine heart, and learn what thought "thou hadst [in thy mind] before the entrance of that "brother, and then thou wilt learn whence cometh the "source of injury; if thou wilt do this with humility "and knowledge, behold, thou wilt live without blame "with thy brother, and thou wilt bear thine own short- "comings. If a man [Page 564] maketh his habitation "with knowledge it will not fall, for God is before it, "and, as it appeareth to me, from this habitation a "man may acquire the fear of God."

451. A brother asked an old man, saying, "By "what means may a man go forward?" And the old man said unto him, "The greatness of a man consisteth "of humility, for in proportion as a man descendeth "to humility, he becometh exalted to greatness."

452. ABBÂ JOHN used to say, "We relinquish a light "burden when we condemn ourselves, but we take upon "ourselves a heavy burden when we [attempt to] make "ourselves righteous."

453. On one occasion ABBÂ THEOPHILUS went to the Nitrian Mountain to visit the fathers, and the priest of the Mountain came to him; and ABBÂ THEOPHILUS said to him, now he was THEOPHILUS, the Bishop of Alexandria, "What thing of excellence hast thou found "on this road?" And the old man said unto him, "I "make accusations against myself, and I blame myself "at all times;" and ABBÂ THEOPHILUS said unto him, "Verily, this is the way of truth."

454. On one occasion they brought a man possessed of a devil to one of the old men of Thebes, and entreated him to cast the devil out, but the old man was unwilling [to do so]; but since they urged him strongly, he was persuaded, and he had mercy on the man, and he said to the devil, "Get thee out from that which God hath fashioned." Then the devil answered and said, "I am going out, but I would ask "thee to tell me one thing: what is the meaning of "that which is written in the Gospel, 'Who are the "'goats, and who are the sheep?'" The old man answered and said, "I myself am [one of] the goats, "but God knoweth who the sheep are;"[1] and when the devil heard this, he cried out with a loud voice, saying, "Behold, I go forth because of thy humility," and straightway he left the man and departed.

455. They used to say that on one occasion a few early, white figs came to Scete, [Page 565], but because

[1] Read ثم بنعم.

they were nothing [of importance] they did not send any to ABBÂ ARSENIUS, not wishing to insult him;[1] and when the old man heard of this he did not come to the congregation, saying, "Ye separated me from the "blessed gift which God sent to the brethren because "I was unworthy to partake of it." And when the old men heard [this] they profited [greatly] by his humility, and the priest went and carried some of the figs to him, and brought him to the congregation with great joy.

456. A certain Abbâ asked ABBÂ MAṬÔÂÎS, saying, "If I go to a place to dwell, how wouldst thou have "me conduct myself?" The old man said unto him, "If thou wishest to dwell in a certain place, [do so,] "but do not let go forth concerning thyself any fame "for praiseworthy acts, [*or*, say], 'I do not eat,' or, 'I "do not drink,' for such things only produce empty "fame; and thou wilt find at length that thou wilt "profit from many, for men will go where they can "find qualities of this kind." Then the brother said unto him, "What shall I do?" and the old man said unto him, "Wheresoever thou dwellest conduct thyself "in a simple manner, like every one else, and what "thou seest those who fear God do, [I mean] those in "whom thou hast confidence, that do also, and thou "shalt be at ease. For to be as all other men are "is true humility, and the men who see that thou art "like unto all other men will regard thee as they regard "every one else, and thou wilt not be troubled."

457. A certain brother went on one occasion from Egypt to Syria to visit ABBÂ ZENO, and the Egyptian began to make accusations against his thoughts before the old man; and when ABBÂ ZENO heard this, he marvelled and said, "The Egyptians always hide the "spiritual excellences which they possess, but they des- "cribe the shortcomings which they do not possess;

[1] The better reading is ܕܝܚܕܘܢ ܠܗ.

"on the other hand, the Syrians and the Greeks declare "that they possess the virtues which they have not, "and they hide the shortcomings which they do possess."

458. They used to talk about a certain old man who fasted for seventy weeks, and who only ate each Saturday; and he asked God that a word from the Book [Page 566] might be given unto him, but it was not given. Then he said within himself, "Behold, I have "laboured in all these things, and I have omitted no-"thing; I will arise and go to my brother and question "him [about it]." And when he had shut the door to depart, the angel of the Lord appeared, and said unto him, "The seventy weeks wherein thou didst fast have not "come nigh unto God, but, inasmuch as thou hast "humbled thyself to go to thy brother, I have been "sent to make known unto thee a word, and to give "thee rest;" thereupon he made the word known unto him, and gave him rest, and departed.

459. A brother asked an old man, saying, "What "shall I do? For the love of praise is killing me." The old man said unto him, "Thou doest well, for "behold, thou hast made the heavens and the earth." Then the brother was sorry because of what the old man had said unto him, and he expressed contrition, and said, "Father, forgive me, but I have done nothing "of the kind;" the old man said unto him, "If now "He Who did make them came into this world in "humility, why dost thou who art mud boast thyself?"

460. One of the old men said, "Be not humble "in thy words only, but also in thy deeds."

461. On one occasion a certain governor came to see[1] ABBÂ SÎMÔN, and when the old man heard of his coming from those who came to make it known to him beforehand, he straightway girded up his loins, and went up a palm tree to clean it. And when those who came cried out to him, saying, "Old man, tell us

[1] The better reading is ܕܚܙܐ.

"where the monk is," he said unto them, "He is not "here;" so they departed from that place.

462. One of the fathers from Permê told a story of how, on one occasion when he had returned to ABBÂ THEODORE, he found him wearing a ragged shirt, and his breast was naked and bare, and his outer garment was dragged round in front of him. And, behold, a certain Count came to see him, and when his followers knocked at the door, and called the old man, he went out to meet him quite carelessly;[1] and I took a small piece of coarse cloth and threw over his shoulders that his breast might be covered, [Page 567] but the old man took it in his hand, and waved it, and threw it away. And when the Count went I said to him, "Father, what is this that thou hast done? "For a nobleman came unto thee to be helped, and to "gain profit, and behold, he hath perhaps gone away "offended." And the old man said unto me, "Get thee "gone, Abbâ. We are still subject unto men. We "have done the deed, and he is gone; but whether he "wisheth to be benefited, or whether he wisheth to be "offended is his affair. As for me, as far as I am able "I shall always meet men of this kind in this way." And he commanded his disciple, saying, "If any man "cometh and wisheth to see me, say not to him any- "thing after the manner of men, but if I am eating, "tell him that I am eating, and if I am asleep, tell him "that I am asleep."

463. A certain woman, who was afflicted in her lungs with the disease called cancer, heard concerning LONGINUS, and wished to see him; now he used to dwell in [the monastery of] HANṬÔN in Alexandria. And whilst the woman was seeking and wishing for him, it happened that the blessed man was gathering sticks on the sea-shore, and when the woman found him, she said unto him, "Father, where dwelleth the

[1] The better reading is جَمَلِهِ.

"man of God, ABBÂ LONGINUS?" Now she did not know that he himself was LONGINUS. And he said unto her, "What dost thou want with that lying hypocrite? Do "not go[1] to him, for he is a liar. What is it that "causeth thee pain?" Then the woman shewed him the place, and the old man made the sign of the Cross over it, and he dismissed her, saying, "Go, and may "our Lord heal thee, for LONGINUS is unable to do thee "any good whatsoever." And the woman went away believing in the word, and she was healed straightway; and afterwards, when she was telling folks the story, she said, "I have learned by the marks which "were on the old man that he himself was ABBÂ "LONGINUS."

464. On one occasion a certain governor arranged to see ABBÂ SÎMÔN, [Page 568] and the clergy told him beforehand, saying, "Father, make thyself ready, "for a certain governor hath heard of thy life and "works, and he wisheth to come and be blessed by "thee;" and the old man said unto them, "I am ready." Then the old man went in and took in his hand some bread and cheese, and went out to the door and sat down there, and he changed about from place to place eating; and when the governor came with his company, and saw him sitting and eating, they despised him, saying, "So this is the monk of whom I have heard!" And they left him and departed.

465. An old man was asked, "How is it that there "are men who say, 'We have seen a vision of angels?'" and the old man said, "Blessed is he who seeth his "sins continually."

466. They used to say that when any man came to ABBÂ POEMEN he used to send him to ABBÂ JOB, his brother, saying to him, "He is older than I am;" and JOB used to say to those who came, "Go unto my "brother POEMEN, for he possesseth the grace of these

[1] Read ܠܐ ܬܐܙܠ.

"gifts." Now if ABBÂ JOSEPH was sitting with him ABBÂ POEMEN would not speak before him.

467. When a certain brother went to the festival he asked ABBÂ POEMEN, "What wouldst thou have me "to do?" The old man said unto him, "Be thou a "friend unto him that leadeth thee away by force, and "sell thy work graciously."

468. A brother asked an old man, "What is the "work of exile?" And the old man said unto him, "I knew a brother who went forth into exile, and he "went in to lodge in a church, and it happened that "the brethren were about to eat some of the sacra-"mental bread; and when they sat down, this man sat "down with them. Now when some of the other monks "saw him, they said, 'Who hath brought this man in "'[to eat] with us?" And one of them said [unto him], "'Arise, and get thee outside,' and straightway he rose "up and went forth as the brother had told him; but "the others being[1] sorry about this matter went out "and brought him in. And after these things a certain "man asked him, 'What was in thy mind when thou "'didst go out, and [Page 569] come in again?' He "said unto them, 'I thought in my mind that I was "'like a dog which when he is driven out goeth out, "'and when he is called cometh in."

469. They used to say that when ABBÂ MOSES was one of the clergy he wore a long outer garment, and that the Bishop said unto him, "Behold, thou art wholly "white, O ABBÂ MOSES." The old man said unto him, "Is the Pâpâ within or without?" And again, wishing to try them, the Bishop said unto the clergy, "When "ABBÂ MOSES goeth into the sacrarium drive him out, "and go after him, and hear what he saith." Now when he went into the sacrarium they rebuked him, and drove him out, saying, "Get outside, O Ethiopian;" and having gone forth he began to say to himself,

[1] Strike out أصدقم.

"They have treated thee rightly, O thou whose skin "is dark and black; thou shalt not go back as if thou "wert a [white] man."

470. An old man used to say, "Do not despise or "think lightly of him that standeth before thee, for "thou knowest not whether the Spirit of God is in thee "or in him, though thou callest him who standeth before "thee him that ministereth unto thee."

471. Abbâ John the Less used to say, "Humility "and the fear of God are more excellent than all the "[other] virtues."

472. They used to say that a certain old man, who had young men living with him, told them, on one occasion, to do something, and when they did it not he said nothing further to them about it, but rose up himself in their sight, and did what he had told them to do without anger, and without labour.

473. Another old man used to say, "Humility is "not without salt, but it is salted with salt."

474. An old man used to say, "I would rather "learn than teach."

475. And he also used to say, "Do not learn be- "fore the time, so that thou mayest not have little "admonition all thy time."

476. Abbâ Agathon said, "If a man of wrath were "to raise the dead, he would not be accepted by any "man."

477. A brother [Page 570] asked Abbâ Timothy, saying, "I myself can see that my memorial is ever "before God;" and the old man said unto him, "It would "not be any great thing for thy thought [*or*, mind] to "be with God, but it would be a great thing for a "man to see his soul beneath all creation."

478. Abbâ Theodore used to say, "There is no "spiritual excellence greater than that of a man who "despiseth not his companion."

479. An old man was asked, "By what means doth "the soul receive humility?" And he said, "By search-

"ing into it and by remembering the evil things which "have been done by it."

480. One of the old men said, "I asked Abbâ "Sisoes, saying, 'Tell me a word,' and he said, 'It is right "'for a monk to humble himself lower than the idols;' "and I went to my cell, and I took counsel with my- "self, and meditated for an hour, saying, 'What do the "'words 'lower than the idols' mean?' Then I returned "and went to the old man, and said unto him, 'What "'do the words 'lower than the idols' mean?' And "he said unto me, 'It is written concerning the idols, "'They have a mouth and speak not, and they have "'eyes and see not, and they have ears and hear not;' "even thus it is right for a monk to be. And because "idols are an abomination, a man must hold himself to "be abominable in his own sight."

481. A brother asked Abbâ Sisoes of Thebaïs, saying, "Speak a word to me," and Sisoes said unto him, "What have I to say unto thee? I read the New "Testament, and I reflect on the Old Testament."

482. That same brother went to Abbâ Sisoes of Pâṭârâ, and told him the word which Abbâ Sisoes of the Thebaïd had spoken, and Abbâ Sisoes said unto him, "I lie down to sleep in my sins, and I rise up "in my sins."

483. There was a certain monk who lost himself in the desert, and he said to himself, "I have kept myself "rightly, and I possess all the virtues," and he prayed "[Page 571] to God, and said, "If I be lacking in any- "thing, shew Thou me how I may perform it." And God, wishing to humble his mind, said unto him, "Go "to such and such a head of a monastery, and what- "soever he telleth thee to do that do." And God sent a revelation to the head of the monastery, and said unto him, "Behold, such and such a monk will "come unto thee, and say thou unto him, 'Take a whip "'in thy hands, and go forth and pasture swine.'" And the monk went forth immediately, even as the head

of the monastery told him, and pastured swine, and when those who had known him formerly, and those who had heard about him, saw him pasturing swine, they said, "Ye see the great monk about whom we "have heard, behold, his heart hath gone mad, and a "devil hath seized him, and he is [now] pasturing "swine." Then God, when He saw his humility, and that he was hearing and bearing the reproach of men, set him free so that he might go back where he had been formerly.

484. An old man used to say, "If a man hath laid "some work upon a brother to do, he must perform "that command in the fear of God and in humility; "for he who for God's sake layeth [some work] upon "a brother maketh the brother to submit himself thereto, "and [the one brother] must do what [the other brother] "hath laid upon him. But if a man wisheth to give com- "mands to a brother, not in the fear of God, but on "his own authority, wishing to be unto him a master "and a governor, God, Who seeth the hidden things "of his heart, will not allow him to be obedient unto "him and to do [that] work, for the work which is for "God's sake is evident, and that which is of the man's "own authority is well known. For that which is for "God's sake cometh with humility and entreaty, whilst "the works which are of a man's own authority are "with wrath and trouble, and they come from the Evil "One."

485. A brother asked ABBÂ ISIDORE, "Why is it "that the devils fear thee so greatly?" The old man said, "Because from the time that I became a monk "I have laboured hard not to allow anger to enter into "my throat; that is [Page 572] why they fear me."

486. An old man used to say, "On one occasion "I went to the fair to sell with [other] brethren a few "things, and I saw anger drawing nigh unto me, and I "left the things and fled straightway."

487. ABBÂ JOHN the LESS used to say, "On one

"occasion when I was going up on the Scete road with "some palm leaves I heard a camel speaking words to "me, and he was about to make me angry, but I "straightway left the palm leaves and fled."

488. The same old man when he was in the harvest [field] heard a brother speaking to his companion in anger, saying, "Come hither," and straightway he left the harvest and fled.

489. A brother asked an old man, "Why is it, "when I am performing my little services of prayer "and praise, that I sometimes see in myself that there "is nothing lacking in my heart, and that I do not "wish it?" The old man said unto him, "How then "can a man appear to love God?"

490. ABBÂ JOHN the LESS said unto the brethren who were with him, "Although we be little folk in the "eyes of men, let us consider how we may be held in "honour before God."

491. They used to say that ABBÂ PAṬRÂ and ABBÂ AMPÎKÔS were close and affectionate friends, and that when the old men were eating in the church, and they were urging them to come to the table of the fathers, it was only with hard work that ABBÂ PAṬRÂ would go by himself; and after he had eaten, ABBÂ AMPÎKÔS said unto him, "How didst thou dare to go to the "table of the old men?" ABBÂ PAṬRÂ said unto him, "If I had sat with you the brethren would have "honoured me as an old man, and they would have "required it of me to be the first to say the blessing, "and I might have thought in my mind that I was "greater than you all. But since I went to the fathers "I am the least of you all, and I am abased, and I "think in my thoughts that I am nothing."

492. On one occasion a brother committed sin in the church, and the priest drove him out therefrom, and there was there a man of discretion whose name was BESARION, and he also arose [Page 573], and went out of the church, and said, "If ye have judged that

"this man who hath committed only one offence is not "fit to worship God, how very much less fit am I, "who have committed many sins, to do so?" And the old man said, "Woe be unto him that is without "more than unto him that is within, that is to say, "'Woe be unto him that is within him that is with-"'out!' Now this is what I would say, When a man "in the world findeth a cause [of complaint] against a "man who liveth a life of silent contemplation, or who "hath departed from the world, this is a [cause of] "judgment and of a fall unto him who giveth him reason "[for complaint]. Take the greatest possible care then, "O monk, not to commit sin, lest thou disgrace God, "Who dwelleth in thee, and drive Him out from thy "soul."

493. ABBÂ PÎÔR worked hard to be able to overcome the disposition to say "Thou" to any of the brethren.

494. The disciple of ABBÂ ARSENIUS used to say, "When the old man was about to die, he commanded "us, saying, Do not let it be a care unto you to make "a commemoration for me, but offer up the Offering "only; for," he used to say, "if during my life-time I "have done anything which is worthy of commemoration, "I shall most certainly find [a memorial of it]."

495. ABBÂ AMMON said, "A man may pass one "hundred years in his cell, and not know rightly how "a monk should live in his cell, or even how to live "secluded for one day." And he used to say, "The "proper way and manner for a monk to live is to "condemn himself continually."

496. ABBÂ POEMEN used to say, "If a man will only "condemn himself he will be able to endure and con-"tinue wheresoever he dwelleth."

497. ABBÂ POEMEN used to say, "We live in the "troubles and trials which come upon us because we "do not take to ourselves the humble names which "the Scriptures have given us; and because we do not

"consider how our Lord Jesus relieved the Canaanitish "woman[1] who took to herself abominable names, more- "over, we do not consider how, when ABIGAIL said "unto DAVID, 'On me is the sin,'[2] [Page 574] he was "entreated by her, and loved her. ABIGAIL must be "taken [as representing] the person of the soul, and "David as the Godhead; if then, the soul will condemn "itself before God, He will love it, and will give it "the delight of rest."

498. An old man used to say, "In all thy trials "blame no man; blame thyself only, saying, 'These "'things have happened to me because of my sins.'"

499. On one occasion ABBÂ JOHN was called to the church, and the brethren surrounded him and asked him questions about their thoughts; and one of the old men said unto him, "John is like unto a whore who "adorneth herself that she may multiply lovers for her- "self; thus art thou." And ABBÂ JOHN sighed and said, "Father, thou hast spoken the truth." Afterwards a certain man told him that he loved him, [and said], "Art thou not disturbed within?" He said unto him, "No. But as I am without, even so am I within."

500. One of the old men used to say about ABBÂ JOHN, that he lived in such a way that, through the humility which he possessed, he held all Scete suspended on his finger.

501. ABBÂ JOHN of the Thebaïd used to say that, before all else, it was right for a monk to acquire humility, for this was the first commandment of our Redeemer, Who said, "Blessed are the poor in spirit, "for theirs is the kingdom of God."

502. JOHN KOLOBOS used to say, "Humility is the "door which leadeth into the kingdom, and our fathers, "through many revilings, have gone into the city of "God rejoicing."

[1] St. Matthew XV. 22ff.
[2] 1 Samuel XXV. 24.

503. An old man used to say, "It is good for a "man to say, 'Forgive me,' and then to make an offer- "ing of something; for this suiteth the monkish garb."

503A. The same old man also said, "A dog is "better than I am, for he hath love, and he cometh "not to judgment."[1]

504. ABBÂ EUPRAXIUS[2] used to say, "The tree of "life which riseth in the heights is [Page 575] humility." He also said,[3] "Make thyself like unto the publican, "and be not made guilty with the Pharisee; choose for "thyself the meekness of MOSES, so that thine heart, "which is as hard as steel,[4] thou mayest change into "a fountain of water."

505. One of the old men said, "I would rather "have defeat with humility than conquest with boast- "ing."[5]

506. An old man said, "When the thought of pride "goeth up in thee, and thou becomest arrogant, exa- "mine thy conscience [and see] if thou hast kept all "the commandments, and if thou lovest thine enemies, "and if thou lovest the approbation of thine enemy, and "if thou art grieved when he is afflicted, and if thou "art considered by thyself to be an unprofitable servant, "and a sinner greater than any other man. And even "if thou hast performed rightly all the demands of "ascetic excellence, thou shalt not be proud, for thou "must know that the thought of pride abrogateth and "maketh unprofitable all the virtues."

507. An old man used to say, "He who is held "in greater honour or is more praised than he deserveth

[1] ܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܠܗ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܚܘܒܐ ܘܐܬܐ ܠܐ ܠܕܝܢܐ. Bedjan, p. 639. No. 508.

[2] In Bedjan's edition, No. 504.

[3] The following Saying is No. 509 in Bedjan's edition, and it is followed immediately by the Saying which is numbered in this edition 506.

[4] ܩܫܝܐ=ܩܫܝܐ.

[5] This is No. 548 in Bedjan's edition.

"suffereth great loss; but the man who receiveth neither "honour nor praise from men shall be praised above all."

508. A brother asked an old man, saying, "Is it "a good thing for us to repent many times?" The old man said unto him, "We see that when Joshua, "the son of Nun, lay upon his face the Lord spake "with him."

509. An old man was asked, "Why do the devils "fight against us in the way they do?" And he said, "Because we throw away from us our armour, that is "to say, obedience, humility, and abstinence."

510. The old men used to say, "Whensoever we "have no war to wage then especially it is meet that "we should abase ourselves, for God, because He "knoweth our feebleness giveth us His protection for "nothing, but if we boast ourselves, He removeth it "from us and we perish."

511. A brother asked an old man, saying, "What "is the perfection of a monk?" The old man saith unto him, "Humility, for when once a man hath arrived "at humility, he can reach forward to the goal."

512. The old men said, [Page 576] "If a man can "say unto his brother, 'Forgive me,' and can humble "himself, this belongeth to the perfection of the monk."

513. One of the old men said, "When a man saith "unto his companion, 'Forgive me,' and at the same "time humbleth himself, the devils are consumed."

514. A certain brother was offended at his brother, and when the latter heard thereof he went to him to express his contrition, but he would not open the door; then he who had offended his brother went to another old man and related the matter unto him, and the old man answered and said, "Observe lest in thine own "mind thou art justifying thyself, and art condemning "thy brother, as if he were the offender, for it may "be that because of this he would not be persuaded "to open unto thee. Nevertheless, do thou what I am "going to tell thee. For although he hath offended

"thee, go thou, and hold firmly [to the belief] that "thou hast offended against him, and may God put it "into thy brother's mind to be reconciled to thee."

And the old man related unto him a story which explained the matter, saying, "There were two men "who were living in the world, and were fearers of "God, and they were both of the same mind, and they "went forth and became monks; and when they heard "in a plain manner the word of the Gospel which saith, "'There are eunuchs who have made themselves eunuchs "'for the sake of the kingdom of heaven,'[1] they ar- "'rived at the hottest point of their love, and they "made themselves eunuchs for the sake of the king- "dom of heaven. Now when the Bishop heard [of "this] he set them aside and treated them as aliens.[2] "Then those men, wishing to show that they had done "what was good, said unto one another, 'We have "'made ourselves eunuchs for the sake of the kingdom "'of heaven, and this Bishop driveth us out! Let us "'go and make a complaint against him to the head "'of our monasteries, that is, to the Bishop of Jerusalem;' "and when they had gone to him they related unto "him the whole matter. Then the Bishop said unto "them, 'And I also set you aside and treat you as "'aliens;' and being greatly grieved at this remark "also they went to the Bishop of Antioch, and related "[Page 577] the matter unto him, and he also drove "them away with the same words. Then the two "brethren said unto each other, 'Let us go to the "'Patriarch of Rome, and he will avenge us and will "'take vengeance on all these [Bishops].' And having "gone to the great Patriarch and Bishop of Rome, and "made him to know their matter, and what the Bishop "and Patriarch [of Antioch] had said unto them, they "said at length, 'We have come unto thee because thou

[1] St. Matthew XIX. 12.

[2] *I. e.*, he excommunicated them.

"'art the head of them all.' Then the Bishop of Rome "also said unto them, 'I also make you to be aliens, "'and aliens ye shall be.' Then, not knowing what to "do, they said to each other, 'All these men accept "'the persons each of the other, and each honoureth "'the other, because they are accustomed to assemble "'together at the Synods, but let us go to the holy "'man of God, EPIPHANIUS, Bishop of Cyprus, because "'he is indeed a Bishop, and he doth not accept the "'person of any man.' Now when they drew nigh "unto the city, it was revealed unto EPIPHANIUS con-"cerning them, and he sent [a man] to meet them, and "to say unto them, 'Ye shall not come into the city.' "And when they came to themselves they repented, and "said, 'In very truth we have sinned;[1] with what can "'we justify ourselves? For, even supposing that the "'Bishop and the Patriarchs have made us aliens in an "'unseemly manner, peradventure this man is a prophet "'besides, for behold, God hath revealed unto him "'concerning us[2] beforehand; let us then condemn our-"'selves in respect of everything which we have done.' "Then, when God, Who knoweth that which is in the "hearts [of men] saw that they had in very truth con-"demned themselves, He worked upon the mind of "EPIPHANIUS so that, of his own accord, he sent and "brought them, and associated them in communion with "him. And he also wrote concerning them to the Bishop "of Jerusalem, saying, 'Receive thy sons, for they have "'repented in truth.'"

And the old man said, "This is the healing of a "man, and God desireth that a man should lay the "offence of his companion [Page 578] upon himself." And when that brother heard [this story] he acted according to the word[s] of the old man, and he went and knocked at the door of that brother, who, im-

[1] The better reading is ܐܚܛܝܢ.

[2] The better reading is ܒܗܕܡ.

mediately he perceived and knew from inside [that it was he], expressed his contrition to him whilst he was as yet inside, and then straightway opened the door; and they made friends together, each with each, with all their souls, and the two of them were in great peace.

515. ABBÂ POEMEN used to say, "As the earth "falleth not, because it is fixed from below, even so he "who abaseth himself shall never fall."

516. ABBÂ SISOES asked ABBÂ 'ÔR, and said unto him, "Tell me a word of excellence;" and he said unto him, "Dost thou think me true, and dost thou believe "my promise?" And ABBÂ SISOES said unto him, "Yes." ABBÂ ÔR said unto him, "Go, and whatsoever ye have "seen me do, that also do thyself;" and ABBÂ SISOES said unto him, "What do I[1] see in thee, O my father?" And ABBÂ ÔR answered and said unto him, "My mind "is more abased than that of the least of all the "children of men."

517. On one occasion seven brethren came to ABBÂ ARSENIUS and they entreated him, saying, "What is "the work of monks?" And the old man answered and said, "When I came to dwell in this place I went "to two old men, and I asked them this same question. "And they answered and said unto me, 'Dost thou "'believe in us?' and I said, 'Yes.' Then they said "unto me, 'Go and whatsoever ye have seen us do, "'that also do thyself.'" And the brethren asked him subsequently, saying, "Tell us, father, what was their "work?" Then the old man said unto them, "The "one acquired great humility, and the other obedience." And they said unto him next, "Tell us what is thy "work;" and the old man said unto them, "According "to my will, and according to my mind; it is a great "thing for a man not to bind himself with any matter;"

[1] The better reading is ...

and having profited they departed in gladness, giving praise unto God.

518. A brother asked ABBÂ POEMEN, [Page 579] saying, "What shall I do with the weight of weariness "which holdeth me?" And the old man said unto him, "Both large and small boats are provided with thick "ropes for towing, and if there be blowing a wind "which is not favourable for the course of the ship, they "throw them round their breasts and pull them along "[from] dry land; and quietly, and little by little they "let the ship go on her way until God sendeth a wind "which is suitable for bearing her along whithersoever "they wish her to go. But if they learn that a storm "hath begun to rise, they make haste and drive a stake "in the ground and tie up the ship lest she should "drift away. Now the stake is that a man should con-"demn himself."

519. A brother asked ABBÂ POEMEN, "How is it "possible for a man to avoid speaking evilly to his "neighbour?" The old man answered and said unto him, "We and our brethren possess two images. "Whensoever, then, a man condemneth himself, his "brother appeareth unto him beautiful and excellent; "but whensoever a man appeareth beautiful to himself, "his brother will be found to be, in his sight, hateful "and abominable."

520. Another old man said also, "Humility is not "insipidity, but it is seasoned, as it were, with salt."

521. He also used to say, "For a man to despise "himself is a strong wall."

522. He also used to say, "Him who hath become "despised for our Lord's sake, will our Lord make "wise."

523. An old man used to say, "Take heed, with "all thy might, that thou doest nothing which meriteth "blame, and desire not to adorn thyself."

524. An old man used to say, "If humility descendeth "to Sheol it is exalted unto the heavens; and although

"pride goeth up to the heavens it shall be brought down "to Sheol."

525. There were two brethren in Scete, and he who was younger than his felow was the older in the monastic garb, and one of the fathers [Page 580] having come to visit them, they brought out a vessel of water and wanted to wash him. And the man who was the younger in respect of years drew nigh to wash the old man, but the old man laid hold upon his hands, and prevented him, and then he drew near him that was the elder [in respect of years] to wash him. And the brethren who were standing near him said unto him, "The younger brother, O father, is the older "in respect of the monastic garb;" then the old man said unto them, "I take the priority in the monastic "garb of the younger man and place it upon him that "is the elder."

526. There was a certain brother in a monastery, and he used to take the whole weight of the brethren upon himself, and seeking to be held in contempt in the sight of every man, he used to make accusations against himself, even to the committing of fornication, and he used to say, "I have committed it." Now the brethren who did not understand his life and works used to murmur against him, saying, "How very many "are the wickednesses which this man doeth here, and "because of them he doth not even work." Then their Abbâ, because he knew his works, and because he knew also that he was taking the affairs of every man upon himself, and that he did not do these things, spake unto the brethren, saying, "I will undertake that "he will make one mat in a week, in humility, [which "is more than all] your work [which is done] with "boasting, and if ye wish to know whether the "matter be so [or not], bring hither all your work, "and bring hither also the mat of that brother, and "light a fire and throw therein all your work;" [and when they had done so] everything was consumed

except the mat of that brother. Now when the brethren saw this, they feared, and they expressed their contrition, and from that time they held him to be an Abbâ.

527. They used to say that ABBÂ POEMEN never gave his mind to the Lord, and that his knowledge was superior to that of [any] one of the old men.

528. ABBÂ AMMON asked ABBÂ POEMEN concerning the impure thoughts that were born of a man, and [concerning] vain lusts; and ABBÂ POEMEN said unto him, "Shall the axe boast itself against him that wieldeth "it?" [Page 581].

529. ABBÂ BAṬMÎS [BETIMIUS] asked ABBÂ POEMEN, saying, "If a man be angry with me, and I express "my contrition, and he will not accept it, what am I "to do?" The old man said unto him, "Take with "thee two of thy friends, and express thy contrition "[in their presence]." And the old man BÎṬÎMÎS [BETIMIUS] said unto him, "And if he will not be persuaded "[to accept it] then?" And ABBÂ POEMEN answered and said, "Take with thee five others;" and ABBÂ BÎṬÎMÎS answered and said, "And if he will not be persuaded "by these?" ABBÂ POEMEN saith, "Then take with thee "a priest;" and ABBÂ BÎṬÎMÎS said, "And if he will not "be persuaded [then]?" ABBÂ POEMEN said unto him, "Without anger and without excitement pray unto "God that He may put into his mind [the desire for "peace], and straightway thou shalt have no further care."

530. An old man used to say, "Tell me, brother, "if thou hast acquired the seal of work, which is "humility?" A holy man who saw another sinning, wept bitterly, saying, 'This man may sin to-day, but "how many times shall I sin to-morrow? In whatso-"ever way a man may sin before thee, do not condemn "him, but think in thy mind that thou art a greater "sinner than he, even though he be a man in the "world, and [remember] besides that he is sinning "greatly against God."

531. Certain brethren went to visit ABBÂ POEMEN, and whilst they were sitting with him, they praised a certain brother, saying, "He hateth evil things." ABBÂ POEMEN said unto him that spake unto him, "What is "the hatred of evil things?" Now the brother was astonished, and he found nothing to say; and he rose up and threw himself before the old man, saying, "Do "thou tell me what is the hatred of evil things." And the old man said unto him, "The hatred of evil things "is for a man to hate his own sins, and to justify those "of his neighbour."

532. A certain brother committed an offence in Scete, the camp of the monks, and when a congregation was assembled on this matter, they sent after ABBÂ MOSES, but he refused to come; [Page 582] then they sent the priest of the church to him, saying, "Come, for all the people are expecting thee," and he rose up and came. And he took a basket with a hole in it, and filled it with sand, and carried it upon his shoulders, and those who went out to meet him said unto him, "What meaneth this, O father?" And he said unto them, "[The sands are] my sins which are "running down behind me and I cannot see them, and "I, even I, have come this day to judge shortcomings "which are not mine." And when they heard [this] they set free that brother and said nothing [further] to him.

533. ABBÂ MOSES entreated ABBÂ ZECHARIAH, saying, "Speak a word of consolation unto the brethren," and ZECHARIAH took his cloak, and laid it beneath his feet, saying, "Except a man let himself be trodden upon "thus he cannot be a monk."

534. A brother asked ABBÂ ALÔNÎS, saying, "What "is the meaning of a man despising himself?" The old man said unto him, "It meaneth that thou must "set thyself below all the beasts, for thou must re- "member that they will not be judged."

535. And the same old man said also, "If a man

"accustom himself to be a teacher, this act belongeth "to labour."

536. A brother asked ABBÂ POEMEN, saying, "What "is the right manner for me to live in my cell?" ABBÂ POEMEN said unto him, "How a man should live in "his cell is known to men, that is to say, he must "work with his hands, and eat once [daily], and hold "his peace always, and meditate on the Holy Scrip- "tures; but for a man to gain profit inwardly [*or*, "secretly] he must bear the condemnation of himself "whithersoever he goeth, and he must not neglect the "times of service and of secret labour. And if it hap- "pen that thou hast made the time unprofitable, when "thou goest into the congregation of service complete "thy service without troubling thyself; by the fulfilment "of these things grasp to thyself an upright congrega- "tion,[1] so that thou mayest draw nigh thereto, but "keep thyself remote from the assemblies of evil things."

537. On one occasion when ABBÂ ARSENIUS was in his cell the devils rose up against him [Page 583] and vexed him; and those who used to minister to him came to him, and as they stood outside his cell they heard him crying out to God, saying, "O God, forsake "me not. I have never done before Thee anything "which is good, but grant, O Lord, according to Thy "grace, that I may begin in the way."

538. Now when he was about to die, ALEXANDER and ZOILUS, his brethren and disciples, were greatly disturbed, and he said unto them, "Why are ye troubled? "The hour hath not yet come." They said unto him, "We are not troubled about thee, father;" and he said unto them, "When the hour hath come I will tell you, "for it will be for me to rise up against you before "the throne of Christ if ye give my bones to any man." Then they said unto him, "What shall we do then? "For we do not know how to bury [thee]." The old

[1] Read حمعة كعنة.

man said unto them, "Do ye not know how to throw "a cord round my legs and to carry me outside the "mountain?"

538A. And his word at all times was this, "ARSENIUS, "because thou didst go forth;" and he used to repeat this saying, "That I have spoken I have many times "repented; that I held my peace I have never repented."[1]

539. On one occasion the governor of the country seized one of the inhabitants of his village, and the people entreated the old man to go and bring out him that had been seized; and the old man said unto them, "Leave me for three days, and afterwards I will go." Then ABBÂ POEMEN prayed to the Lord, and said, "Lord, if Thou dost not grant me this act of grace "the people will not allow me to live in this place;" and the old man went to entreat the governor, and the governor said unto him, "Yea, father, thou makest "entreaty for a thief." And the old man rejoiced that he did not receive from Him this act of grace.

540. On one accasion certain old men went to visit ABBÂ ANTHONY, and ABBÂ JOSEPH was with them, and the old man wishing to try them spake a word from the Book, and began to question the youngest of them, saying, "What is the meaning of this word?" [Page 584]. And each of them said, "I have never yet "understood it," and last of all ABBÂ ANTHONY said unto ABBÂ JOSEPH, "And what dost thou say that this "word meaneth?" ABBÂ JOSEPH saith, "I do not know," and ABBÂ ANTHONY said unto him, "In truth, ABBÂ

[1] In Bedjan's edition No. אתמנ follows this saying, and reads:—On one occasion the Archbishop THEOPHILUS went to the Mountain of Nitria, and a certain Abbâ of the monks who was in the mountain came unto him; ABBÂ THEOPHILUS said unto him, "What more do the monks find in this way "[than in any other?]." The old man said unto him, "They "condemn themselves continually, and they do not judge their "neighbours;" and ABBÂ THEOPHILUS said, "There is no other "way but this." See No. 453 of the present edition.

"Joseph, thou hast found the way to say 'I do not "know.'"

541. Abbâ Maṭâôîs said, "In proportion as a man "draweth nigh unto God, it is meet that he should "regard himself as a sinner, for the Prophet Isaiah, "who saw the Lord, calleth himself wretched and un-"clean."[1]

542. The old man used to say, "Who sold Joseph?" They said unto him, "His brethren;" and the old man said unto them, "No, it was humility that sold him. "For he never said, 'I am your brother,' and he never "answered them, but held his peace. He sold himself "by his humility, and this humility made him governor "over the land of Egypt."

543. A brother came to Abbâ Maṭâôîs, and said unto him, "How is it that those who are in Scete do "more than that which is written in the Book, for they "love their enemies more than themselves?" Maṭâôîs said unto them, "I do not yet love even the man who "loveth me more than I love myself."

544. There was a certain old man in Egypt before those who belonged to the company of Abbâ Poemen came there, and he possessed knowledge and great honour; and when those of the following of Abbâ Poemen went up from Scete, every man left [that old man] and came to Abbâ Poemen and those who were with him, and the old man was filled with envy, and he cursed the followers of Abbâ Poemen because of this. Now Abbâ Poemen heard of it, and he was vexed about it, and he said unto the brethren who were with him, "What shall we do for this old man? "For the men who have forsaken him have cast us "into vexation, and they have left that holy old man, "and have turned their looks upon us, who are nothing. "How then can we satisfy this old man?" Then he

[1] In Bedjan's edition this Saying is followed by that which I have numbered 505.

said unto the brethren who were with him, "Make ye "[Page 585] some bread, and boil a little food, and we "will go to him, and will take with us also a vessel "of wine, and we will eat[1] with him, and perhaps by "these means we shall be able to pacify him;" and they took the food and went to him. And when they had knocked at the door his disciple looked out and asked them, "Who are ye?" And they said unto him, "Tell the Abbâ that it is POEMEN, and he wisheth "to be blessed by him;" and when his disciple had told him this, the old man said, "Send them away," and he said, "I have not leisure [to receive them]." Then the disciple told them these things, but they stayed there lovingly, saying, "We will not go away, "unless we are held to be worthy of the blessing of "the old man." Now when the old man saw their humility and patient persistence, he repented, and opened the door to them, and when they were eating together he said unto them, "Verily, the things which "I have heard were in you are not in you, but indeed, "what I see in you is a hundredfold [greater than "what I expected];" and he became unto them a friend from that day.

545. On a certain occasion when ABBÂ JOHN was sitting before the church, the brethren surrounded him, and asked him about their thoughts, and when one of the old men saw him, he said unto him, "Thy repen- "tance is full of sorceries." ABBÂ JOHN said unto him, "It is even so, and this thou sayest[2] having only seen[3] "what is without, but if thou couldst see[4] what is "within what wouldst thou say?"

546. MAṬÂÔÎS repeated the following:—"When I "was a young man I used to say to myself, 'Perhaps

[1] Read ܢܝܟܘܠ.
[2] Read ܐܡܪܬ.
[3] Read ܚܙܝܬ.
[4] Read ܚܙܝܬ.

"'thou wilt do something good;' but now that I am an old "man I see that I have not done even one good work."

547. He used to say concerning ABBÂ MACARIUS that, if the brethren drew nigh unto him in fear as to a great and holy old man, he would not answer them a word, but if one of the brethren treated him with familiar contempt, [saying], "Father, if thou wert "a camel wouldst thou not steal [Page 586] the natron "and sell it, and would not the driver beat thee?" And if any man spake unto him in anger, or with words similar to these, he would answer any question which was put to him.

CHAPTER XI.

OF FORNICATION.

548. A certain monk was engaged, on one occasion, in a war against fornication, and he had in his heart, as it were, a burning fire by day and by night; but he bore this agony, and did not bring low his mind, and after a long time the war passed away from him, but he was unable to vanquish it in any way except by patient endurance, and straightway light rose on his mind.

549. And another brother also was engaged in a war against fornication, and he rose up by night, and came to one of the old men and told him his mind, and the old man persuaded him [to endure], and he was helped, and went [back] to his cell. And again he came unto the old man, and again he helped him, and the brother went [back] to his cell; and the war came upon him the third time, and again he went back by night to the old man, and the old man did not cause him pain but spake with him for his benefit, and said unto him, "Give it no opportunity, but come hither whensoever

"the devil vexeth thee, and thou wilt expose him, and "when he hath been exposed he will take to flight. "For nothing vexeth the devil of fornication so much "as that a man should hide his thoughts and not reveal "them." Now that brother came to the old man eleven times and made accusations against his thoughts, for he wished to be helped; and when the old man spake unto him that devil took to flight, but when he came [back] to his cell the war came [Page 587] upon him. At length the brother said unto the old man, "Do an "act of grace, father, and tell me a word [whereby I "may live]." The old man said unto him, "Be of "good courage, my son, and if God permitteth my "thought it shall come to thee, and thou shalt bear it "no longer, but thou shalt depart being innocent." And having said this, he did away the war of that brother.

550. And another brother was engaged in a war against fornication, and he bore it with very great self-restraint for fourteen years, and he guarded his mind against being made subservient to lust, and at length he came to the church, and made known the matter unto all the people; and when they heard [it] they were pained, and they prayed for a whole week to God on his behalf, and afterwards He did away the war that was in him.

551. On one occasion ABBÂ MOSES of PÂṬÂRÂ was engaged in a war against fornication, and he could not endure being in his cell, and he went and informed ABBÂ ISIDORE of it; and the old man entreated him to return to his cell, but he would not agree [to this]. And having said, "Father, I cannot bear it," the old man took him up to the roof of his cell, and said unto him, "Look to the west," and when he looked he saw multitudes of devils with troubled and terrified aspects, and they shewed themselves in the forms of phantoms which were in fighting attitudes. ABBÂ ISIDORE saith unto him, "Look to the east," and when he looked he saw innumerable holy angels standing

[there], and they were in a state of great glory. Then ABBÂ ISIDORE said unto him, "Behold, those who are "in the west are those who are fighting with the holy "ones, and those whom thou hast seen in the east are "they who are sent by God to the help of the saints, "for those who are with us are many." And having seen [these] ABBÂ MOSES took courage and returned to his cell without fear.

552. One of the old men said concerning the lustful thoughts which come into the heart of a man, and which are not carried into effect, that they are like unto a man who seeth a vineyard [Page 588], and who desireth to eat the grapes thereof, but is afraid to go in lest he be caught and suffer death. If he be caught outside the hedge he will not die, because he hath neither gone into the vineyard nor hath eaten the grapes, but hath only desired; now he shall be beaten with few stripes, because he hath coveted, but he shall not die.

553. There was a certain old man who lived in a cell, and his thoughts said unto him, "Go take to "thyself a woman;" then he rose up straightway and kneaded together some mud, and made the figure of a woman, and he said to himself, "Behold thy wife! "It is necessary for thee to labour with all thy might "that thou mayest be able to feed her." And he laboured with his hands and twisted many ropes. Then after a few days, he rose up and made a figure of a woman, and said unto his thoughts, "Behold, thy wife "hath brought forth, it is necessary for thee to work "harder to keep thy wife and to clothe thy daughter;" and thus doing he vexed his body sorely. And he said unto his thought, "I cannot bear [all] this work, and since I am unable to bear the work, a wife is unnecessary for me;" and God saw his labour, and did away his thoughts [of fornication], and he had peace.

554. ABBÂ POEMEN used to say, "As the sword-"bearer standeth before the king, being always ready

"[to smite], so is it meet for the soul which is pre-"pared to stand [ready] to resist the devil of forni-"cation."

555. They used to say that MOTHER SARAH contended against the devil of fornication for seven years on the roof [of her house], before she vanquished him.

556. One of the old men said, "It is written con-"cerning SOLOMON that he loved women, but every "male loveth the females, and we must restrain and "draw onwards our nature by main force to purity."

557. A brother asked ABBÂ DANIEL, and said unto him, "Deliver to me a commandment;" [and he said unto him], "Never place thy hand in a dish and eat "with a woman, and[1] thou wilt be able to flee from "the devil of fornication."

558. They used to say [Page 589] that the great old man ABRAHAM arrived at a monastery, and that he also saw there a youth, and that he refused to pass the night there; and the brethren who were with him said unto him, "Art thou also afraid, O father?" The old man said unto them, "Indeed, my sons, I am "not afraid, but of what use is a vain war to me?"

559. A brother asked an old man, saying, "What "shall I do? For my thoughts are [fixed] always upon "fornication, and they will not give me peace even "for a moment; and thus is my soul vexed." And the old man answered and said unto him, "When these "thoughts spring up in thee speak not with them, for "it belongeth to them to rise up with continual anxiety, "and not to be sluggish, but they have no power to "force thee, for it belongeth to thee either to accept "them or not. Hast thou not seen what the Midianites "did, how they adorned their women and set them "up, but they forced no man to take them? those who "wished to do so fell into them, and those who did "not became wroth, and made a slaughter in their

[1] Read مَنْ.

"wrath. Even so is it with the thoughts. Then that brother said unto him, "What then shall I do? For "I am weak, and passion overcometh me." The old man said unto him, "Consider thy thoughts well, and "when they begin to speak to thee, answer them never "a word, but rise up and pray, and meditate upon "holy words." And the brother said unto him, "Behold, "father, I do meditate [on holy words], and the passion "riseth not up in my heart, but I do not know the "power of the words;" then the old man answered and said unto him, "Thou canst only [continue] to meditate, "but I have heard ABBÂ POEMEN and many fathers say "this word: 'The enchanter knoweth not the power of "'the words which he uttereth, but when the animal "'heareth them, it knoweth their power, and it be-"'cometh subservient, and submitteth itself [to him].' "Even so is it with us, for although we do not know "the power of the words whereon we meditate, the "devils know their power as soon as they hear "them."

560. The old men in Scete were asked [Page 590] concerning fornication, "When doth a man see a "face is the passion stirred up in him?" And they said, "This matter is like unto a table which is loaded "with meats of all kinds, and a man who seeketh and "desireth to eat of them; but if a man putteth not forth "his hand and taketh not of the meats he becometh a "stranger unto them."

561. They used to say that ABBÂ ISAAC went out and found the footprint of a woman on the road, and he thought about it in his mind and destroyed it, saying, "If a brother seeth it he may fall."

562. A brother asked ABBÂ AGATHON concerning fornication, and said unto him, "Go, cast thy feebleness "before God, and thou shalt find relief."

563. A brother asked a father, and said unto him, "There is a war of fornication against me," and the old man said unto him, "If it be a good thing, why

"goest thou away from it, but if it be a bad thing why "dost not thou command it [to depart]?"

564. A certain brother, being vexed by the spirit of fornication, went to a great old man, and entreated him, saying, "Do an act of grace, and pray for me, "for I am disturbed by fornication," and the old man made supplication unto God and entreated Him. And the brother came to him a second time, and said the same words as before, and the old man also was not neglectful in beseeching God on his behalf. Now when the brother had come to the old man, and troubled him in this way many times because he was disturbed by fornication, the old man afterwards entreated God, and said, "O Lord, reveal unto me the manner in which "this brother liveth, and whence cometh the reason "why I have entreated Thee so often on his behalf, "and he hath not found relief." Then God revealed unto him the affair of that brother, and he saw him dwelling with the spirit of fornication by him, and that brother lusting for it, and an angel was standing [ready] to help him; and he was angry with that brother because he did not cast [Page 591] himself upon God, but was involving his mind therein. And straightway the old man knew that the cause lay with the brother himself, and he made him to understand this, and he roused him up, and afterwards he took heed to himself.

565. A brother asked ABBÂ POEMEN, saying, "The "body is feeble, but my passions are not weak;" the old man saith unto him, "The passions make thorns "to grow and burst into flower."

566. A brother asked ABBÂ POEMEN concerning the passions of the body, and the old man said unto him, "They are like unto those who sang praises to "the image of NEBUCHADNEZZAR, for if those who sang "had not burned men [people] would never have wor-"shipped the image; and in this wise the Enemy also "singeth to the soul by means of the passions, so that

"he may perchance be able to make it commit sin "through the passion of the body."

567. An old man used to say, "Salt is produced "by water, but if it falleth into water it becometh "dissolved and is lost; similarly, monks are born of "women, but if they fall into women they are dissolved "and perish from God."

568. A certain father when he went out to become a monk was a virgin, and he did not know even that a whore existed among the children of men. And when he was dwelling in his cell the devils began to stir up in him the passion of fornication, and lifting up his eyes he saw the devils going round about him in the forms of Ethiopians, and they incited him to yield to the passion; then he rose up straightway and prayed, and said, "O Lord, help me," and when he had said these things, immediately a stone fell from the roof, and he heard, as it were, a sweet voice, and he seemed to enjoy a short respite from the thoughts of fornication. And he rose up and came to one of the old men and related the matter to him, and the old man answered and said, "I know not what this meaneth;" and he sent him on to ABBÂ POEMEN, and that brother related the matter unto him also. Then the old man said unto him, "The stone which thou didst see fall is the "Calumniator, and that voice which thou didst hear is "[Page 529] lust. Take heed unto thy soul, and make "supplication unto God, and behold, thou shalt be freed "from this war;" and ABBÂ POEMEN taught him how to contend against devils, and having prayed, he dismissed him, and that brother came to his cell. And he made entreaty and supplication unto God, and God granted him to attain to such a gift [of excellence] that, when that brother died, He was pleased that there should be revealed unto him whether it was well with his soul or not.

568A. Now in another manuscript instead of the words, "He rose up and prayed," it is thus written:— He saw the devils surrounding him in the forms of

Ethiopians, and they were inciting him to yield to the passion. And he said, "This natural member which "stablisheth man is like unto a spout in a tank which "letteth out water, and it is also like a conduit which "carrieth the water off a roof; similarly this member "carrieth off water from a man." And having said these words straightway the stone fell, &c.

569. On one occasion a certain man went out to Scete to become a monk, and he took with him his son as soon as he had been weaned; and when the boy was grown up and had become a young man, the war of fornication attacked him, and he said unto his father, "I will go into the world, father, for I cannot "endure this striving against fornication." Then his father entreated him to persevere, but at length the boy said to his father, "Father, I cannot bear it any "longer, let me go;" and his father said unto him, "My son, hearken to me for this time only. Take thee "seven pairs of cakes of bread, and a few palm leaves, "sufficient for forty days, [and get thee into the desert], "and may God's will be done." And his son hearkened unto him, and he took [the bread and palm leaves] and departed, and he remained [in the desert] working, and twisting dried palm leaves into ropes, and plaiting mats, and eating dry bread, and he lived a life of silent seclusion for twenty days. And he looked, and behold, the work of fornication came and drew nigh unto him, [Page 593] and it stood up before him in the form of an Ethiopian woman whose smell was exceedingly foul; but he was unable to endure her foetid smell, and he drove her away from his presence. Then she said unto him, "In the hearts of men I am a sweet smell, "and a pleasant one, but because of thine obedience "and labour God hath not permitted me to lead thee "astray; but I have, nevertheless, made thee acquainted "with my smell." And the young man rose up, and came to his father, and said unto him, "I no longer "wish to go into the world, for I have seen the matter

"of fornication, and I have smelled its foetid odour;" now his father knew of a certainty that the young man had been satisfied in his mind on the subject, and he said to his son, "Hadst thou remained [in the "desert] forty days, and kept my commandment, thou "wouldst most certainly have seen a vision which was "far more excellent."

570. On one occasion a brother came to ABBÂ POEMEN, and said unto him, "What shall I do, father, "for I am vexed by fornication? And behold, I came "unto NEBAIṬÎÔN [ANICETUS], and he said unto me, 'It "'is not right that those thoughts should stay with "'thee so long.'" ABBÂ POEMEN saith unto him, "The "labour of ABBÂ NEBÎṬÎS is high and exalted, and his "thoughts are above with the angels, and he hath "forgotten that I and thou are whoremongers; but "if thou wishest, hearken unto me, and I also will "speak to thee: If a monk can hold fast his belly, "and his tongue, and his love for going about as "a stranger, thou mayest be sure that he is able "to become a monk in very truth, and that he will "not die."

571. A brother asked an old man, and said unto him, "What shall I do? For fornication is killing me." The old man said unto him, "When a mother is about "to wean her son she smeareth aloes over her breasts, "and when the child cometh to suck as usual, he "shrinketh away and taketh to flight. Do thou also "then put bitter aloes in thy heart, and straightway "the wicked devils will flee therefrom." And the brother said unto him, "What kind of bitter aloes is "it right for me to place therein?" The old man saith unto him, "The remembrance of the death and punish-"ment [Page 594] which are laid up in the world which "is to come."

572. A brother asked an old man, "Whence come "the temptations of fornication which attack me?" The old man said, "They come because thou eatest and

"drinkest largely, and because thou sleepest until thou "art satisfied."

573. Abbâ John used to say, "Whosoever talketh "as much as he can with a woman, hath already com- "mitted adultery with her in his mind."

574. On one occasion a certain brother came to Abbâ Maṭôâîs and asked him, saying, "Is calumny "worse than fornication?" And the old man said unto him, "Fornication is worse." The brother said unto him, "How can this be?" And the old man said unto him, "Calumny is a wicked thing, but it receiveth "healing quickly, and the calumniator repenteth, saying, "'I have spoken evilly many times;' but fornication in "the body is death in [its] nature."

575. There was in Scete a certain monk who strove hard [against sin], and the Enemy sowed in him the remembrance of a certain woman with a beautiful face, and he troubled him greatly through her. And by the Providence of God a certain brother who came down from Egypt went to visit him, and it came to pass that, whilst they were conversing together, the brother who had gone to visit him said, "Such and "such a woman is dead;" now she was the very woman the remembrance of whom was being stirred up in the monk. And when the other brother heard this, he rose up, and took his head-cloth, and went up by night to Egypt, and opened her grave, and he smeared himself with the filthy and putrefying matter of the dead body of the woman, and then he went back to his cell, and he set that thing of filth before him at all times, and he did battle with his thought, saying, "Behold thy "lust, and that which thou didst require! Behold, I have "brought it unto thee; take thy fill thereof." And he used to torture himself with [the remembrance of] that filthy thing until the war which was in him was quieted.

576. One of the brethren asked Abbâ Zeno, now he had great freedom of speech with him, saying,

"Behold, thou hast grown old, [Page 595] how is the "matter of fornication?" The old man said unto him, "It knocketh, but it passeth on." Then one of the brethren asked him, "What is the meaning of 'it "'knocketh' and 'it passeth on?'" The old man said unto him, "Imagine now that one brought to thy mind "the remembrance of a certain woman, and that thou "didst say, 'Oh,' but that thou didst not allow it to "go up in thy mind; [that is what 'It knocketh, but "passeth on' meaneth]; now young men are excited "by it."

577. A brother asked ABBÂ THEODORE of Scete, saying, "The thought of fornication cometh, and it "troubleth and disturbeth the mind, but it is not able "to commit the deed; and it certainly cannot help, but "it can hinder the course towards spiritual excellence;" the old man said unto him, "The man who is wakeful "and strenuous, struggleth and casteth it from him, and "standeth up to prayer."

578. And again a certain old man from PARMÎS [spake] against this thought, saying, "If we do not "possess thoughts we become the prey of the Enemy, "for he, even like an ordinary enemy, demandeth that "which is his; therefore let us, in the same manner, "do what is ours to do. Let us stand up in prayer, "and straightway he will flee: be constant in the "service of God, and thou shalt conquer, strive, and "thou shalt be crowned."

579. Against this thought of fornication a brother asked an old man, saying, "What shall I do about the "mind of fornication which vexeth me?" And ABBÂ COPRES the Alexandrian answered and said, "If thou "hast no minds [*or*, thoughts] thou wilt have no hope, "so then their work is with thee; for he who per-"formeth their work hath no thoughts. Peradventure "thou hast the custom of talking with a woman?" And the brother said unto him, "No, I have not, but they "are thoughts of former times and of recent times

"which trouble me." The old man said unto him, "Thou shalt not be afraid of the dead, but fear the "things which are living, and cast thyself down in "prayer before God. For if we have no thoughts we "are mere animals. As the enemy worketh for that "which is his, even so let us do for that which is ours. "Let us stand up in prayer, [Page 596] and let us "have a care for doctrine, and let us endure, for patient "endurance is victory. Unless a man striveth he will "never be crowned. For there are in the world athletes "who though wounded conquer nevertheless, and how-"ever many times one man may be wounded by two "[others], if he can endure the blows he will be able "to conquer those who smote him. Observe then what "a degree of endurance is possessed by such men for "the sake of the merchandize of this world! Do thou "then endure, and God shall strive with thine enemies "on thy behalf whilst thou mayest remain quiet."[1]

580.[2] Against the thought [of fornication] another old man who dwelt in the desert used to say, "Thou "wishest to live whilst thou art asleep! Go, and labour. "Go, and work. Go, seek, and ye shall find. Awake "and stand up. Knock, and it shall be opened unto "thee. For there are in the world athletes who are "called 'pugilists,' who smite each other, and who are "held to be worthy of the victory because they fight "persistently and endure; these men do not withdraw "defeated when they are wounded, for however many "times one [of them] may be smitten by two [others], "and however [many may be] the blows which he will "suffer from them, he continueth to fight, and he con-"quereth and is crowned."

581. Against the thought [of fornication] another old man said, "Such things will happen unto thee "through negligence. For if it be certain to us that

[1] In Bedjan's edition No. 517 is followed by No. 581.
[2] In Bedjan's edition No. 590.

"God dwelleth in us, we can never become a habitation "for others, and we can never give our souls over to "become vessels for the service of aliens. For our "Lord Who dwelleth in us, and is found in us, is able "to watch over our lives; and it is not right for us "to neglect or to hold lightly Him for Whose sake "we have put Him on, and Whom we see. But let "us make ourselves pure even as He is pure. Stand "up then upon a rock, and if the river be violently "disturbed thou shalt not fear, and behold, thy building "shall not shake; and sing with might, saying, 'Those "'who put their hope in the Lord shall be like Mount "'Zion,[1] and he who dwelleth in Jerusalem shall never "'be moved.' The Enemy said unto our Redeemer, "'I will send these who belong to me against those "'who belong to Thee [Page 597] that they may drive "'them back; and if they do evil to Thy chosen ones "'I cannot [help it], and I will trip them up, even "'though I can only do so in dreams of the night.' Then our Redeemer said unto him, 'If an abortion "'can inherit his father['s possessions] this also shall "'be accounted as sin to My chosen ones.'"

582. Against the thought [of fornication] another old man spake, saying, "Be thou like unto a man who "passeth through a street of tavern-keepers, and who "smelleth the odour of boiling meats, or the whiff of "something which is being roasted; he who wisheth "entereth into [one of them] and eateth, and he who "doth not wish [to do so] smelleth the meats as he "passeth by and then goeth on. Drive away then "from thee the foetid smell of evil thoughts, and stand "up and pray, saying, 'O Son of God, help me.' The "same thing is also to be said about other thoughts, "for we are not the roots of the thoughts, but are "those who strive against them."

[1] Psalm CXXV. 1.

EXCELLENT COUNSELS CONCERNING FORNICATION BY ONE OF THE HOLY OLD MEN.

583. Now on thy account, O son of man, CHRIST was born, and the Son of God came that He might make thee to live. He became a Child. He became a man, being also God. He Who was the Lawgiver became a reader [of the Law], and He took the Book in the congregation, and He read, saying, "The Spirit "of God is upon me, and for this reason He hath "anointed me, and hath sent me to preach the Gospel "unto the poor." Like a servant He made a whip of rope, and He drove forth from the temple all those who sold oxen, and cattle, and doves, and other things. Like a servant He girded a napkin about His loins, and washed the feet of His disciples, and He commanded them to wash the feet of their brethren. Like an elder He sat among the elders, and taught the people. Like a Bishop He took bread, and blessed [it], and brake, and gave to His disciples; and He was beaten for thy sake, that is to say, for thy sake He was crucified, and for thy sake He died. Yet thou for His sake [Page 598] wilt not even endure insult! He rose as God. He was exalted as God. All these things for our sake, all these things by Divine Providence, all these things properly and in due order did He do that He might redeem us. Let us then be watchful, and strenuous, and constant in prayer, and let us do everything which will please Him, and will gratify His friends, so that we may be redeemed and live. Was not Joseph sold into Egypt, and did he not live in an alien land? And the three simple young men in Babylon, had they not men who opposed them? Yet, because they were fearing God, He helped them, and made them glorious.

584. An old man who had delivered himself unto God used to say, "The monk must have no will of "his own, but he whose will is of God continueth to

"minister to Him unwearyingly; for if thou doest thine "own will, thou becomest weary, and thou labourest, "and God hearkeneth not to thee." And the old man also said, "He who liveth in God liveth with Him, for "He saith, I will dwell in them, and I will walk in "them, and they shall be to Me a people, and I will "be to them a God."

585. And the old man also said, "God saith unto "thee thus:—If thou lovest me, O monk, do that which "I ask, and do not that which I do not desire. For "monks should lead lives wherein they act not in "iniquity, and a man should not look upon evil things "with his eyes, nor hear with his ears things which "are alien to the fear of God, nor utter calumnies with "his mouth, nor plunder with his hands; but he should "give especially to the poor, and he should not be "[unduly] exalted in his mind, and he should not think "evil thoughts, neither should he fill his belly. Let "him do then all these things with discretion, for by "them is a monk known." The old man also said, "These things [form] the life of a monk: Good works, "and obedience, and training. A man should not lay "blame on his neighbour, and he should not utter "calumnies, [Page 599] and he should not complain, "for it is written, The lovers of the Lord hate "wickedness."

586. A brother on several occasions troubled an old man, and said unto him, "What shall I do with "the impure and wicked thoughts of divers kinds which "force their way into me by various means?" The old man answered and said unto him, "Thou art like "unto a cistern which hath been dug out,[1] and which "is sometimes full, but which, when its waters have "been drawn out, is found [to be dry]. Why dost thou "not make thyself more like a fountain of water which "is never without [water]? Persistence is victory, and

[1] The text is corrupt here.

"victory is constancy, and constancy is life, and life is "kingdom, and kingdom is God."

HERE END THE QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE THOUGHTS OF FORNICATION, AND THE ANSWERS THERETO, AND THE COUNSELS OF THE HOLY OLD MEN.

CHAPTER XII.

OF THE ACCEPTANCE OF REPENTANCE, AND OF HOW IT IS RIGHT FOR US TO REPENT IN TRUTH.

587. Two brethren were in restraint to the lust of fornication, and they went and took to themselves wives. At length, however, they repented, and said to each other, "What have we gained by leaving the "labour of angels and coming to this [state of] im- "purity, since after the present life we shall be delivered "over to fire and everlasting torture? Let us return "to the desert and repent." And they went forth straightway, and came to the desert to the fathers, and they entreated them to offer up supplications on their behalf; now the outward appearance of both was the same, and they shut themselves up for one year, and they made supplications to God, and entreated Him to pardon them, and to each of the two brethren a like quantity of bread and water was given. Now after their period of repentance was fulfilled, they went forth from their seclusion; and the old men saw that the countenance of one was changed [Page 600], and that it was exceedingly sad, whilst that of the other brother was cheerful and glad, and the fathers marvelled why, seeing that the two men had been partaking of the same amount of food, and had endured the same restraint, the face of one was so different from

that of the other. And they asked him of the sad face, saying, "What didst thou think about in thy cell?" And he said, "On the evil things which I have com-"mitted, and I think about the torture which is to come, "and by reason of my fear my flesh cleaveth to my "bones." And they asked him whose appearance was cheerful, saying, "Do thou also tell us what thou didst "think about in thy cell." And he said, "I gave thanks "unto God Who hath delivered me from the impurity "of this world, and from everlasting punishment, and "Who hath brought me to this labour of angels, and "with such things I remembered God and rejoiced." Then the old men said, "The repentance of each is "equal before God."

588. An old man was asked by one who toiled, "Is the repentance of sinners accepted by God?" And the old man, after he had taught him with many words, said unto him, "Tell me, O my beloved one: if thy "cloak[1] were to be torn in rags, wouldst thou throw it "away?" And he said unto him, "No, but I would "sew up the rents, and then I could use it again." And the old man said unto him, "If thou wouldst shew pity "upon thy garment which hath no feeling, shall not "God shew pity on that which He hath fashioned, and "which is His work?"

589. A certain brother fell into temptation, and through tribulation relinquished the garb of monkhood; and he wished to begin to renew his ascetic life, but he saw the great difficulty of the matter, and he drew back, and said, "When shall I ever find myself in the "same condition as I was formerly?" And through fear he did not begin his work, and he went and made the matter known to an old man, and the old man said, "The matter is thus: There was a certain "man who possessed an [Page 601] estate, and he held

[1] The better reading is حكبوم.

"it to be of no account and did not cultivate it, and, "it became full of tangled undergrowth and thorns. "Now one day he remembered[1] it, and he sent his "son, and said unto him, 'Go, clean the estate.' And "when he had gone and seen the abundance of the "undergrowth he was afraid, and said to himself, 'When "'shall I be able to clean away all this undergrowth?' "And he threw himself upon a bed, and lay down, "and went to sleep, and thus he did every day. Then "his father went forth and found that he was asleep, "and that he had done nothing; and he said unto "him, 'How is it, my son, that no work whatsoever hath "'been done by thee?' And he said to his father, "'When I came to work and saw the abundance of "the undergrowth, I was afraid and said, When shall "I be able to clean all this away?' And his father "said unto him, 'My son, work according to the measure "'of thy sleep each day, and it shall be sufficient for "'thee;' and when he heard [this] the young man "plucked up courage, and did thus, and in a short "time he cleansed the estate. Thus also thou shalt "not be afraid, but begin the work of thy rules, and "God, by His Grace, will establish thee [among those "in] the first rank. Now when the brother had done "thus he was helped."

590. A brother asked one of the old men, and said, "If a monk stumble and fall into sin, are many "labours necessary for him, and if he doeth them will "he be able to stand in the grade wherein he was "formerly? He who goeth forth from the world, and "beginneth the cultivation of spiritual excellence, will "find it easy to advance, for he who is occupied in "labours, if it be that he is reduced from the grade "wherein he stood by his stumbling, will be afflicted "and grieved in his mind." Then the old man answered

[1] The better reading is ܐܬܕܟܪ.

and said unto him, "A monk is like unto a house which "hath fallen down, and if he be awake in his mind "[*or*, thought], and if he be zealous and anxious to "build that which hath fallen down, he will find ample "material which will be of use in his building among "the remains of that which fell down before [he began "to build]; for he will find the foundation stones, and "the old stones from the walls, and other things, which "were employed in the old building, and out of these, "if he be so disposed, [Page 602] he will be able to "make his building to rear itself up better than the "man who hath not yet dug the places for the foun- "dations and laid the foundation stones, and who doth "not possess the materials which are to be employed "in the building, and who only beginneth to build with "the hope that he will be able to finish. And thus is "it with him that falleth from the practice of rules and "works of the monkish life into temptation, for if he "turn back, and repent, he will possess ample material "from [his] former works of the ascetic life which he "possesseth [to begin his building afresh], I mean to "say, the training and the service of the work of the "hands, which is the foundation [thereof]. Whosoever "then hath gone forth from the world, and beginneth "the cultivation of ascetic excellence, when he hath "done these things he will still be found standing in "the front rank of the solitary [*or*, monkish] life."

590A. One of the old men told the following story, saying:—There was a certain monk who dwelt in the desert, and he lived a life of strict and severe rule, and he was famous among men, and he could even cast out devils and heal the sick. And it came to pass that, through the agency of Satan, the passion of fornication was stirred up against him, and because he was not sufficiently humble to reveal his war unto the old men who were before him, in a few days time he fell into fornication with a woman, who used to come to him continually for assistance. Now having fallen,

he despaired about himself, and he rose up to go to the world, and he was sad and grieved concerning his fall; and he meditated, saying, "I will go into the "desert which is further away, and I shall not see any "man, and I shall not be seen of any, and there I will "die like the wild animals." And when he had gone, and he was wandering about in the desert and in the mountains, he used to cry out by night and by day, saying, "Woe is me! Woe is me!" And he ceased not to weep and to groan. Now there was in that desert a certain solitary old man who dwelt in a cleft in the rock, and when he heard the sound of the weeping and lamentation, his mercy for him revealed itself, and he went forth and met him, and they saluted each other. And the old man answered and said unto him, "Why weepest thou in this fashion?" And the young man said, "Because I have angered God, and because "I have fallen into fornication." Then was the old man astonished, and he said, "O how greatly did I fear "and tremble at thy lugubrious voice. For I thought "that thou hadst been entrusted with the governorship "of the brethren, and that thou hadst governed un-"justly, or that thou hadst squandered in an unseemly "manner the work of the community. For the harlot "repented, and for the unbeliever there is a foundation, "and the thief is a son of the kingdom, but Ananias "and Sapphira were slain because they stole the money "of the community of the brethren, and thus is slain "the soul of every one who with fraud or carelessness "squanders the possessions of the religious houses. "But be thou of good courage, O brother, and go "back again to thy cell, and make thine entreaty to "God as thou repentest, and He will stablish thee in "thy former grade." Then the monk went back to his place, and he shut himself in, and never again undertook to talk with any man, except him that handed in to him his food through the little window of his cell, and there he remained until the end of

his life, and he attained to a most exalted state of perfection.[1]

590[A1]. ABBÂ AMMON of RÎTHEAÔN asked ABBÂ POEMEN about the impure thoughts which are produced in a man, and the vain lusts; and ABBÂ POEMEN said unto him, "It belongeth to Satan to sow them, but it is our "affair not to welcome them."

591. A brother asked ABBÂ AMMON, saying, "Be- "hold, there were two men, the one was a monk, and "the other a son of the world; now the monk used "to determine in the evening to cast away from him "in the morning the garb of the monk, and the son

[1] ܗܘܢܥ. ܡܥܒܕ ܒܗ ܐܢܫ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܫܘܠܡ ܘܐܬܐ ܠܫܠܡ ܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܫܘܬܐ: ܘܐܦ ܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܕܐܦ ܒܗ ܐܢܫ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܫܘܠܡ ܘܐܬܐ ܠܫܠܡ ܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܫܘܬܐ: ܐܠܐ

"of the world used to make up his mind that on the "morrow he would take the garb of monkhood. Now "it happened that both men died on the same night; "how will they be regarded, and which determination "will be reckoned to them?" The old man said unto him, "He who was a monk died a monk, and he who "was a child of the world died as such, for as they "were found [to be] so were they taken."

592. A brother asked ABBÂ SISOES, saying, "What "shall I do, father? For I have fallen." The old man said unto him, "Rise up;" and the brother said unto him, "I did rise up, but I fell again." The old man said unto him, "Rise up again;" and the brother said unto him, "I did rise up again, many times, and I fell "[again]." The old man said unto him, "Rise up "again;" and the brother said unto him, "Until when?" The old man said unto him, "Until thou advancest, "either in good deeds or in falling; for in the road "wherein a man advanceth he goeth, whether it be to "death or to life."

593. It happened on one occasion that a brother in the monastery of ABBÂ HAṬÎL [*or*, HELÎṬ] was tempted, [and he fell], and having been expelled from that place he went to the mountain, to ABBÂ ANTHONY, [Page 603] and having remained with him for a long time, ABBÂ ANTHONY sent him back to the monastery from which he had gone forth. Now when the sons of the monastery saw him, they cast him out, and he returned to ABBÂ ANTHONY, and said unto him, "Father, they have refused to receive me;" and ABBÂ ANTHONY sent them a message, saying, "A storm rose "up against a ship on the sea, and destroyed the "freight which she carried, but with the greatest "difficulty she was saved [and brought] to land. Now "what do ye wish to do? Do ye wish to drown him "that hath been saved?" And when those monks heard [the words of] ABBÂ ANTHONY, they sent to the brother, and welcomed him with gladness.

594. Abbâ Anthony used to say, "There are many "who fall and who rise up to an attitude of rectitude, "but there are some who fall from good deeds to "polluted things; better is he who falleth and riseth "up than he who standeth and then falleth."

595. Abbâ Poemen said, "If a man sinneth, and he "saith, 'I have not sinned,' and thou chidest him, thou "cuttest off his will; but if thou sayest unto him, 'Be "'not sorry about this, but guard thyself from sinning "'again,' by these means thou wakest his soul to repen- "tance."

596. He also said, "I prefer a man who hath sinned, "and done wickedly, and repented, to the man who "hath not sinned and hath not manifested repentance; "for the former possesseth a humble mind, and the "latter esteemeth himself in his thoughts a just man."

597. Abbâ Sarmâṭâ used to say, "I prefer a man "who hath sinned, and who knoweth how to acknow- "ledge his sins, to him that doeth righteousness, and "who saith, 'I do what is fair.'"

598. Abbâ Theodore of Parmê used to say, "The "man who is in [a state of] repentance is not bound "by the Law."

599. They used to say that the thoughts of a certain old man used to say unto him, "Let to-day "go by, and repent to-morrow;" but he would say, "Nay, not so, for I will repent to-day, and to-morrow "shall be as God willeth" [Page 604].[1]

[1] In Bedjan's edition this is followed by:—There was at one time among the brethren a certain man who at the beginning of his [ascetic] career took good heed unto his soul but, when a short time had elapsed, he began to treat the salvation of his life with contempt; and his Abbâ ordered him to strip off the garb of the monks, and to put on the apparel of men who are in the world, and to depart from among the

CHAPTER XIII.

Of [the fathers who] wrought wonderful works.

600. Abbâ Sisoes said:—When we were in Scete, with Abbâ Macarius, seven of us went up to reap with him, and behold, a certain widow followed after us gleaning, and she ceased not to weep. And the old man cried to the lord of the estate, and said unto him, "What is the matter with the old woman who "weepeth continually?" He said unto him, "Her hus-"band took a deposit of money from a man and he "died suddenly without saying with whom he had "placed it, and the owner of the deposit wisheth to "take her and her children as slaves." The old man said unto him, "Tell her to come to us at the place "where we rest at the season of noon," and it was told to her. And at the season of noon the woman came to them, and the old man said unto her, "Woman, why "dost thou weep continually?" And she said, "My "husband is dead. He had taken a deposit from a "certain man, and he died suddenly without telling us "where he had laid it up." The old man said unto her, "Come [and] shew me where ye have laid him;" and he took the brethren with him, and went with her, and having arrived at the place where the man was laid, the old man said unto her, "Get thee now to thy "house." And after [she had departed] and he had made an end of his prayer, the old man cried out to the dead man and said, "O Such-an-one, where hast

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brethren. Then the man fell down at his feet, and entreated him, saying, "If thou wilt forgive me this once only, thou wilt "gain me henceforward, for I repent of these things which I "have done through negligence." And having multiplied and prolonged his entreaties, and made many promises that he would in the future mend his ways, he was held worthy of forgiveness; and he struggled with all the power of his soul to such purpose as to become a pattern to great and small. [No. ٥٥٨, p. 678].

thou laid up the deposit which belongeth to the stranger?" Then the dead man answered straightway, and said, "It is hidden in my house beneath the leg of the bed;" and the old man said unto him, "Sleep now until the "Resurrection." Now when the brethren saw what had been done, they all fell down at his feet in fear; and the old man said unto them, "This hath not happened "because of me, O my brethren, nor is the matter a "great one, but God hath wrought this thing for the "sake of the widow and the orphans; but what is "great is that God desireth a soul which is pure and "sinless." And when they had come they told the widow that the deposit was laid up in such and such a place, and then the old woman brought it up and gave it to its owner, [Page 605] and set free her children from slavery. And every one who heard [of this] gave thanks unto God.

601. When ABBÂ MILES[1] was passing through a certain place he saw a man holding a monk by force as if he had committed murder, and the old man drew nigh and questioned the brother, and when he learned that he was being wrongfully accused, he said unto those who had seized him, "Tell me where is the man "who hath been murdered;" and they shewed him. Then the old man drew nigh to the murdered man, and said unto all who were standing [there], "Let us "pray;" and when he had spread out his hands in prayer before God, the dead man rose up. And the old man said unto him before every man, "Tell us who it was "that slew thee;" and he answered and said, "I went "into the church and gave some money to the elder, "and it was he who rose up and killed me, and he "carried me out and threw me in the habitation of this "monk; I entreat you that the goods which I have "given to him may be taken back and given to my "children."

[1] Or, MANILIUS, مِنِيلِيُس.

602. On one occasion a certain man in the world went to ABBÂ SISOES in the mountain of ABBÂ ANTHONY, and he had his son with him, and as they were going along the road his son died; now the man was in no wise disturbed, but he took him up in faith and brought him to the old man, and he came with his son, and fell down before him with his son upon his knees as if he was entreating him to bless them; and the father of the boy went out and left his son [lying] dead at the feet of the old man. Now the old man did not know that the boy was dead, but he thought that he was making supplication and entreaty to him; and he answered and said unto him, "Arise and go forth," and straightway without any delay whatsoever, the youth rose up and went out to his father, who, when he saw him, marvelled; and his father took him and went in and did homage to the old man, and informed him about the matter. Now when the old man heard this he was troubled, for he did not wish this thing to happen because [Page 606] of the praise of men; and his disciple commanded them not to tell the story before any man until the day of his death.

603. One of the fathers used to relate that ABBÂ PAULE, who dwelt in Thebes, would take snakes, and scorpions, and horned snakes in his hands, and kill them. And the brethren made apologies to him, and said, "Father, tell us through what labour thou hast "received this gift." And he said unto them, "Forgive "me, O my fathers, if ye possess purity of heart, "every living thing will be subject unto you as it was "unto ADAM before he transgressed the commandment "of God."

604. On one occasion one of the old men of Thebes came to MOUNT SINAI, and having departed from there, one of the brethren met him on the way, and with a groan he said unto the old man, "We are distressed, "O father, through the want of rain." And the old man said unto him, "Why do ye not pray and ask

"God for some?" and the brother said unto him, "We have prayed and made earnest supplication, and "the rain hath not come." The old man said unto them, "Then ye did not pray with all your hearts; "do ye wish to know that the matter is thus?" And after [this] the old man stood up in prayer, and he spread out his hands to heaven, and straightway, without any delay whatsoever, the rain came; and the brother saw, and feared, and he fell down and did homage to him. Now the old man took to flight, but the brother made known everything which had happened, and when [the brethren] heard [thereof] they all glorified God.

605. They used to say that, when on one occasion, ABBÂ MOSES of Scete was going in to PAṬÂRÂ, he grew weary through the length of the road, and he was afraid and said, "How can I fetch water for my- "self to this place?" and a voice was heard by him, saying, "Go in, and fear not." Now one day a large number of the fathers came to him, and he had there only one vessel of water, and having boiled some lentiles the water came to an end; at this[1] [Page 607] the old man was troubled, and went out and in, and prayed to God, and afterwards a great cloud came and poured down upon them much rain, and it filled all the vessels which he had with water. Then afterwards the fathers said unto him, "ABBÂ MOSES, tell us "why thou didst come in and out;" and he said unto them, "I entered into judgment with God, Who brought "me hither because there was want of water, and "because I had no water for His servants to drink; "therefore I came in and out."

606. The old man JOSEPH used to say:—I went on one occasion to ABBÂ POEMEN and found many old men with him, and behold, a certain man had brought a youth who was a kinsman of ABBÂ POEMEN, and whose

[1] Read ܒܗܝ ܙܒܢ.

face had been turned backwards through the operation of the Evil One; and when his father saw the multitude of the old men who were coming to ABBÂ POEMEN, he took him and brought him outside the door of the monastery, and sat down there and wept. Now when one of the old men had ended his business, and was going forth [from the building], he saw him, and said unto him, "Why weepest thou, O man?" The father of the youth said unto him, "I am of the family of ABBÂ POEMEN. A trial hath come upon this youth, but "we are afraid to take him to him, for he refuseth to "see us, and now, if he learneth that I am here, he "will send and drive me away; but when I knew that "ye were coming here, I ventured to come also." And he cast the youth down on the ground at his feet, and wept, saying, "If thou wilt, have mercy upon me, and "take this youth inside, and pray over him;" and the old man took him and carried him in with him to ABBÂ POEMEN. Now the old man acted wisely in the matter, and he did not take the youth at once to ABBÂ POEMEN, but beginning with the last of the brethren who was there, he brought the youth to each and every one of them, saying, "Make the sign of the Cross "upon this youth;" and having brought him alike to all the brethren [Page 608] and to all the old men who were there, finally he brought him to ABBÂ POEMEN, but the blessed man refused to touch him. Thereupon a contention arose, and they all entreated him, saying, "Father, do thou even as we all have done;" then ABBÂ POEMEN sighed, and he rose up and prayed, and said, "O God, heal that which Thou hast fashioned so that it may not be destroyed by the Enemy," and he finished his prayer, and made the sign of the Cross over him, and straightway the face of the youth was made straight, and he was healed. And ABBÂ POEMEN gave him to his father made whole, and so he took him and departed with rejoicing.

607. They used to say that the face of ABBÂ

PANBÔ was like lightning, even as MOSES received the glory of the likeness of ADAM, and that his face shone, and that he was like a king who sitteth upon his throne; and thus was it also with ABBÂ SILVANUS and with ABBÂ SISOES.

608. They used to say about one of the old men that as he was in the light during the day, so also was he [in the light] in his cell by night, and that he used to work with his hands and read in the night time just as he did during the day.

609. One of the old men sent his disciple to draw water, now the well was a very long way off from their cell, and that brother forgot to take the rope with him; and being distressed [thereat] he bowed himself in prayer, and he prayed and cried out, saying, "O well, my father [saith], Fill this vessel for me with "'water, and without delay;'" and the water came up, and the brother filled [the vessel], and as soon as he had done so the water descended to its place.

610. On one occasion ABBÂ MOSES came to the well to draw water, and he saw ABBÂ ZECHARIAH praying to the stream, and the Spirit of God was resting upon him like a dove.

611. On one occasion one of the brethren went to the cell of ABBÂ ARSENIUS in Scete, and he looked through the window, and saw the old man standing up, and all his body was like fire; now that brother was worthy to see this sight [Page 609]. And having knocked at the door the old man came out to him; and seeing that the brother was marvelling at the sight which he had seen, he said unto him, "Hast thou been "knocking a long time? Peradventure thou hast seen "something?" and he said unto him, "No; [I have not]." And ABBÂ ARSENIUS spake with him, and dismissed him.

612. They used to say that a certain old man[1]

[1] What follows of this paragraph actually forms the concluding portion of No. 2 of the section of this book entitled

said, "Verily as he who worketh gold, and as he who "maketh beautiful work, cleanly and at peace, so thou "also by thy beautiful thoughts must inherit the king-"dom of God; but I who have passed the whole period "of my life in the desert have not been able to overtake "thee."

613 [619].[1] They used to say about a certain great old man, who lived in PURPIRINÊ, that when he lifted up his eyes to heaven he could see whatsoever was therein, and that if he gazed into the earth he could see into the depths, and whatsoever was in them.

614 [620]. ABBÂ JOHN, who was cast out by the MARCIONITES, used to say:—On one occasion we went from Syria to ABBÂ POEMEN, and when we wished him to speak to us about hardness of heart [we found that] the old man did not know Greek, and there was no interpreter with leisure [to interpret there]. And the old man saw that we were troubled at this, and he began to talk to us in the Greek tongue, and at the beginning of his speech he said, "Water is by "nature soft, and stone is hard, nevertheless if thou "suspendest a vessel full of water above a stone, and "wilt pour it out upon it drop by drop, it will wear "away the stone. In the same way the Word of God "is soft, and our heart is hard, but if it heareth con-"tinually the Word of God, the heart will be opened, "and will turn to the fear of God."

615 [621]. A certain monk lived in the desert, and there was another brother who lived in a cell by his side, and when he visited him from time to time he used to see him praying and entreating our Lord that the wild animals might be at peace with him. And

"Questions and Answers" which immediately follows No. 621. The copyist did not notice that two or three leaves were missing in the manuscript which he was copying.

[1] The nine following paragraphs are translated from Bedjan's edition, Nos. 619-627.

after the prayer a panther which was suckling her young was found by him, and that brother went down upon his knees and sucked with them. And on another occasion the blessed man saw that brother praying and beseeching God to make fire to be at peace with him; and he lit a fire, and knelt down in the middle of it, and prayed. And that old man used to say, "If "thou wishest to become a monk, bring thyself into "subjection that thou mayest be in the congregation "of the community, and mayest enter the monastery; "but if thou canst not cast away from thee care con-"cerning [all kinds of] occupations and affairs, thou "canst never dwell in the congregation. All the power "thou hast is over a bottle of water.

616 [622]. And there are also wonderful things which the blessed BESSARION performed. He made the waters of the sea sweet, and SAUL his disciple drank [of them]; he crossed over the water of the river; he prevented the sun from setting in the heavens; and the rooting up of the temples of the idols was revealed unto him. As they were going to JOHN the Theban his disciple became thirsty, and BESSARION prayed, and water bubbled up, and he gave him to drink; and he healed also the young man who was a paralytic, so that he ran to his father; and he cast out a devil from a young man who was always asleep, and whom his parents besought him to wake up. I have, however, written down all these things in the history of the holy man BESSARION, wherein it is written that he was sitting at the door of the monastery and weeping bitterly.]

CHAPTER XIV.

Of the greatness of the sublime rule of the solitary life.

617 [623]. There was a certain old man amongst the fathers who used to see visions, and this man testified, and said "That power which I have seen "existing in baptism, I have also seen in the apparel "of the monks when they take the garb of the monk."]

618 [624]. An old man from Thebaïs used to say:—I was the son of a priest of idols, and when I was young I lived in the temple, and I have on many occasions seen my father go into the temple to perform the sacrifices to the idols. Once I went in secretly after him, and I saw Satan sitting [there], with his whole army before him, and, behold, one of his devils came and did homage to him. And Satan answered and said unto him, "Whence comest thou?" And the devil made answer, saying, "I was in such and such a country, "and I stirred up many wars and revolts, and I caused "the shedding of blood, and I have come to tell thee "these things." Satan said unto him, "How long did "it take thee to do this?" and the devil said, "Thirty "days." Then Satan commanded him to be beaten, saying unto him, "Is this all that thou hast done in "so long a time?" And, behold, another devil came and worshipped him, and to him he said, "Whence "comest thou?" And the devil answered and said, "I "was in the sea, where I stirred up storms, and sank "ships, and drowned many men, and I have come that "I may inform thee of these things." Then Satan answered and said unto him, "In how much time hast "thou done this?" and the devil answered and said unto him, "In twenty days," and Satan commanded that he also should be beaten, saying unto him, "Why is "it that in all these days thou hast only done [what

"thou sayest]?" And when he had said this, behold, a third devil came and worshipped Satan, who answered and said unto him also, "And where dost thou come from?" and the devil answered and said unto him, "I have "been in such and such a city wherein there was a "marriage feast, and I stirred up a war there, and "caused the shedding of much blood, and the death "of the bridegroom and the bride; and as soon as I "had done this I came to inform thee." And Satan said unto him, "In how many days hast thou done this?" and the devil said, "In ten days;" and Satan commanded that he should be beaten, saying, "In all these days "thou hast only done this." Then afterwards, behold, a fourth devil came and worshipped him, and Satan answered and said unto him, "And whence comest thou "also?" And he who was asked answered and said unto him, "I have been in the desert for forty years "striving with a monk, and to-night I have hurled him "into fornication;" and when Satan heard this, he rose up straightway and embraced and kissed that devil, and he took the crown off his head, and placed it upon him, and he made him to sit by his side upon his throne, saying, "And so thou hast been able to do so "great a work as this in so short a time! For there "is nothing which I prize so highly as the fall of a "monk." And the old man went on to say:—When I saw these things I said within myself, "Yea, so great "then is the army of the monks! And by the operation "of God, Who desired my redemption, I came forth, and "became a monk."]

619 [625]. In the time when JULIAN, the rebellious Emperor, was going down to the territory of the Persians, he sent a certain devil to go speedily to the country of the West and to bring him from thence an account of what he had sent him [to do]. Now when that devil arrived at a certain place wherein dwelt a monk, he stopped and tarried there for a period of fifteen days without being able to move anywhere, and

he was unable to travel onwards, because the monk did not cease from praying, either by night or by day; so he returned to the heathen who had sent him without having done anything. Then the wicked Julian said unto him, "Why hast thou tarried so long?" And the devil answered and said unto him, "I delayed in "coming, and I have done nothing; for a monk, who "continued in prayer, came in my way and I tarried "with him fifteen days, expecting that he would some "time cease to pray and that I should be able to go on "my way; but he never ceased from his prayer, and I was "prevented from going on, and so I delayed in coming, "and I have done nothing." Then was the wicked JULIAN angry, and he said, "When I come back I will "take vengeance upon him;" but before a few days were over, he was slain by Divine Providence. And straightway one of the eparchs who were with him went and sold everything which he possessed and gave [the money] to the poor, and he came to that monk, and himself became a chosen monk; and he died with a good ending, and with works which were pleasing unto God.]

620 [626]. On one occasion ABBÂ PAMBÔ was travelling with some monks in the districts of Egypt; and seeing some worldly folk sitting down he said unto them, "Rise up, and salute the monks so that ye may "be blessed, for they are always holding converse with "God, and their mouths are holy.]

621 [627]. ABBÂ JOHN used to say, "The whole "company of the holy men is like unto a garden which "is full of fruit-bearing trees of various kinds, and "wherein the trees are planted in [one] earth, and all "of them drink from one fountain;" and thus is it with "all the holy men, for they have not one rule only, but "several varieties, and one man laboureth in one way, "and another man in another, but it is one Spirit which "operateth and worketh in them."]

CHAPTER XV.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON THE RULE OF LIFE OF THE HOLY MEN WHICH THEY TAUGHT BEFORE THE MULTITUDE AND IN THEIR CELLS ON EVERY KIND OF SPIRITUAL EXCELLENCE.

1. [Two[1] of the fathers entreated God to inform them as to the measure [of spiritual excellence] to which they had arrived, and a voice came to them which said, "In such and such a village of Egypt there is "a certain man in the world who is called EUCHARISTOS, "and his wife MARY, and ye have not as yet arrived at "the same measure as they." Now when the fathers heard [this] they marvelled, and they rose up and came to that village, and they enquired for and found the house and the wife of EUCHARISTOS, and they asked her, saying, "Where is thy husband?" And she answered and said unto them, "He is a shepherd, and "he is in the field pasturing sheep;" and she brought them into her house. And when the evening had come her husband came from the sheep, and seeing the fathers he rejoiced with great joy, and he prepared a table [for them], and brought water that he might wash their feet. Then the fathers answered and said unto him, "We will eat nothing, but tell us what is "thy work;" and EUCHARISTOS said unto them with great humility, "I am a shepherd, and this is my wife." Now the fathers entreated him to inform them con-

[1] Nos. 1 and 2 are translated from Bedjan's edition, p. 692 ff.

cerning his life and works, but he concealed the matter, and refused to speak. Finally they said unto him, "God told us to come to thee," and when EUCHARISTOS heard this, he was afraid, and he told them, saying, "Behold, we inherited these sheep from our parents, "and whatsoever God provideth as [our] income from "them we divide into three portions; one portion [we "devote] to charity, one portion to the love of strangers, "and the remaining part serveth for our own use. "Since the time when I took this woman to wife we "have not defiled ourselves, and she is a virgin, and "each of us sleepeth alone; at night time we wear "sackcloth, and in the day time we put it off and array "ourselves in our [ordinary] attire, and no man hath "known this thing until the present moment." And when the fathers heard [this] they glorified God.]

[2. They say concerning ABBÂ ANTHONY that on one occasion, when he was praying in his cell he heard a voice which said unto him, "ANTHONY, thou hast not "yet arrived [at the state of excellence] of a certain "man who is a tailor and who dwelleth in Alexandria." Then ANTHONY rose up in the morning, and took a palm-stick and departed to him, and when the man saw him, he was disturbed; and the old man said unto him, "Tell me what thou doest, and how thou livest," and the tailor said unto him, "I do not myself know that I "do any good, and I know only that when I rise up "in the morning, before I sit down to the labour of "my hands, I give thanks unto God, and praise Him, "and that I set my evil deeds before mine eyes, saying, "'All the men who are in this city will go into the "'kingdom of God, because of their alms and good "'deeds, except myself, and I shall inherit punishment "'for my sins;' and again in the evening, before I sleep, "I do the same things." Now when ABBÂ ANTHONY heard these things, he said, "Verily, as the man who "worketh in gold, and who doeth beautiful work, cleanly, "and in peace, even so art thou; through thy beautiful

"thoughts thou wilt inherit the kingdom of God, whilst "I, who have passed the whole of my life in the desert, "separated [from men], have never overtaken thee."]

3 [1]. ABBÂ ANTHONY received a revelation in the desert, saying, "In such and such a city there is a man "who resembleth thee; he is a physician, and he worketh "and giveth whatsoever he earneth to the poor and "needy, and each day he, with the angels, ascribeth "holiness to God three times a day."

4 [2]. When ABBÂ MACARIUS was praying in his cell on one occasion he heard a voice which said, "MACARIUS, "thou hast not yet arrived [at the state of excellence] "of two women who are in such and such a city;" and the old man rose up in the morning, and took in his hand a palm stick, and he began to set out on the road to that city. Now therefore, when he had arrived at the city, and learned the place [of the abode of the women], he knocked at the door, and there went forth one of the women and brought him into the house. And when he had been sitting down for a little, the other woman came in, and he called them to him, and they came nigh and sat down before him. Then the old man said unto them, "On your account I have "made this long journey, and have performed all this "labour, and with great difficulty have come from the "desert; tell me, then, what works do ye do." And they said unto him, "Believe us, O father; neither of us "hath ever been absent from, or kept herself back "from, her husband's couch up to this day; what work, "then, wouldst thou see in us?" Then the old man made apologies to them, and entreated them to reveal to him [Page 610], and to shew him their labour, and thereupon they said unto him, "According to worldly "considerations we are strangers one to the other, for "we are not kinsfolk, but it fell out that the two of "us married two men who were brethren in the flesh. "And behold, up to this present we have lived in this "house for twelve years, and we have never wanted

"to quarrel with each other, and neither of us hath "spoken one abominable word of abuse to her com- "panion. Now we made up our minds together to "leave our husbands and to join the army of virgins, "but, although we entreated our husbands earnestly to "allow us to do so, they would not undertake to send "us away. And as we were unable to do that which "we wished, we made a promise between ourselves "and God that, until death, no worldly word should "go forth from our mouths." Now when MACARIUS heard [this] he said, "Verily, virginity by itself is no- "thing, nor marriage, nor life as a monk, nor life in "the world; for God seeketh the desire [of a man], and "giveth the Spirit unto every man."

5 [3]. They used to tell a story about certain brethren who were members of the household of ABBÂ POEMEN. Now whilst these men were dwelling in Egypt their mother wished to see them, but was unable to do so, and she watched for them as they were going to the church, and went out to meet them, but as soon as they saw her, they went back to their cell, and shut the door on themselves, and then their mother took up her stand by the door, and spake [unto them], and wept and sighed heavily. And when ABBÂ JOB heard her, he went in to ABBÂ POEMEN, and said unto him, "What shall we do in respect of this old woman who "is weeping by the door?" Then ABBÂ POEMEN rose up and drew nigh to the door and pressed himself against it and, hearing her speaking in the deepest sorrow, he said unto her, "Wilt thou, who art an old "woman, cry in this fashion?" Now as soon as she heard his voice she wept the more, and she cried out, saying, "I want to see my sons. For what is this that "I see in you? [Page 611] Peradventure I did not "rear you? Peradventure I am not your mother? Per- "adventure ye did not suck at my breasts? Peradven- "ture ye did not go forth from my womb? I am "prevented by mine old age, but now that I have heard

"thy voice my bowels have been moved." The old man said unto her, "Dost thou wish to see us here, "or wouldst thou see us in that country [beyond the "grave]?" She said unto him, "My sons, if I do not "see you here I shall see you there." And the old man said unto her, "If thou wilt compel thyself not to "see us here thou shalt, in very truth, see us there." Then the old woman departed, saying, "Yea, my son, "if I shall see you there I shall not seek to see you here."

6 [4]. There was a certain old man who lived a life of such strict self-denial that he never drank wine. And when I arrived at his cell we sat down to eat, and one brought dates, and he ate, and he took water and drank; and I said unto him laughingly, "So thou "art[1] angry with absinthe, O father? Since thou hast eaten dates, and hast drunk water, why dost thou not "drink wine?" And he answered and said unto me, "If thou takest a handful of dust and throwest it on a man will it hurt him?" and I said unto him "No." And he said unto me, "If thou takest a handful of water "and throwest it over a man, peradventure he will "feel pain?" and I said unto him, "No." And he said unto me, "And again, if thou takest a handful of chop-"ped straw and throwest it over a man, peradventure "it will cause him pain?" And I said unto him, "No." Then he said unto me, "But if thou bringest [them all], "and dost mix them together, and dost knead them "well, and dost dry them, thou mayest throw and "hurl the mass on the skull of a man and thou wilt "not break[2] it;" and I said unto him, "Yea, father, "[that is true]." And he said unto me, "The monks "do not abstain from certain things without good reason, "and thou must not listen to the men who are in the "world who say, 'Why do they not eat this, and why

[1] The better reading is ܕܡܪܝܪ ܐܢ ܕܥܒܕ ܒܝܫܐ ܐܢܬ ܐܒܐ. ܕܡ ܕܐܟܠܬ ܟܝܦ ܐܟܠ ܘܫܬܝܬ ܡܝ ܘܫܬܐ ܠܐ ܫܬܐ ܒܝܫܐ.

[2] The better reading is ܢܦܠܟ.

"'do they not drink that.' Is there not sin in them? "[Page 612] Such people know not. Now we abstain "from certain things not because the things themselves "are bad, but because the passions are mighty, and "when they have waxed strong they kill us."

7 [5]. On one occasion the priest of Scete went to the Archbishop of Alexandria, and when he had returned to Scete he wanted to send the brethren [to Alexandria], and he said unto them, "I have heard you "say that there is a large assembly of people in Alex- "andria. Verily, I say unto you that I who went there "did not see the face of any man except the Arch- "bishop." Now when they heard [this] they were disturbed, and said, "Have they sunk into the ground, "then?" And he said, "Nay, not so, but my thoughts "did not compell me to look at a man;" and when they heard [this] they marvelled, and they were greatly confirmed by these words [in their desire] to keep themselves from looking upon the vain things of the world.

8 [6] One of the old men used to say:—On one occasion the fathers were sitting and conversing together on the subject of ascetic excellence, and there was in their midst one of the old men who was a seer of visions, and he saw angels flying about over [the fathers]; but when they came to another subject of discourse, the angels departed, and he saw pigs rolling about among them and wallowing in the mire. And afterwards when the fathers renewed their conversation on spiritual excellence, the angels came back, and glorified God.

9 [7]. One of the fathers used to say that there were two brethren who were neighbours of his in the desert, and that one was a stranger, and the other a native of the country; now the stranger was a man of little faith, but the native performed many works in the service of God. And it happened that the stranger died, and the old man, who saw divine visions, saw

multitudes of angels bearing away in triumph his soul until it arrived in heaven. And an enquiry arose concerning this, and the old man heard [a voice from heaven][1] which said, "He was certainly a negligent "man. [Page 613] but because of his being a stranger "they opened[2] unto him." And afterwards the man who was a native of the country died, and his kinsfolk came to him, and buried him, and the old man saw that there were no angels with him, and he marvelled, and he fell on his face and entreated God to inform him how it was that the stranger who was a negligent man was worthy of glory, whilst the man who had all those labours [to his credit] was not granted the same thing. And he heard a voice which said, "When the "native with all his works came to die, he opened his "eyes and saw his kinsfolk weeping, and his soul was "refreshed; but the stranger, although he was negli-"gent, saw none of his kinsfolk, and he sighed and "wept."

10 [630]. One of the fathers told a story, saying:—There was a certain monk in the desert of Linopolis, and a man who was in the world ministered unto him; and there was in the city a certain rich and wicked man who died, and he was accompanied to his burial by the whole city, and by the Bishop, with lights, and great honour. Now the man who ministered to the monk went forth to give him some bread, but he found him dead, and eaten by the panthers; and he fell upon his face before the Lord, and said, "My Lord, I will "not rise up from this place until Thou makest me to "know why this wicked man is buried with such great "honour, and why this monk who served Thee by night "and by day hath come to such an end." And an angel came and said unto him, "That wicked man did "one good work, and he was rewarded here, so that

[1] Adding ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲙⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ.

[2] Read ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲡⲉ.

"he might not find even one pleasure in the world to "come; but this holy man, because he was a man who "was adorned with divine virtues, although inasmuch "as he was a man, he possessed certain shortcomings, "will receive these things in the world to come, so "that there he may be found perfect therein." And having heard [this], he returned, and glorified God for His judgments because they are good.

11 [631]. A brother asked an old man, [Page 614] saying, "Is it the name or the work which maketh to live?" The old man said unto him, "I knew a certain brother "who was praying on one occasion, and who thought "within himself, saying, 'I wish to see the soul of a "'righteous man, and the soul of a sinner when they "'are leaving the body;' and because God wished "neither to make him grieve, nor to deprive him of "his desire, whilst he was sitting in his cell a wolf "went in to him, and laid hold of him by his clothes "and dragged him outside, and then having pulled him "along he carried him to the outside of a certain city, "and then he left him there and departed.

"Now whilst he was sitting outside the city, there "was a man who lived in a monastery, and who had "gained renown, and concerning whom a report had "gone forth that he was a monk of spiritual excellence; "and this man was grievously sick, and was waiting "for the hour of his departure [from this world]. And "that brother looked on and saw the preparations which "they were making, and the things which they were "putting ready for the event, namely, the wax candles, "and the lamps which they were trimming and prepar-"ing, and he saw that all the city was weeping for "him, and that his people were in grief, and saying, "'By his hand God hath given us meat and drink, "'and by his hands He hath delivered us, and hath "'kept us and the whole city alive; if anything hap-"'peneth to him we shall all die.' And when the time "for this man to end his life had come, that brother

"looked, and saw, and behold, the keeper of Sheol "went in having in his hand a fork of fire with three "prongs, and he heard a voice which spake [to the "keeper], saying, 'Thou shalt not give his soul any rest, "'even for a moment, and thou shalt not shew any "'compassion unto him when thou takest away his soul.' "Then he who had appeared to that brother went in, "and he drove that fiery, three-pronged fork which he "had in his hand into the heart of the dying man, and "he tortured him for a long time, and then he carried "away his soul. And after these things, when that "brother was going into the city, he saw a certain "brother who was a stranger, and who was lying sick "in the market-place, and there was none to care for "him; [Page 615] and he remained with him for one "day, and at the time when his soul was departing, "the brother saw GABRIEL and MICHAEL come for his "soul, and they sat down, one on his right hand, and "the other on his left, and they stayed there entreating "his soul and wishing to carry it away. And since his "soul refused to leave its body, GABRIEL said to MICHAEL, "'Lift up his soul and take it, so that we may depart;' "and MICHAEL said unto him, 'We were commanded "'by our Lord to bring it out without pain and without "'suffering, and therefore we cannot constrain it and do "'it violence.' Then MICHAEL cried out with a loud "voice, saying, 'What dost Thou command concerning "'this soul which will not be entreated to come forth, "'O Lord?' And there came unto him a voice which "said, 'Behold, I will send DAVID and his harp, and "'all those who sing with him, so that when the soul "'heareth the sweetness of their voices it shall come "'forth;' and they came down and surrounded the soul, "and as they were singing psalms and hymns the soul "leaped forth, and it was rejoicing in the hands of "MICHAEL, and was taken up on high with glad-"ness."

12 [632]. They used to say that a certain old man

went on one occasion to a city to sell his handiwork, and it chanced that he sat down by the door of a house of a rich man who was dying, and whose death was very near at hand; and as he was sitting [there], he looked and saw black horses, with their black riders, who were exceedingly terrible, and they held in their hands staves of fire. And when they had come to the door of the house, they set their horses outside, and they went in together, and as soon as the sick man saw them, he cried out with a mighty voice, saying, "O Lord, help me." Then those who had been sent unto him said, "Now that the sun hath set upon thee "thou hast come to call God to remembrance; why "didst thou not seek Him whilst it was yet day? "Now thou hast neither a portion of hope nor consola-"tion left." Then they took away his soul and departed [Page 616].

13 [633]. There were two brethren who lived in cells, and one of them was an old man who had persuaded the younger man, saying, "My brother, let us "dwell together," but he said unto him, "I am a sinner, "and I cannot let thee be with me, O father." Then the old man entreated him, saying, "Yes, we can [live "together];" now that old man was pure in his thoughts, and he was not content to hear that there was in the young man the thought of fornication. And the brother said unto him, "Father, leave me for one week, and "we will speak [on the subject] again;" and when the week was ended the old man came and, wishing to try him, the brother said unto him, "During the past "week, O father, I fell into great temptation, for I went "to a certain village on business, and I fell into a woman." The old man said unto him, "There is repentance;" and the brother said unto him, "Yea, there is." And the old man said unto him, "I will bear the half of "this sin with thee;" then the brother said unto him, "We shall now be able to dwell together." So they dwelt together until the end of their lives.

14 [634]. Certain brethren from the great monastery went forth and departed to the desert; and they came to one of the monks who received them with gladness; and when he saw that, as was usual with monks, they had come from labour, he prepared for them a table before the appointed season, and whatsoever he had in his cell he set before them, and refreshed them. Now when the evening was come they sang twelve Psalms, and they did the same thing during the night, but the old man left them to rest, and he departed that he might sing and pray by himself. And whilst he was keeping vigil, he heard the brethren conversing together and saying, "The monks "who live in the desert live more comfortably than do "we who are in the monasteries." And when they were making ready in the morning to go to an old man who was his neighbour, he said unto them, "Salute "him for me;" and they said unto him, "Thou shalt "not water the green herb," and when he heard [this], he understood the matter. And he kept them until the evening working and fasting, and when [Page 617] the evening had come they sang the great service through, and the brother said unto them, "To-day, be-"cause ye have come from toil, we have shortened the "service somewhat," and he also said unto them, "We "are not in the habit of eating every day, but because "of you we will eat a little." And he prepared for them dry bread and salt, and he said unto them, "It is fitting "that on your account we should this day make a feast," and he sprinkled a little vinegar in the salt, and they rose up to sing and pray until the morning, and he said unto them, "We are, on account of you, unable "to perform the whole of the service as we are wont "to do, for ye must rest a little, and ye are strangers." Now when the morning had come they wished to escape, but he entreated them, saying, "Spend a few "days with us, especially that ye may live, according "to the custom of the desert, for we cannot let you

"go;" and when they saw that he did not want to send them away, they rose up and fled secretly.

13 [635]. On one occasion a certain brother came to Mount Sinai to visit ABBÂ SYLVANUS, and he saw the brethren working with their hands to supply their wants, and he said unto ABBÂ SYLVANUS, with boasting, "Ye toil for the food which perisheth; MARY chose a "good portion for herself." Then ABBÂ SYLVANUS said unto ZECHARIAH his disciple, "Give him a book, and "take him to a cell wherein there is nothing." And when the time of the ninth hour had come, the brother looked this way and that way to see if they were going to send for him to come and eat, but no man came after him. Then he rose up, and came to the old man, and said unto him, "Father, have not the "brethren eaten to-day?" and he said unto him, "Yea." And the brother said unto him, "Why have ye not "called me?" The old man said unto him, "Thou art "a spiritual man and hast no need of the meat which "is for the body, but we are corporeal beings, and "we require to eat, and it is for this reason that we "work. Thou hast chosen the [good] part [Page 618]; "read all day, and do not seek after the food of the "body." Now when that brother heard [this], he expressed his contrition, and said, "Father, forgive "me;" and the old man said, "Even Mary had need "of Martha, for through the labour of Martha Mary "triumphed."

16 [636]. It happened on one occasion that a certain heathen priest came to Scete, and he visited the cell of one of the brethren, and passed the night there, and he saw the labours of his rule, and marvelled; and he said unto him, "Do ye labour so greatly and yet "do not see visions from your God?" and the brother said unto him, "We do not see [visions]." The priest of idols said unto him, "When we perform the part "of priests to our god he hideth nothing from us, and "he revealeth unto us his mysteries, whilst ye who

"perform the labours of vigil, and abstinence, and silent "contemplation, as thou sayest, see nothing. There "must be in your hearts evil thoughts which separate "you from your God, and it is for this reason that He "doth not reveal unto you His mysteries." Then the brother went and informed the old men of the word[s] of that priest of idols, and they marvelled and said, "It is thus, for the thoughts which are not clean alienate "a man from God."

17 [637]. One of the brethren said unto one of the great old men, "If I could find one of the fathers ac- "cording to my desire, I would choose to die with him;" and the old man said unto him, with a laugh, "Good, "my lord," and the brother said, "Such is my desire." Now he did not understand the mind [*or*, thought] of the old man. And when the old man saw that the brother was in truth speaking concerning himself that which he thoroughly believed, he said unto him, "If "thou didst find an old man according to thy desire, "wouldst thou be able to dwell with him?" And he said unto him, "Yea." The old man said unto him, "Well hast thou said, 'If I could find [an old man] "'according to my desire;'" and afterwards he said unto him, "Thou dost not wish to be subject to the "will of the old man, but the old man must be subject "unto thee!" Then the brother rose up, and made apologies to him, saying, "[Page 619] Forgive me, "father; I have boasted greatly. I thought that I was "saying that which was good, but I find that I possess "that which is of no value."

18 [638] Abbâ Daniel used to say about Abbâ Arsenius that immediately he heard that the fruits were [ripe] on the trees, he would tell them in his desire to bring him some, and that he used to eat once a year of every kind of fruit, so that he might give thanks to God.

19 [639]. Abbâ Abraham asked Abbâ Theodore, saying, "Father, which is the better thing for me to do,

"[to give] praise or to blame?" The old man said unto him, "I myself prefer to perform the works of "praise, and not of blame;" and ABBÂ ABRAHAM said unto him, "How is this?" And the old man said unto him, "If I perform good works, and I be praised there- "for, I find that I can bring an accusation against my "mind whilst I flee from the love of approbation, and "I can say that I do not deserve this praise; but blame "belongeth to evil works, and how shall I be able to "comfort my heart, because men are offended at me? "It is necessary for us to do good works, and to be "praised, without receiving upon ourselves the love of "approbation, and not evil deeds, lest we be blamed." And ABBÂ ABRAHAM said, "Thou hast said well, O "father; even so is it."

20 [640]. They used to say about one of the fathers who had lived in the world, that when he was in the desert he was occupied in fighting [his desire] to return to his wife whom he had married before [he became a monk], and when he related the matter to the fathers, they appointed him certain works, so that he might be kept back from the fight [within him]. Now because he was an obedient man and one who laboured, he performed these works in excess, and at length his body became so emaciated that he was unable to rise up from his place. And, by the operation of God, a certain father who was a stranger came to the place of Scete, and he passed by the cell of that monk and found it to be empty; and as he passed[1] by he said in his mind, "How is it that no man hath come out "to [Page 620] meet me from this cell?" And he went back there, and knocked, saying, "Perhaps he is sick;" and when he had knocked the brother who was grievously sick went forth, and the father said unto him, "What "is thy sickness, O father?" And the brother told him of all his suffering, saying, "I belonged to the world,

[1] Read دخذ.

"and the Enemy made war upon me through my wife, "and I told the fathers the story, and they imposed "upon me severe labours; and having performed these "my body hath become ill, and the war hath waxed "stronger against me." Now when the old man heard these things, he was grieved, and he said unto him, "The fathers have imposed upon thee great labours as "if [thou hadst been] a mighty man, but if thou wilt "hearken to my feeble [voice] thou wilt relinquish those "labours, and wilt partake of a little food, at the ap- "pointed time, and wilt sing and pray a little, and wilt "cast thy business upon God. For by thy pains and "sickness thou wilt not be able to conquer this matter, "because our body is like unto a garment; if thou take "care of it, it will last, but if thou neglect it, it will "come to an end." Now the brother having heard these things acted thus, and in a few days the war passed away from him.

21 [641]. One of the fathers asked ABBÂ NASTÎR, the friend of the blessed ANTHONY, saying, "What is "the best work for me to do?" And he said unto him, "Not all kinds of labours are the same. For the Book "saith that ABRAHAM was a lover of strangers, and that "God was with him; and ELIJAH was a lover of a life "of silent contemplation, and God was with him; and "DAVID was a humble man, and God was with him; "therefore whatsoever work thy soul wisheth to do, "provided that it be of God, that do, and keep thy "heart from evil things."

And[1] the brother asked him again, saying, "Father, "tell me other things;" and the old man said, "ABBÂ "ANBASṬÎÔN asked ABBÂ ATHRÎ, saying, 'What shall I "'do?' And he said unto him, 'Go, make thy belly "'little, and the work of thy hands great, and be not "'[Page 621] troubled in thy cell.'"

[1] The following paragraph in Bedjan's edition bears the number 22.

And[1] again the brother asked him, saying, "If there "be a persecution, is it better to flee to the desert or "to the habitation of men?" And the old man said unto him, "Go wheresoever thou hearest that true be- "lievers are, and have no friendship with a youth, "and do not dwell with one; and if thou art able so "to do, dwell in thy cell, for this is good, and cleanse "thy garden herbs. This is far better than going to "a man and asking him questions."

And[2] again the brother asked him, "I wish to dwell "in close friendship with a brother, and I want to live "a life of silent contemplation by myself in my cell, "and he must give me what I want, and I will give "him the work of my hands." The old man said unto him, "The fathers have never sought after a thing of "this kind; and if thou dost not give bread to the poor "Satan will not permit thee [so to live]."

22 [642]. ABBÂ DANIEL PARNÂYÂ, the disciple of ABBÂ ARSENIUS, used to tell about a man of Scete, and say that he was a man of great labours but simple in the faith, and in his ignorance he considered and declared that the bread which we receive is not in very truth the body of Christ, but a similitude of His body. And two of the fathers heard this word which he spake, but because they knew of his sublime works and labours, they imagined that he had spoken it in his innocence and simplemindedness; and they came to him and said unto him, "Father, we "have heard a thing from a man which we do not "believe, for he saith that this bread which we receive "is not in very truth the body of Christ, but a mere "similitude." And he said unto them, "It is I who have "said this thing," and they entreated him, saying, "Thou "must not say thus, father, but according to what the "Holy Catholic Church hath handed down to us, even "so do we believe, that is to say, this bread is the

[1] In Bedjan's edition No. 23.
[2] In Bedjan's edition No. 24.

"body of Christ in very truth, and is not a mere "similitude. [Page 622] As, in truth, God straightway "took dust from the earth, and fashioned man in His "image, [and no man is able to say that he is not the "image of God], so also was it the case of the bread "of which He said, 'This is My body,' for it is not to "be regarded as a merely commemorative thing, and "we believe that it is indeed the body of Christ." And the old man said, "Unless I be convinced by the thing itself I will not hearken [to this];" then the fathers said unto him, "Let us pray to God for the "whole week on this mystery, and we believe that He "will reveal [it] unto us," and the old man agreed to this with great joy, and each man went to his cell. Then the old man prayed unto God, saying, "O Lord, "Thou knowest that it is not from wickedness that I "do not believe, but in order that I may not go astray "through ignorance, reveal Thou therefore unto me, O "Lord Jesus Christ, this mystery;" and the two other old men prayed unto God, and said thus, "O Lord Jesus "Christ, make Thou this old man to have knowledge "concerning this mystery, and we believe that he will "not destroy his labours."

And God heard the entreaty of the two fathers, and when the week was ended they came to the church, and the three of them sat down by themselves on one seat, and the old man was between the other two; and the eyes of their understandings were opened, and when the time of the Mysteries had arrived, and the bread was laid upon the holy table, there appeared to the three of them as it were a child on the table. And when the priest stretched out his hand to break the bread, behold, the angel of the Lord came down from heaven, with a knife in his hand, and he slew the child and pressed out his blood into the cup; and when the priest broke off from the bread small members, the old man drew nigh that he might partake of the Holy Offering, and a piece of living flesh smeared and

dripping with blood was given to him. Now when he saw [this] he was afraid, and he cried out with a loud voice, saying, "I believe, O Lord, that the bread is "Thy Body, [Page 623] and that the cup is Thy "Blood;" and straightway the flesh which was in his hand became bread like unto that of the Mystery, and he took it and gave thanks unto God. And the old men said unto him, "God knoweth the nature of men, "and that it is unable to eat living flesh, and for this "reason He turneth His Body into bread, and His "Blood into wine, for those who receive Him in faith." Then they gave thanks unto God for that old man, and because He had not permitted Satan to destroy him from his labours, and the three of them went to their cells in gladness.

23 [643]. ABBÂ DANIEL used to say that ABBÂ ARSENIUS told him a story, as if he were speaking of some other man, saying:—Whilst a certain old man was sitting in his cell, there came unto him a voice which said, "Come hither, and I will shew thee the "works of the children of men;" and he rose up and went out. And the voice led him out and shewed him an Ethiopian cutting wood, and he made up a large bundle and wished to carry it away, but he was unable to do so. Then instead of making the bundle smaller, he went and cut down some more wood, and added thereto, and this he did many times. And when he had gone on a little further, the voice shewed him a man who was standing by a pit drawing up water, which he cast in a certain hollowed out place, and when he had thrown the water therein it ran down again into the pit.

And again the voice said unto him, "Come, and I "will shew thee other things." Then he looked, and, behold, there was a temple, and two men, who were riding horses, were carrying a piece of wood as wide as the temple was, and they wanted to go in through the door, but the width of the wood did not permit

them to do so, for they would not humble themselves to go in, one after his companion, and to bring it in end-wise, and therefore they remained outside the door. Now these are the men who bear the yoke of righteousness with boasting, and they will not humble themselves to make themselves straight and go in the humble way of Christ, and therefore they remain outside the kingdom [Page 624] of God. And the man who was cutting wood is the man who laboureth in many sins, and who, instead of repenting and diminishing[1] from his sins, addeth other wickednesses thereunto. Now he who was drawing water is the man who doeth good works, and who, because other things are mingled in his good works, destroyeth his works thereby. Now it is meet that a man should be watchful in his labour, lest he toil in vain.

24 [644]. On one occasion ABBÂ MACARIUS was going from the wood to his cell, and was carrying [with him] some palm leaves, and Satan met him on the road holding a scythe [in his hand]; and when MACARIUS sought to wound him, Satan was afraid, and he fell down and did homage to the blessed man. Then the old man fled from that place, and he related to the brethren everything which had happened, and when they heard [it] they glorified God.

25 [645]. An old man used to say, "Be like a camel "when thou bearest thy sins, and be thou tied closely "to him that knoweth the way."[2]

26 [646]. An old man used to say, "Become not "a lawgiver unto thyself, and judge no man, for thou "art not under the Law, but under grace; but give thou "everything to Him that is able to do everything, for "thou art unable to do anything. Judge then [in] this "[way], and do not sin at any time."

27 [647]. He also said, "He who wisheth to dwell

[1] Read ܡܫܬܝܙܒ.

[2] Bedjan omits No. 645.

"in the desert should become a learner, and he should "not practise doctrine lest he suffer loss; and his oc- "cupation should be with a man who loveth God."

28 [648]. Unto one of the old men Satan appeared in the form of an angel of light, and said, "I, even I, "am GABRIEL who have been sent unto thee;" and he said unto him, "Hast thou not been sent unto another? "for I am a sinner;" and when Satan heard this he did not again appear. And the old man said, "If in "very truth an angel appeareth unto thee, say, 'As "'unto whom [hast thou come in coming] to me? I am "'not worthy.'"

29 [649]. When ABBÂ GREGORY was dying he said these [words]:—"God [Page 625] demandeth three "things from the man who hath been baptized, true "faith from the soul, and truth from the tongue, and "chastity from the body.

30 [650]. The old men said, "God seeketh nothing "from Christians except true faith, and [belief] that the "things which are spoken shall come to pass in deed, "and that we should be persuaded by the orthodox "fathers."

31 [651]. An old man was asked, "How can a man "find God? By fasting? By works? By watching? "By mercy?" And he said, "By means of these cer- "tainly when they are mingled with discretion, but I "say that there are many who have afflicted their bodies "without discretion, and they have departed vainly, "having gained nothing. Our mouth becometh foetid "through thirst, and we repeat the Scriptures with our "mouth, and we go through all the Psalms of DAVID "in our service, but that which God requireth, and "which is necessary we have not, that is to say, a good "word for each other. For as a man cannot see his "face in troubled waters, so the soul, unless it be cleansed "from alien thoughts, is not able to appear before God "in prayer."

32 [652]. A certain monk was going along the

road and he met some nuns, and he turned aside[1] out of the path, and she who was leading them said unto him, "Hadst thou been a perfect monk thou wouldst "never have regarded us[2] as women."

33 [653]. ABBÂ ANTHONY used to say, "A man's "life or death cometh from his neigbour; if we benefit "our brother we benefit ourselves, and if we offend him "we sin against God."

34 [654]. A certain brother came to ABBÂ THEODORE, and he began to talk and to speak about the things which he had not done; and the old man said unto him, "So far thou hast not found a ship, and thou hast "not let down in it thy possessions, and before thou "hast embarked thou hast gone to the city whereto "thou wishest to go. First of all do the work, and "then thou wilt arrive at that concerning which thou "art now talking."

35 [655]. A brother asked ABBÂ ANTHONY, saying, "What [commandment] shall I keep [Page 626] so that I may please God? And he answered and said unto him, "That which I command thee observe. Set thou "God before thine eyes continually, wheresoever thou "goest; whatsoever thou doest make to it a witness "[*or*, testimony] from the Scriptures; and in whatsoever "place thou dwellest be not easily moved therefrom, "but abide therein persistently. Observe these three "things, and thou shalt be saved."

36 [656]. They used to say about a certain old man that when he was sitting in his cell and was toiling in the contest, he used to see the devils face to face, and that he treated them with contempt and despised them through his contest. Now when Satan saw that he was being overcome by the old man, he appeared unto him in human form, and said unto him, "I am CHRIST." And when the old man saw him,

[1] The better reading is ⲁⲡⲉⲓⲇⲉ.

[2] The better reading is ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ.

he winked his eyes, and made a mock of him. Then Satan said unto him, "Why dost thou wink thine eyes? "I, even I, am CHRIST." And the old man answered and said unto him, "I do not desire to see Christ here;" and when Satan heard these things he departed from him and was no more seen.

37 [657]. ABBÂ JOHN used to say, that he saw in a vision one of the old men in a state of stupefaction, and behold, three monks were standing on the shore of a lake, and a voice came to them from heaven (*or*, from the other shore of the lake), which said, "Take "ye wings of fire and come to me;" and two of them took wings of fire and flew over to the other side, even as it was told them. Now the third remained behind, and he wept abundantly, and cried out, and at length wings were given to him also, but they were not of fire like those of his companions, but they were weak and feeble wings, and it was only with the greatest difficulty, and after dropping down into the water, and with most painful exertions that he reached the [opposite] shore. And even so is it with this generation, for although it taketh to itself wings, they are not the powerful wings of fire, but it forceth itself to take weak and feeble wings.

38 [658]. An old man used to say, "Every wicked- "ness which is not perfect is not wickedness, [Page "627] and every righteousness which is not perfect is "not righteousness; for the man who hath not good "and evil thoughts is like unto the land of Sodom, "which is salted, and which bringeth forth neither green "herb nor fruit. Now good ground produceth wheat "and expelleth tares from itself."

39 [659]. Certain brethren came and asked ABBÂ ANTHONY a question about the Book of the Levites, and the old man went forth to the desert, and ABBÂ AMMON, who knew his habit, followed him secretly. And when the old man had gone some distance, he cried out with a loud voice, and said, "O God, send

"Moses unto me, and let him teach me [the meaning "of] this verse;" and straightway a voice was heard holding converse with him. Now Abbâ Ammon heard this voice, and said, "I heard the voice which spake "with him, but the force of the verse I never learned."

40 [660]. On one occasion when Abbâ Poemen was a youth, he went to an old man to ask him [concerning] three matters,[1] and having gone into his presence he forgot one of them, and he turned to go to his cell; and as he put the key [in the door] to open [it], he remembered the matter which he had forgotten, and straightway he left the key in the door, and returned to the old man, and the old man said unto him, "Thou hast returned quickly, brother." And Abbâ Poemen told him the story thus:—"When I put "the key [in the door] to open [it], I remembered the "matter which I wanted to know, and I did not open "the door because I came back hither speedily." Now the rocky ground which [he had traversed] in the interval was of no inconsiderable length. And the old man said unto him, "Thy name shall be spoken about "throughout all Egypt."

41 [661]. A brother said unto an old Abbâ, "Behold, I have entreated the old men, and they talk "to me about the redemption of my soul, but I can "lay hold upon nothing in their words; what is the "use, then, of making them toil when I can do nothing "[with what they say], for I am wholly in a state of "uncleanness?" Now there were there two basins, and the old man said unto him, "Go, bring me one [Page "628] of these basins, and pour some oil into it, and "rinse the basin round with it, and then empty it out;" and he did so twice. Then the old man said unto him, "Bring now the two [basins] together;" and the brother did as he told him. [And the old man said, "Look and see which basin is the cleaner," and the

[1] Read معكم.

brother said unto him[1]], "That into which the oil hath "been poured is the cleaner." The old man said unto him, "And thus also is it with the soul, for even if it "layeth hold of nothing through that which it asketh, "it is cleaner than if it had never asked a question "at all."

42 [662]. A brother asked ABBÂ JOHN, and said unto him, "How is it that the soul which hath blemishes "in itself is not ashamed to speak about its neighbour, "and to calumniate it?" And the old man spake unto him a word concerning calumny, saying, "There was a "certain man who was poor, and he had a wife, and "he saw another woman who hearkened unto him, and "he took her to wife also; now the two women were "naked. And when there was a fair in a certain place "the two women persuaded him to take him to it, and "he took his two wives, and put them in a boat, and "when he had gone up out of the boat he arrived at "a certain place. Now when the day had waxed hot, "and every man was resting, one of the women looked "out and saw that there was no man outside, and she "leaped up and went forth to a heap of waste rubbish,[2] "and chose therefrom some old rags and made a girdle "for herself, and then walked about boldly. Meanwhile "her companion was sitting down naked, and she said "unto her husband, 'Look at that harlot going about "'naked and without shame;'" then her husband, with sadness, said unto her, "The thing to be wondered at "is that, whilst she hath, at least, covered her shame, "thou art entirely naked, and dost speak these words "without being ashamed." Now a calumny [uttered] against a neighbour is like unto this.

43 [663]. They used to say that one of the old men asked God that he might see the fathers, and he saw them [all], with the exception of ABBÂ ANTHONY;

[1] Adding ܟܕ ܗܘ ܕܫܪܝ ܫܡܢ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܕܒܗ ܫܪܝ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܕܠܐ ܫܪܝ ܒܗ ܟܕ.

[2] Literally, "dunghill."

and he said unto him that shewed [them] to him, "Where is ABBÂ ANTHONY?" And he said unto him, "Wheresoever God is there is ANTHONY" [Page 629].

44 [664] ABBÂ POEMEN used to say, "This is what "is written, 'As the hart crieth out for the water-brooks, "'even so crieth out my soul unto Thee, O Lord.'[1] "For the harts in the desert swallow many serpents, "and when the poison of these maketh them hot within, "they cry out to come to the water-brooks, but as "soon as they have drunk the burning which cometh "from the serpents inside them is cooled. And thus "is it with the monks who are in the desert, for they "are burnt up by the envy of evil devils, and they "wait for the Saturday and Sunday that they may come "to the fountain of water, that is to say, to the body "of Christ, and they sweeten and purify themselves "from the gall of the Evil One."

45 [665]. On one occasion when the brethren were sitting with ABBÂ MOSES, he said unto them, "Behold, "this day have the barbarians come to Scete; rise up "and flee." And they said unto him, "Wilt thou not "flee, father?" He said unto them, "I have been ex- "pecting this day to come for many years past, so that "might be fulfilled the command of our Redeemer, Who "said, 'Those who take the sword shall perish by the "'sword.'"[2] And they said unto him, "We then will "not flee, but will die with thee." He said unto them, "This is not my affair, but your own desire; let every "man look after himself in the place where he dwelleth."[3] Now the brethren were seven in number. And after a little he said unto them, "Behold, the barbarians "have drawn near the door;" and the barbarians entered in and slew them. Now one of them had been afraid, and he fled behind the palm leaves, and he saw seven

[1] Psalm XLII. 1.
[2] St. Matthew XXVI. 52.
[3] The better reading is جبعت.

crowns come down and place themselves on the heads of those who had been slain.

44 [666]. The brethren asked an old man, saying, "How is it that God promiseth in the Scriptures good "things to the soul, and that the soul desireth them "not, but turneth aside to impurity?" And he answered and said unto them, "It is my opinion that it is because "it hath not yet tasted the good things which are above, "and therefore the good things which are here are "dear unto it."

45 [667]. ABBÂ ARSENIUS used to say, [Page 630] "The monk is a stranger in a foreign land; let him not "occupy himself with anything [therein], and he will "find rest."

46 [668]. They used to say that on one occasion when ABBÂ MACARIUS the GREAT went up from Scete, and was carrying palm leaves, he became weary and sat down; and he prayed to God, and said, "God, "Thou knowest that I have no strength," and straightway he found that he was by the side of the sea, (*or*, river).

47 [669]. There was a certain old man in the mountain of ATHLÎBÂ [ATHRIBIS], and thieves came to attack him, and he cried out; and when his neighbours heard [his cry] they hunted down the thieves, and they sent them to the governor, who shut them up in prison. And the brethren were sorry, and said, "They "were delivered into our hands;" and they rose up and went to ABBÂ POEMEN, and informed him about the matter. Then he wrote to that old man, and said unto him, "Thou must understand whence hath come "the first betrayal, and then thou wilt perceive how "the second betrayal arose; for if thou hadst not been "betrayed[1] first of all by those who were within, thou "wouldst never have effected[2] the second betrayal." Now when the old man heard the letter of ABBÂ

[1] The better reading is ܐܬܡܟܝܢ.

[2] The better reading is ܒܛܥ ܐܦܫܗ.

POEMEN, who was famous throughout all that country, and who kept himself strictly secluded in his cell, and never went out, straightway he rose up and went into the city, and took the thieves out of prison, and thus the assembly set them free.

50 [670]. On one occasion ABBÂ MACARIUS, wishing to rebuke the brethren, said unto them, "There came "here a young man with his mother, and he was under "the power of a devil, and he said unto his mother, 'Rise "'up, let us depart from here;' and she said unto him, "'I cannot walk.' Then the young man said unto him, "'I will carry thee myself.'" And ABBÂ MACARIUS marvelled at the wickedness of that devil, and sought to drive them away.

51 [671]. On one occasion five brethren came to visit a great old man, and he asked the first one, saying, "What kind of work doest thou?" And he said unto him, "I twist palm leaves into ropes, father;" and the old man said unto him, [Page 631] "God shall "plait a crown for thee, O my son." Then he said to the second brother, "And what dost thou do?" and he said unto him, "I make mats, father;" and the old man said unto him, "God shall give thee strength, O "my son." And he said unto the third brother, "And "what dost thou do?" and he said unto him, "[I make] "sieves, father;" and the old man said unto him, "God "shall preserve thee, O my son." Then he asked the fourth brother, saying, "What dost thou do?" and he said unto him, "I can write well." And the old man said unto him, "Thou knowest." Then he said unto the fifth brother, "And what dost thou do?" And he said unto him, "I weave linen." Then the old man said, "I am not near," and he said also, "If the twister "of palm leaf ropes be watchful with God He will plait "him a crown for him; mat-[making] requireth strength "because there is labour therein; and God must protect "him of the sieves because he has to sell them in the "villages; as to the scribe, he must be humble in heart,

"for there is in his business exaltation of spirit, as "regardeth the linen weaver, I am not near [*i. e.*, con-"cerned] to speak, for he is a merchant and he tradeth. "But if a man seeth a brother afar off carrying palm "branches, or palm-leaf mats, or sieves, he saith, 'This "'man is a monk, for grass is the work of our hands, "'and he is avoiding the burning of the fire;' and if "he seeth a man selling linen, he saith straightway, "'Behold, the merchants have come, for the [selling of] "linen is the work of this world, and it doth not benefit "many."

52 [672]. ABBÂ JACOB used to say, "It is not only "words which are required, for in this [life of] time "many have abundance of words, but it is work which "is required, and it is necessary to have it, and not "words wherein there is no work."

53 [673]. One of the old men used to say, "That "which is hated by thee do not unto thy companion; "if it be hateful to thee for him to calumniate thee, "do not thou calumniate any man; if it be hateful to "thee to be accused, accuse thou no man; if it be "hateful to thee for a man to revile thee, or to treat "thee with contempt, or to [Page 632] pluck thee away, "or to do any such thing unto thee, do not thou do "unto any men anything of the kind. He who is able "to perform this commandment is able to redeem his "own soul."

54 [674]. "On one occasion I went to ABBÂ MAṬÂÔÎS, "and when I was about to return, I said unto him, 'I "'wish to go to the CELLS;' and he said unto me, "'Salute ABBÂ JOHN for me.' Now when I came to "ABBÂ JOHN, I said unto him, 'ABBÂ MAṬÂÔÎS saluteth "'thee;' and the old man said unto me, 'Behold, ABBÂ "'MAṬÂÔÎS is indeed a man of ISRAEL in whom there "'is no guile.' And after one year I went to ABBÂ "MAṬÂÔÎS, and I told him the greeting of ABBÂ JOHN; "and the old man said unto me, 'I am unworthy "'of the old man's words, but know, if ever thou

"'hearest an old man praising his companion more than "'himself, that he hath attained unto a great measure "'of perfection, for it is indeed obedience for a man "'to praise his companion more than himself.'"

55 [675]. A brother asked an old man, and said unto him, "My brother abuseth me, and I cannot bear "him any longer; what shall I do? Shall I rebuke him, "or shall I speak evil words to him?" The old man said unto him, "Both things are bad, whether a man rebuke "him, or whether a man speak unto him evil words;" and the brother said unto him, "And what shall I do? "For I cannot endure either." The old man said unto him, "If thou canst not bear both things, speak to him, "but do not rebuke him; but if thou speakest unto him "in an evil manner, and he listeneth, thou wilt be able "to quiet him, saying, 'I did not say such and such a "'thing, and it will be possible for the matter which is "'between you to be healed;[1] but if thou rebuke him "'to his face, thou wilt make a sore which will be "'uncurable.'"

56 [676]. Certain brethren came to ABBÂ ANTHONY that he might tell them about the visions which they used to see, whether they indeed came [Page 633] from devils [or not]; now they had with them an ass, and he died on the road as they were coming, and when they had gone into the presence of the old man, he said unto them straightway, "How was it that "your ass died on the road?" And they said unto him, "Whence doth the Abbâ know that our ass is "dead?" and ABBÂ ANTHONY said unto them, "The "devils shewed me [the matter]." Then they said unto him, "We have come to ask thee questions because "we have seen phantoms, and also because on several "occasions they have actually become real things, and "we want to learn whether we have erred or not;" and the old man shewed them that such phantoms

[1] The better reading is ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ.

arise through the devils which cannot be enquired into.

57 [677]. They used to say that ABBÂ SYLVANUS used to sit in secret in a cell with a few chick peas, and he made of them one hundred bundles; and behold, a man came from Egypt leading an ass loaded with bread, and having knocked at the door of his cell, he went in, and set down [the bread], and the old man took these bundles, and loaded them up upon the ass, and sent him away.

58 [678]. They used to say that when ABBÂ ZENO dwelt in a cell in Scete he went forth one night from his cell as if for a purpose,[1] and wandered about; and when he had passed three days and three nights in travelling, being exhausted by toil and hunger, and ready to die, he fell upon the ground. And behold, a youth stood before him carrying some bread and a pitcher of water, and he said unto ABBÂ ZENO, "Arise, and eat bread;" and the old man rose up and prayed, thinking that the youth was a phantom. Then the youth answered and said unto him, "Thou hast "done well;" and again ABBÂ ZENO prayed twice, and three times, and the youth said unto him, "Thou hast "done well;" and the old man took the bread and ate. Then afterwards the youth said unto him, "How is it "that thou hast gone so far from thy cell? But arise "and follow me;" and immediately he found himself in his cell. The old man said unto him, "Come, enter "into the cell with me, and make thy prayer," and as he was going on in front he was swallowed up from his sight.

59 [679]. They used to say [Page 634] that a certain brother had such an attack of blasphemy that he was ashamed to speak, and wherever he heard that there were great old men he used to go to them and inform them [about it]; but whenever he had come to

[1] Read ܕܟܕܝ.

one of them he was ashamed to speak to him. Now having gone to the fathers several times, on one occasion ABBÂ POEMEN saw him, and he perceived that he was full of thoughts, and he was sorry for him; but when the brother would not reveal the matter to him, and he made as if he would pass him by, as soon as the brother had gone a little way from him, the old man said unto him, "How often hast thou "come hither to tell me the thoughts which thou hast "in thy mind! Yet, when thou comest here, thou findest "it hard to tell me. How long wilt thou go on in this "manner and be vexed by such thoughts in thy mind? "Tell me, my son, what is it that aileth thee?" Then that brother answered and said unto him, "I am fight-"ing against the devil of blasphemy of God, and though "I have often sought [to tell thee] I have been ashamed "to do so." And when he had told him the matter, the face of ABBÂ POEMEN broke into a smile, and he said unto him, "Be not vexed, O my son, for when "this thought cometh to thee, speak thou to it, saying, "'I have nothing to do with this thought, and my soul "'desireth it not; let this blasphemy be upon thee, "'Satan, for nothing in [my] soul desireth it, for the "'time is short.'" And when that brother heard these things he departed rejoicing.

60 [680]. A brother asked an old man, saying, "How is it that the soul is obstinate, and that it wisheth "not to fear God?" The old man said unto him, "The soul wisheth, O my son, to fear God, but there "is no time, for the fear of God belongeth to per-"fection."[1]

61 [681]. One of the old men used to say, "Be "not thou asking for one thing after another, but ask "concerning the matter of the war wherein thou art "at the time engaged, and when thou hast eradicated "that then ask concerning something else; but if when

[1] The better reading is ܒܝ ܐܦ ܕܡܬܚܫܒ̈ܝܢ.

"there is in thee one passion, thou settest it aside and "askest about another, the former passion will never "be eradicated from thee."

62 [682]. A brother asked one of the old men, saying, "What shall I do? for my thoughts wish to "revolve and go round about by reason of the sight "of the fathers?" And the old man answered and said unto him, "If thou seest that thy thoughts wish to go "forth by reason of the strictness of the restraint, or "through need, make unto thyself a division in thy "cell, and thou wilt henceforward seek not to go out; "but if thou seest that they wish to go out for the "benefit of the soul, go out."

63 [683]. There was a certain brother in the CELLS, who, when the service in the church was ended, used to remain until the last[1] and to wait for some one to lead him home; one day, however, when the church was being dismissed, he went out before any one else and ran to his cell, and the priest saw him and marvelled. And when the brother came on the following day, the priest said unto him, "Tell me truly why thou, "who hadst been in the habit of going out last, dost now "go forth first of all?" and he said, "Up to the present I "made a distinction by not boiling any food [on the First "Day of the week], and I waited that, peradventure, "some one might take me to his cell; on that day, "however, before I came [to the church] I boiled a few "lentiles, and therefore I departed quickly." And when the priest heard this he gave a commandment to the brethren in the church that before each man came to the service in the church he should on the First Day of the week boil some food, by way of making a distinction.[2]

64 [684]. The brethren used to tell about a certain old man who had a disciple who, when he sat down

[1] Read ܐܚܪܝܢ.

[2] *I. e.*, between Sunday and the other days of the week.

to eat, used to put his feet on the table, and although the old man had suffered this war for many years he did not rebuke him. At length, however, he went to another old man, and told him about the brother, and the old man said unto him, [Page 636] "Complete thy "love, and send him to me." Now when the brother came to that old man, at the appointed time for the meal the old man rose up and made ready the table, and as soon as they had seated themselves the brother straightway put his two feet on the table; and the old man said unto him, "Father, it is not good for thee to "set thy feet on the table;" and he said unto him, "Forgive me, O my son. Thou hast well said, for it "is a sin." And the brother returned to his master, and told him about [it], and when the old man had learned this he perceived that this matter had been corrected in his disciple. And from that time the brother did not put his feet on the table.

65 [685]. A brother asked ABBÂ MAṬÔÂÎS, saying, "Speak unto me a word whereby I may live." He said unto him, "Go, entreat God to give thee mourn- "ing and meekness of heart, and consider at all times "thy sins, and do not judge other people, and make "thyself lower than every other man, and have no love "for a boy, and no acquaintance with a woman, and "no friendship with heretics, and put aside from thee "all freedom of speech [*or*, boldness], and restrain both "thy tongue and thy belly, and guard thyself somewhat "against wine, and if a man speak with thee concerning "any matter whatsoever, do not quarrel with him, but "if he saith that a thing is good, say, 'Yes,' and if he "say that it is bad, say, 'Thou knowest.' This is a "meek spirit."

66 [686]. A brother came unto ABBÂ POEMEN and said unto him, "I have very many thoughts, O father, "whereby I am vexed;" and the old man took him out into the air, and said unto him, "Spread out thy skirt, "and catch the winds," and the brother said unto him,

"I cannot do this." The old man said unto him, "Thou canst not do this, neither canst thou prevent "thy thoughts from coming, but it belongeth to thee "to stand up against them."

67 [687]. The brethren were on one occasion gathered together to ABBÂ JOSEPH, and as they were sitting and asking him questions about their thoughts he said unto them, by way of [affording] them consolation, [Page 637] "This day am I a king, for I have "controlled my passions."

68 [688]. A brother asked ABBÂ AMMON, saying, "Why is it that a man laboureth in prayer and maketh "petitions, and that for which he asketh is not given "to him?" The old man said unto him, "Hast thou "never heard how JACOB wearied himself for her whom "he took to wife, and that he did not obtain her whom "he sought, but her whom he did not seek, and how "afterwards he worked and toiled more, and finally "received her whom he loved? Thus is it with the "monk also, for he shall fast and keep vigil, and yet "shall not receive that which he asketh; and again, he "shall labour with fasting and vigil, and shall receive "the gift of grace which he asketh."

69 [689]. One of the old men asked ABBÂ SISOES, saying, "Did Satan persecute the men of olden time as "he doth those of to-day?" SISOES said unto them, "He persecuteth the men of this age especially, because "his time hath come."

70 [690]. ABBÂ JOHN the LESS, who was a young man, and had an elder brother, used to say, "I wanted "to be without any care whatsoever, and to be like "the angels of God, who do nothing except sing and "pray to Him." And straightway he cast from him the garments which he had on, and went forth to the wilderness, and when he had passed one week there, he returned to his brother; now when he knocked at the door his brother did not answer it, but asked him, "Who art thou?" And JOHN said unto him, "I am JOHN,"

and his brother answered and said unto him, "JOHN "hath become an angel and is no longer among men;" and JOHN entreated him, saying, "I indeed am JOHN," but his brother left him outside in affliction, and did not open the door until the morning. And when he came to open the door he said unto JOHN, "If thou art "indeed a man, it is necessary for thee to work so "that thou mayest live."

71 [691]. ABBÂ PÛRṬÊ said, "If God wisheth me to "live, He knoweth how to lead me, and to strengthen "me, and to provide for me; but if He desireth it not "unto whom shall I go to live?" And he would accept nothing from any man, not even when he was lying upon his bed, [Page 638] "For," he used to say, "if a man maketh an offering of any kind to me, and "not for the sake of God, I myself have nothing what-"soever to give him, and he will receive nothing from "God, for I am not in the place of God, so therefore "he who offereth will suffer loss."

72 [692]. ABBÂ POEMEN used to say, "Everything "which ariseth through passion is sin;" and he used to say also, "Every [exercise of] power which is for "God's sake, is thanksgiving [*or*, confession]."

73 [693]. An old man used to say, "Acquire silence, "and take no care for any earthly thing, and examine "closely thy meditations, and when thou sleepest and "when thou risest up, be with God, and fear not the "attack of the wicked."

74 [694]. On one occasion a brother came to a father, and said unto him, "Abbâ, I sow a field, and "I reap the harvest therefrom, and I give alms also "thereof;" and the old man said unto him, "Be strong, "my son, for thou doest well." So the brother went away rejoicing in this desire. And ABBÂ JOB said unto ABBÂ POEMEN, "Since thou hast spoken unto that brother "in this fashion, [I know that] thou dost not fear God." Then, after two days, ABBÂ POEMEN sent and called that brother, and said unto him whilst ABBÂ JOSEPH

was listening, "What didst thou say to me when thou "camest to me, for my mind was occupied in another "place?" The brother said unto him, "I sow a field, "and I reap the harvest therefrom, and I give alms "also thereof;" and ABBÂ POEMEN said unto him, "I "thought in my mind that it was thy brother,[1] who is "in the world, of whom thou wast speaking when thou "didst tell me that he did these things; but if it be "thou thyself who doest them [I must say] that it is "not the work for monks." And when the brother heard these [words] he was grieved, and he said, "I can-"not do without sowing, for I know not how to do any "other work, but this." Now when that brother had departed, ABBÂ JOB expressed his contrition to ABBÂ POEMEN, and said unto him, "Forgive me." Then ABBA POEMEN said unto him, "I also knew that this work "was not the works of monks, but, according to the "measure of his desire, I gave him that wherewith I "knew he would be edified, and that he would thus "abound in love; [Page 639] but now he hath departed "in sorrow."

75 [695]. MOTHER SARAH said, "If I were to pray "to God that all men might be built up through me "I should be found expressing contrition at the door "of each one of them; but I pray to God especially "that my heart may be pure with Him and with every "man."

76 [696]. Certain brethren, whilst talking to an old man about the thoughts, said unto him, "Our hearts "are hard, and we are not afraid of God; what shall "we do that we may fear God?" The old man said unto them, "I think that if a man have knowledge in "his heart about Him that will rebuke him, it will bring "him to the fear of God." Then the brethren said unto him, "What is the rebuke?" The old man said, "In every matter a man should rebuke himself, saying,

[1] Read ܚܘܝܐ.

"'Remember that thou art about to go forth to meet "'God.' And he should also say, 'What do I require "'from man?' And I think that if a man remain[1] in these "things the fear which is in God will come to him."

77 [697]. ABBÂ POEMEN used to say, "An evil will "is a wall of brass between a man and God; but if a "man would set it aside he must also say, 'By [the "'help of] my God I will leap over a wall'[2]—God "Whose way is without blemish—but if that which is "seemly lendeth help to the thought, a man is not "easily turned aside."

78 [698]. They used to say that on one occasion, when ABBÂ ALÔNÎS was singing the service, and the old men were sitting [close by], these old men watched him [performing the] service, and that they praised him; but when he heard [them] he answered them never a word. Then a certain man spake unto him aside and privately, saying, "Why dost thou not make answer to "the old men who have praised thee?" ABBÂ ALÔNÎS said unto them, "Because if I made answer to them "I should be as one who had accepted the praise."

79 [699]. An old man used to say, "If a word of "the Book goeth up in the heart of a brother when "he is sitting in his cell, and if he pursue that word "before it hath arrived at its maturity [Page 640], not "being driven by God, the devils will demonstrate the "word before it [become complete] according to their "desire."

80 [700]. ABBÂ SARÂNÎS used to say, "I have worked "during the whole period of my life in reaping, and "in twisting ropes, and in sewing mats, and notwith-"standing these things, if the hand of the Lord had "not fed me[3] I should not have had enough to eat."

81 [701]. An old man used to say, "Spread abroad

[1] The better reading is ܕܢܬܩܛܠ ܒܝ.

[2] Psalm XVIII. 29.

[3] The better reading is ܕܐܬܟܦܠܢܝ.

"the Name of JESUS in humility, and with a meek heart; "shew thy feebleness before Him, and He will become "strength unto thee."

82 [702]. ABBÂ MACARIUS said unto ABBÂ ZECHARIAH, "Tell me, what is the work of monks?" He said unto him, "Dost thou ask me, father?" The old man said unto him, "I beseech thee, my son ZECHARIAH, for "there is something which it is right I should ask thee." And ABBÂ ZECHARIAH said unto him, "Father, I give "it as my opinion that the work of monks consisteth "in a man restraining himself in everything."

83 [703]. An old man also said, "He who con- "straineth himself in everything, for God's sake, is a "confessor." And[1] again he said, "He who constraineth "himself for the sake of the Son of God will not be "forgotten by the Son of God." And[2] he also said, "Him who hath made himself a fool for the sake of "God, God will make to be wise."

84 [704]. An old man used to say, "If when thou "art sitting down, or standing up, or when thou art "doing anything else, God be set before thine eyes "continually, no [act] of the Enemy can terrify thee; "if this thought abide with a man, the power of God "will abide with him also."

85 [705]. An old man also said, "The man who "hath his death before his eyes continually will over- "come littleness of soul."

86 [706]. ABBÂ POEMEN used to say, "Hunger and "slumber have not allowed me to notice these small "matters."

87 [707]. ABBÂ THEODORE said, "Many men in this "age are desirous of life before God giveth [it] to them."[3]

88 [708]. He used to say also, "Be a free man, "so that thou mayest not be crafty in thy words."

[1] In Bedjan's edition No. 86, p. 736.
[2] In Bedjan's edition No. 87, p. 736.
[3] Omitted in Bedjan's edition.

89 [709]. ABBÂ POEMEN used to say, [Page 641] "Keep thyself aloof from every man who is contentious "in speech."[1]

90 [710]. A brother asked ABBÂ TIMOTHY, saying, "I wish to guard my soul from things which will hurt "it;" and the old man said unto him, "How can we "guard our soul when the door[s] of our tongue and "belly are open?"

91 [711] They used to say that a certain man asked ABBÂ SISOES about ABBÂ PAMBÔ, saying, "Tell "us about his life and conduct;" the old man made answer to him, saying, "ABBÂ PAMBÔ[2] is great in his "works."

92 [712]. ABBÂ JOSEPH related that ABBÂ POEMEN said, "The meaning of the words which are written in the Gospel, 'Whosoever hath a garment, let him sell "'it, and buy a sword' is, 'Let him that hath a life "'of ease relinquish it, and lay hold upon [a life of] "'toil.'"

93 [713]. They used to say that [on one occasion] when certain of the old men were sitting with ABBÂ POEMEN and were discussing some of the fathers, and were [asking each other] if they remembered ABBÂ SISOES, ABBÂ POEMEN said, "Quit talking about ABBÂ "SISOES, for he hath surpassed the measure [*or*, limit] "of all histories."

94 [714]. On one occasion a father came to ABBÂ THEODORE of PERÂMÊ, and said unto him, "Behold, O "father, such and such a brother hath gone back to "the world;" and the old man said, "Dost thou wonder

[1] In Bedjan's edition follow:—93. An old man said, "In "all [thy] trials blame no man except thyself, and say, These "have happened me for my sins." 94. An old man said, "The sluggard and the useless man God hath no wish for."
ܝܟ. ܐܡܪ ܗܢ ܕܚܕ ܕܠܐ ܬܕܝܢ ܓܒܪ ܒܟܠ ܢܣܝܘܢ ܐܠܐ ܒܢܦܫܟ ܒܠܚܘܕ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܒܐ ܗܢ. ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܒܐ ܬܐܘܕܘܪ ܕܐܬܐ ܥܠ ܥܠܡܐ. ܝܓ. ܐܡܪ ܗܢ. ܕܫܐܠ ܐܒܐ ܬܐܘܕܘܪ ܕܐܬܐ ܥܠ ܥܠܡܐ.

[2] The text has "Poemen."

"thereat? Marvel not at this, but thou mayest marvel "when thou hearest that a man hath been able to flee "completely from the world."

95 [715]. An old man related of MOSES that when he slew the Egyptian he looked on this side and on that, and saw no man, and explained the meaning of the passage as being that MOSES did not see his thoughts. And when he saw himself, and that he was doing no evil thing, and that that which he was about to do was for God's sake, he then slew the Egyptian.

96 [716]. An old man also said concerning the verse of the Psalms wherein it is written, "I will place "his hand in the sea, and his right hand in the rivers," that it was spoken concerning our Redeemer, Whose left hand is on the sea, [Page 642] that is to say the world, and Whose right hand is in the rivers, that is to say, the Apostles, who water the whole world with faith.

97 [717]. A brother asked one of the old men, saying, "What shall I do? For I am troubled about "the works of my hands: I love making mats, but I "am unable to make [them] here." The old man said unto him, "ABBÂ SISOES used to say, 'It is not the work "'which is easy for us that we ought to do, but that "'which befitteth the place, and a brother should labour "'according to what it will cost to keep him.'"

98 [718] ABBÂ JOSEPH used to say, "When we were "sitting with ABBÂ POEMEN he made mention of ABBÂ "AGATHON, and we said to him, 'He was a young "'man, why dost thou call him 'Abbâ'?' ABBÂ POEMEN "said unto him, 'His mouth made him to be called "'Abbâ.'"

99 [719]. One of the old men used to say, "Where-"soever the bee goeth it maketh honey; and thus also "is it with the monk, for wheresoever he goeth he "doeth the work of God."

100 [720]. An old man used to say, "Satan is a

"twister of cords, and as long thou givest him threads[1] "he will plait them;" now he spake this concerning the thoughts.

101 [721]. ABBÂ SISOES shewed us the cave[2] of ABBÂ ANTHONY, and said, "Thus in the cave of a lion "a fox dwelleth."

102 [722]. They used to say of those who were in Scete that no pride was found among them, because they surpassed each other in spiritual excellences. They fasted so much that one would eat only [once] every two days, and another [once] every four days, and another [once] every seven days; another would eat no bread, and another would drink no water, and, to speak briefly, they were adorned with every spiritual excellence.

103 [101]. They used to relate that a certain old man entreated God and made supplication unto Him that the devils might appear to him, and it was revealed to him that "It is not necessary for thee to "see them;" but the old man made entreaty, saying, [Page 643] "Lord, Thou art able to hide me in Thy "grace." Then God opened his eyes, and he saw them like bees surrounding a man, and they were gnashing their teeth upon him, and the angels of God were rebuking them and driving them away from men.

104 [102]. A man asked a certain old man from Thebes, and said unto him, "Tell me how I may be "redeemed;" and the old man said unto him, "Three "things [thou must do]. Sit in thy cell and keep "silence, and consider attentively thy sins, and keep "thyself wholly from judging any man, and accept no "gift from any man, and let thine hands be sufficient "to find thee thy food. And if thou art unable to give "alms of thy work at least supply all thy needs by "thine own hands."

[1] ܫܕܢ, or, ܡܫܕܢ.

[2] The better reading is ܒܟ ܕܒܝܬ ܐܢܛܘܢܝܘܣ.

105 [103]. They used to say that one day when ABBÂ SISOES was sitting down he cried out with a loud voice, and said, "O my feebleness;" his disciple said unto him, "What aileth thee, O father?" And the old man said unto him, "I wish to speak to a certain man, "and I am unable [to do so]."

106 [104]. They used to say that when the barbarians came the brethren took to flight, and that ABBÂ DANIEL, who was in Scete, said, "Unless God "taketh care for me, why should I live?" And he passed through all the barbarians, and they saw him not. Then afterwards he said in himself, "Behold God "hath cared for me, and I am not dead, I also will do "as a man doeth, and I will flee as the [other] fathers "have fled."

107 [105]. When ABBÂ SISOES was about to die, and the fathers were sitting about him, they saw that his face was shining like the sun; and he said unto them straightway, "Behold, ABBÂ ANTHONY has come;" and after a little while he said also, "Behold, the com- "pany of the prophets hath come." And his face shone again, and he said, "Behold the company of the Apostles "hath come;" and again his face shone with two-fold brightness, and he became suddenly like unto one who was speaking with someone. Then the old men who were sitting [there] entreated him, and said, [Page 644] "Shew us with whom thou art talking, father;" and "straightway he said unto them, "Behold, the angels "came to take me away, and I besought them to leave "me so that I might tarry here a little longer, and "repent." And the old men said unto him, "Thou hast "no need to repent, father;" the old man said unto them, "I do not know in my soul if I have rightly "begun to repent;" and they all learned that the old man was perfect. Then again suddenly his face beamed like the sun, and all who sat there were afraid, and he said unto them straightway, "Look ye, look ye. Be- "hold, our Lord hath come, and He saith, 'Bring ye unto

"'Me the chosen vessel which is in the desert;'" and straightway he delivered up his spirit, and he became [like] lightning, and the whole place was filled with a sweet odour.

108 [106]. ABBÂ PAPHNUTIUS, the disciple of ABBÂ MACARIUS, used to say, "I entreated him, saying, 'Father, "'tell me a word;'" and he said unto me, "Do no "harm to any man, and condemn no man; observe "these [words], and thou shalt be redeemed."

109 [107]. A brother asked a certain old man, saying, "In what form doth the fear of God dwell in "the soul?" The old man said unto him, "If a man "possess humility, and practise abstinence, and judge "no man, in this manner doth the fear of God dwell "in the soul."

110 [108]. ABBÂ HILARION of Syria came to the mountain to ABBÂ ANTHONY, and ABBÂ ANTHONY said unto him, "Hast thou come, O star of light, who shinest "with the morning?" And ABBÂ HILARION said unto him, "Peace be to thee, O pillar of light, who sustainest "creation!"

111 [109]. Certain of the fathers used to say, "God "bringeth not young men to monasteries, but Satan, so "that he may turn back the mighty men."

112 [110]. A brother said unto ABBÂ ANTHONY, "Pray for me, father;" the old man said unto him, "I "cannot help thee, and God will not, if thou wilt not "abolish thyself and ask Him thyself [to do so]."

113 [111]. They used to tell of a certain old man who had passed fifty years [of his life] without eating bread or drinking water; and he used to say, [Page 645] "I have slain fornication, and the love of gold, "and the love of glory." Now ABBÂ ABRAHAM heard [of him], and came to him, and said, "Didst thou say "these things?" and he said, "Yea." ABBÂ ABRAHAM said unto him, "If thou wert to go into thy cell, and "find a woman on thy mat, wouldst thou be able to "keep from thinking that she was a woman?" And

the old man said unto him, "No, but I should struggle "against my thoughts so as not to touch her." ABBÂ ABRAHAM said unto him, "Behold, then, thou hast not "slain it [*i. e.*, the lust for fornication], but the passion "is still alive, though fettered. Behold also, if thou "wert travelling along a road and thou didst see lying "thereon some potsherds and among them a talent of "gold, would thy mind be able to esteem the money "in the same way as the potsherds?" The old man said unto him, "Nay, but I should contend against my "thoughts in such wise as not to take it." Then ABBÂ ABRAHAM said unto him, "Behold, the passion [of love "of money] is still alive, though fettered. Behold now, "if thou didst hear of two brethren, one of whom was "esteeming thee highly and praising thee, and the other "was hating thee and reviling thee, if these men came "to thee wouldst thou be able to regard each of them "with equal friendliness?" And the old man said unto them, "No, but I would strive against my thoughts in "such a way that I would treat him that cursed me "as well as I did him that loved me." Then ABBÂ ABRAHAM said unto him, "Behold, then, the passions are "still alive, but they are fettered in the saints."

114 [112]. There was a certain old man who was a monk, and who dwelt in the desert far away, and he had a kinswoman who with difficulty discovered after very many years where he was living, and then, by the operation of Satan, she rose up and came to the road to the desert, and she found camels which were going to travel on that road, and she entered [the desert] with them. Now she was driven [to do this] by the devil. And as soon as she had come to the cell of the old man, she began to give him proofs about herself, saying, "I am indeed thy kinswoman," and she remained with him. Now there was another monk who lived in the neighbourhood of men, and he filled a vessel full of water, and [Page 646] set [it] down, and at the season when he ate, being urged by

the operation of God, he meditated within himself, and said, "I will arise and will go into the desert, and will "learn from that old man what this is." Now as he was travelling along the way, the night overtook him, and he went into a house of idols which was on the road, and passed the night there, and he heard the devils saying to each other, "This night we have cast "down such a monk by fornication." Now when he heard this he marvelled, and he came to the old man, and found him sad, and he said unto him, "Father, "what shall I do? For I filled a vessel with water, "but when I came to eat my meal I found that it had "been spilled." And the old man said unto him, "Hast "thou come to ask me about a vessel of water which "hath been spilled? What am I myself to do? For "this night I have fallen into fornication." The monk said unto him, "I know it also; hold thy peace." The old man said unto him, "How knowest thou?" And the monk said unto him, "Last night when I was "sleeping in a house of idols which is on the road, I "heard the devils say [so] to each other, and I was "distressed [thereat]." And the old man said unto him, "Henceforth I will go to the world," but the monk persuaded him, saying, "Nay, father, but stay in thy "place, and send the woman away, for this is a temp-"tation of the Enemy;" and the old man hearkened unto him, and sent her away, and he himself continued in his ascetic works, and he mourned, and made supplication unto God with abundant tears, until at length he arrived at his former state of ascetic excellence.

115 [113]. A brother asked one of the fathers, saying, "What shall I do, for I am disturbed in mind "when I go up to perform the office of the deacon?" And the old man said unto him, "It is not good for "thee to be disturbed when thou goest up to minister, "but if thou art, and thou art disturbed in thy cell, "thou must labour, and give thanks, and receive the "hire of which thou art worthy." Then that brother

said unto him, "If I can find a man who will minister "for me for a gift, [Page 647] and I cheat him not, "may I [let him] do so?" The old man said unto him, "If thou canst find a man who is in the world "who can perform thy ministration, and will take his "hire, yes, but if he be a monk, no."

116 [**114**]. A brother said unto ABBÂ POEMEN, "Can "a man rely upon any one work of spiritual excellence "[for salvation]?" The old man said unto him, "JOHN the LESS said, 'I should wish that a man should take "'to himself a little of each kind of spiritual excellence.'"

117 [**115**]. These are the words which ABBÂ MOSES sent to ABBÂ POEMEN, and the first word which was spoken[1] by the old man was:—

I. "It is better for a man to put himself to death "rather than his neighbour, and he should not condemn "him with anything."

II. "It is good for a man to die unto every work "which is evil, and he should not vex a man before his "departure from the body."

III. "If a man doth not put himself in the attitude "of a sinner, his prayer will not be heard before God." A brother said unto him, "What is a sinful soul?" And the old man said, "Every one who beareth his "own sins, and considereth not [those] of his companion."

IV. The old man also said unto him, "If works do "not correspond to prayer he who prayeth laboureth "in vain." And a brother asked him: "What is the "equality of works with prayer?" The old man said unto him, "He who prayeth that he may receive the "remission of sins must not henceforth be negligent, "for if a man relinquisheth his own will, he will be "accepted by God rightly."

V. A brother asked an old man, saying, "Fasting "and praying which spring from men, what do they "effect?" The old man said unto him, "They make

[1] The better reading is ܒܬܘܠܐ.

"the soul to be humble before God, for it is written, "'Look upon my subjugation, and my labour, and for-"'give me all my sin.'[1] For if the soul be afflicted it "will receive mercy from God."

VI. A brother said unto an old man, "What shall "a man do in every temptation which cometh upon "him, and during every thought [Page 648] of the "Enemy?" The old man said unto him, "It is right "for a man to weep before the grace of God so that "He may help him, and he shall speedily find relief if "he make his supplication with knowledge, for it is "written, 'The Lord is my Helper, I will not be afraid "'what man shall do unto me.'"[2]

VII. The perfection of all spiritual excellences is for a man not to judge his neighbour. For when the hand of the Lord slew the firstborn of Egypt, there was no house wherein there was not one dead person. Then a brother said unto the old man, "What is the "meaning of these words?" The old man said unto him, "If we allow ourselves to view closely our own "sins we shall not see those of our neighbour. It is "folly for a man to forsake his own dead and to lament "over that of his neighbour."

118 [116]. And in respect of the words "A man "should put his own soul to death rather than [that] "of his neighbour," they mean that a man should bear his own sins, and should be remote from the anxiety of all men. And he should not say, "This is good, "and this is bad;" and he should not do harm to any man; and the wickedness of thy neighbour should not be remembered in thy heart; and thou must not hold in contempt the man who hath done wickedness to thy friend; and thou must not deliver thy will over to him that doeth evil to thy neighbour; and thou must not rejoice in that which causeth evil to thy

[1] Psalm XXV. 18.
[2] Hebrews XIII. 6.

neighbour. This is the meaning of the words that a man "should die rather than [his] neighbour." And thou shalt not speak evilly of a man, but say, "God "knoweth every man;" and thou shalt not take pleasure in evil converse, and thou shalt not deliver thy will over to him that revileth thy neighbour. This is the meaning of the words, "Judge not that ye be not "judged." And thou shalt not make enmity against any man, and thou shalt not make enmity in thy heart, and thou shalt not hate him that worketh enmity against his neighbour, and thou shalt not judge his enmity, and thou shalt not keep wrath against a brother who keepeth wrath against his neighbour. For this is peace.

119 [115A]. Now the conclusion of all these things is that whatsoever thou hearest thou must speak, but this is not the opinion to which I incline, and I am a sinner; for because [Page 649] of these things God will give thee rest.* When thou risest up in the morning each day, lay hold upon a governor who will suit every kind of spiritual excellence, and every command of God with abundant longsuffering, and in humility of soul and of body, and with patience and tribulations, and with thoughts, and prayers, and supplications, and with groanings, and with the cleansing of the tongue, and with watching of the eyes, in suffering abuse without being angry and maintaining peace, in not rewarding evil for evil without discretion. And thou must not regard the lapses [of others], and thou must not measure thine own [excellence], but thou must be the lowest thing in creation through alienation from the things of the body and multitudinous affairs, through the agony of the cross, and poverty of spirit, and good desire, and spiritual self-abnegation, and fasting, and repentance, and tears, through the strife of war, and discretion, and purity of soul, through noble patience, and vigil by nights, and hunger, and thirst, and nakedness, and cold, and labours. And thou must

keep hold upon thy grave as if thou wert already dead, and as if death were thy neighbour every day in the mountains, and in the caves, and in the holes of the earth; and take heed that thou dost not become merely a hearer of the Word and not a doer of it. For those who do these things are indeed they who are clothed in the wedding garments, and they it is who have worked with the talents.

120 [116]. A brother asked an old man, saying, "Father, what answer shall I return unto those who "abuse us and say that we do not return to the world "because of our laziness, and that by the work of our "hands and the labour of our souls we do not relieve "strangers?" The old man said unto him, "Although "we have from the Law and from the commandments "of our Lord many things wherewith we could make "answer concerning the crown of perfection, yet we "must make answer, with humility, in this wise:— "Beloved, when the Ninevites were in need of repen- "tance, which of them [Page 650] did these things for "the necessity of the world and the rights thereof? "Did not even the king himself refrain from this thing "and take the same course as the men of olden time, "and those of the later time, and those who were be- "fore them? And he kept silence and was quiet, even "according to all the characteristics of the world, and "up to the present no [men] have described the punish- "ment which befitted them. Thus also is it with us, "and because we have sinned against and transgressed "the natural and written law we bring to nought "all [the characteristics] of the world until we shall "perceive that reconciliation hath come, and the penalty "of the rights of olden time and of the commandments "hath been dissolved. And did not PAUL also teach "us this, [when he said], 'He who wageth a strife "'keepeth his mind [free] from everything else?'[1]

[1] Compare 1 Corinthians IX. 24, 25.

"And a man must not rest until the Lord blot out "seed from Babel."

121 [117]. A brother asked an old man, saying, "What shall I do with my mind which fighteth [against "me]? For it is better, and also a greater thing for "me to go into the world and to teach and convert "many, and to become like unto the Apostles." The old man said unto him, "If there be in thy mind no "fear that thou hast fallen short in the matter of any "of the commandments, and if thou hast also felt that "thou hast arrived at the haven of rest, and if thou "hast no feeling about anything in thy mind, then go; "but if thou hast not[1] all these things together in thee, "[the desire] is due to the operation of wickedness "which urgeth thee on, so that it may cast thee down "from thine integrity."

122 [118]. On one occasion the brethren were eating together in Scete, and JOHN KOLOBOS was with them, and a great priest rose up to give them a pitcher of water, but no man would accept it from him except JOHN KOLOBOS; and they all marvelled and said unto him, "How is it that thou who art the least "among all of us hast been so bold as to take the "pitcher from him, and drink, whilst none of us dared "to do so?" Then ABBÂ JOHN said unto them, "When "I stand up I rejoice that every man should take [the "pitcher] from me and drink so that I may have a "reward, and I considered on this occasion also, and "I took [the pitcher] and drank so that there might "be a reward to him,[2] and that [Page 651] he might "not be grieved, because no man accepted [water] "from him, and that his [good] will might not be "wronged." And when he had said[3] this the fathers

[1] Read ܐܢ ܠܐ ܟܠ ܗܠܝܢ.

[2] The better reading is ܠܗ.

[3] Read ܐܡܪ.

marvelled at his intelligence, and they all obtained benefit by his word[s].

123 [119]. A brother asked POEMEN, saying, "I ob-"serve my soul, so that wheresoever I go I may find "help;" the old man said unto him, "Even those who "bear swords have a God, Who hath mercy upon "them in this life. If then we were to find ourselves "in islands of terror God would deal with us according "to His mercy."

124 [120]. ABBÂ POEMEN used to say that ABBÂ AMMON said, "One man spendeth the whole period of "his life holding an axe in his hand [ready] to cut "down a tree, and never findeth the opportunity of "wielding it; and another man, who knoweth well how "to fell trees, heweth with three axes, and wieldeth "them [against trees]. Now," he said, "the axe [in "this case] is discretion [or discernment]."

125 [121]. ABBÂ POEMEN also said that ABBÂ ANTHONY said concerning ABBÂ PAMBÔ, "This man feared "God so greatly that he made the Spirit of God to "dwell in him."

126 [122]. ABBÂ POEMEN used to say, "The fear of "God teacheth a man all spiritual excellences."

127 [123]. A brother asked ABBÂ POEMEN, saying, "Why do my thoughts persuade me to esteem myself "and compare myself with one whose rule of conduct "is more excellent [than mine], and to despise that "man as much as if he had been my inferior?" The old man answered and said, "The blessed Apostle "spake concerning this, saying, 'In a large house there "'are not only vessels of gold and vessels of silver, "'but also vessels of wood and of earthenware. If "'now a man will cleanse his soul from all these things, "'he shall become a vessel which is suitable and con-"'venient for the honour of his Lord, and he will be "'ready for every good work.'"[1] That brother said

[1] 2 Timothy II. 20, 21.

unto him, "How are these [matters] to be explained?" And the old man said unto him, "They are to be ex-"plained thus. The house in the world and the vessels "are the children of men [Page 652]. The vessels of "gold must be taken as representing the perfect, and "those of silver are the men who are inferior to them "in the measure of ascetic deeds, and the other vessels "of wood and earthenware are those who possess a "little ascetic excellence. If now a man will cleanse "his soul from all the things which are outside what "is right, he will become a pure vessel of honour suit-"able for the use of his Lord, and be ready for every "good work."

128 [124]. A brother also asked ABBÂ POEMEN, "Why is it that I am not allowed to be free in my "thoughts like the other old men?" The old man said unto him, "JOHN OF KOLOBOS used to say, 'The "'Enemy doth not rejoice in anything so much as in "'those who do not reveal and lay bare their thoughts "'to their fathers.'"

129 [125]. ABBÂ POEMEN used to say, "Men are "wont to speak great and perfect things, but in their "deeds they draw nigh unto the things which are little "and inferior."

130 [126]. An old man used to say, "Neither shame "nor fear confirms sin."

131 [127]. An old man used to say, "As the com-"pany of the monks is more excellent than and superior "to the children of the world, so it is meet that the "monk who is a stranger should be a mirror to those "who are found in a monastery which is devoted to "the ascetic life."

132 [128]. A brother asked an old man, saying, "What shall I do?" The old man said unto him, "Go, "and love the constraint of thyself in everything."

133 [129]. The same old man said unto him, "Re-"veal and shew forth thy gift;" and the brother said unto him, "My thoughts will not permit me [to do

"so]." The old man said, "It is written, 'Call upon "'Me in the day of affliction, and I will deliver thee, "'and thou shalt praise me;'[1] call then upon Him, and "He shall deliver thee."

134 [130]. An old man used to say, "Teach thy "heart to keep and to take heed unto the things which "thy tongue speaketh."

135 [131]. An old man used to say, "If a man "teacheth and performeth not he is like unto the large "basin which receiveth the water for the assembly, "which watereth and cleanseth many, but cannot itself "be cleaned, and is full of dirt and impurity" [Page 653].

136 [132]. ABBÂ JACOB used to say, "As a lamp "illumineth a dark chamber, so doth the fear of God, "if it abide in the heart of a man, illumine him, and "teach him all the excellences of the commandments "of God."

137 [133]. ABBÂ MAṬÔÂÎS used to say, "I would "rather have the man with a little work, which abideth "and is constant, than him who at the beginning lab-"oureth severely, and soon ceaseth altogether."

138 [134]. On one occasion ABBÂ THEODORE went to ABBÂ JOHN, who was an eunuch from his mother's womb, and as they were talking together about spiritual excellences, he said, "When we were in Scete "the cultivation of the soul was our labour, and we "worked with our hands only in the ordinary way, "and we only did work of this kind when it came [in "the way]; to-day, however, the cultivation of the soul "is made our ordinary work, which is performed when-"soever it happeneth to come [in the way], and the "work of our hands, which was always regarded as a "common matter, hath become unto us a serious matter "and an object of earnest solicitude."

139 [135]. A brother asked an old man, saying, "What is the cultivation of the soul like? And what

[1] Psalm L. 15.

"is the labour of the hands like?" The old man said unto him, "Whatsoever happeneth for God's sake is "the cultivation [*or*, labour] of the soul; but whatsoever "a man doeth for himself, or whatsoever he gathereth "together for himself, is the labour of the hands." That brother said unto him, "Father, teach me a proof of "this matter which I do not understand." The old man said unto him, "It is as if a man were to say, Behold, "thou hearest that I am sick, and thou sayest in thy-"self, Now I have a piece of work to do, shall I leave "[it], and go and visit him, or shall I finish it first and "then go? And however many times thou art prevented "[from going] for some reason or cause, and however "many times the brother saith unto thee, Come, take "me, and help me, thou sayest within thyself, Shall I "leave my work and go and help him? But if thou goest "not, behold, thou hast abrogated the commandments "[Page 654] of God, which are for the cultivation of "the soul, because of the work of the hands. If then "a man ask thee, go with him, since this is a work of "God, for He said, 'If a man compel thee to go a "'mile with him, go two.'"

140 [136]. A brother asked ABBÂ MARCIANUS, saying, "What shall I do so that I may live?" And the old man answered and said unto him, "He who looketh "above seeth not what is below; he who is occupied "closely with the things which are below hath no know-"ledge of what is above. And he who understandeth "the things which are above is not concerned with "what is below, for it is written, 'Turn ye, and know "'that I am God.'"[1]

141[2] [137]. A brother asked one of the old men, saying, "If I am being tempted, and a temptation come

[1] Psalm XLVI. 10.

[2] The following paragraph is omitted here in the edition of Bedjan, which gives, "151. ABBÂ POEMEN said that ABBÂ "JOHN cultivated all spiritual excellences." (See No. 149.)

"upon me, and I have no one in whom I have con-"fidence to tell about it, what shall I do?" The old man said unto him, "I believe in God, and that He "will send His Grace, and will comfort thee, and give "thee strength if thou wilt ask Him in truth and wilt "make supplication unto Him. For I have heard that "a matter like unto this took place in Scete, where "there was a man whose rule and conduct were ex-"cellent, and he fell into temptation, and he became "oppressed in his mind, and because he had no man "in whom he had confidence to reveal the matter to, "and none to bid him be of good courage, he made "himself ready to depart. And behold, the grace of "God appeared unto him by night in the form of a "virgin, and she comforted him, saying, 'Depart not, "'but dwell here with me, for not one of the things "'of which I have heard shall be performed;' and "straightway his mind was healed, and he was consoled "and strengthened."

142 [138]. A certain brother used to say, "I knew "an old man who dwelt in the mountain who would "never agree to accept anything from any man; now "he possessed a little water, and with it he used to "care for and water a few garden herbs which he had. "And he lived this life for [Page 655] fifty years, and "he never went outside the fence of his cell. He was "exceedingly famous because of the numerous cures "which he wrought daily upon those who came to "him. He died in peace, leaving in his place five "brethren."

143 [139]. There was a certain old man in Scete who toiled in the works of the body, that is to say, in fasting and in standing up; and in his thoughts he was a simple man, and he was neither keen in intellect nor learned. And he went to Abbâ John Kolobos to ask him about his thoughts, and when the old man had spoken to him he returned and went to his cell, and forgot what the old man had said to him.

And he came a second time to the old man, who told him what he had already said unto him, and when he had departed he forgot it again; and though he did this several times he always forgot what had been said to him. Then, after these things, he went unto the blessed man once more, and said unto him, "Thou "knowest, O father, that I forgot [thy words] again; "but I did not come to thee because I did not wish "to weary thee." ABBÂ JOHN said unto him, "Go, and "light a lamp;" and he went and did as he commanded him. And ABBÂ JOHN said unto him, "Bring several "lamps, and light [them all] from it;" and he lit [them] as he had told him. And ABBÂ JOHN said to the old man, "Is the lamp wherefrom thou hast kindled the "many lamps in any way the worse?" and he said unto him, "No." And the old man JOHN said unto him, "If all Scete were to come unto him JOHN would "not be the worse for it, neither would the gift of the "grace of Christ be impeded thereby. Whensoever "then thou wishest, and art in doubt, come [to me]." Thus by the patient endurance of both of them he removed and did away error from that brother. For this was the work of those who were dwelling in Scete, and they devoted themselves, and delivered over their wills to compel those who were engaged in [spiritual] war [Page 656] to inherit the good things [*or*, virtues] each from each.

144 [140]. There was a certain old man who was sick, and as he possessed nothing which he required for his wants, the Abbâ of the cœnobium received him [there], and said to the brethren, "Exert yourselves "a little to relieve this sick man." Now the man who was sick had a pot full of gold, and he dug a hole below where he was [lying] and buried it; and it happened that he died without confessing and revealing the matter. And after he was buried, the Abbâ who had taken him in said unto the brethren, "Remove "this bench from here," and whilst they were rooting

it out they found the gold. Then the Abbâ said, "Since "he confessed not about this when he was alive, he "cannot reveal the matter when he is dead"—now he knew that the sick man's hope had been in it—"but "go ye and bury it with him." And fire came down from heaven, and it continued above his grave for many days in the sight of every man, and all those who saw it marvelled.

145 [141]. A certain brother came on one occasion to the cell of ABBÂ JOHN at the time of evening, and he was in a great hurry to depart; and they talked about spiritual excellences [for a long time] without knowing [it], and when he went forth to set him on his way, they tarried talking together until it was the sixth hour of the night. Then ABBÂ JOHN made him go back to his cell, and they ate together, and then he sent him away, and he departed.

146 [142]. ABBÂ AMMON said:—On one occasion I and ABBÂ BAṬMÎS went to visit ABBÂ AKHÎLÂ, for we had heard that he was meditating upon the passage, "Fear thou not, O JACOB, to go down to Egypt," and that he was repeating these words several times; and when we knocked he opened unto us, and he asked us, saying, "Whence are ye?" And being afraid to say, "[We come] from the CELLS," we made answer that we were from the Mountain of Nitria, and he brought us in, and we found that he was working by night at plaiting palm leaves, and we asked him, saying, "Speak a word unto us." Then he answered and said, "Between the evening and the morning I have twisted "twenty branches, [Page 657] but in very truth I have "no need for all this, only [I am afraid] lest God be "angry with me, and He chide me, saying, 'Though "thou wast able to work thou hast not done so;'[1] "therefore I toil and I work with all my might."

147 [143]. Certain of the fathers used to tell a story

[1] Read ܕܥܒܕܬ ܠܡܥܒܕ ܕ ܡܟܣܬ.

about a holy man who was indeed a great man, and if people came to ask him a question he would say unto them with wisdom, "Behold, I take upon myself "the face [*or*, Person] of God, and I sit upon the throne "of judgment; what now dost thou wish me to do for "thee?[1] If thou sayest, 'Have mercy upon me,' God "saith unto thee, 'If thou wishest Me to have mercy "'upon thee, thou also must have mercy upon thy "'brother, and then I will have mercy upon thee; and "'if thou wishest Me to forgive thee, thou also must "'forgive thy brother, and then I will forgive thee.' "Can any blame rest upon God? God forbid! But "the cause resteth with us, and if we wish we are "able to live."

148 [144]. On one occasion a certain brother departed into exile from the countries and places wherein dwelt ABBÂ POEMEN, and he went to a monk who used to live in that country whereto he was going;—now this man was one who possessed love, and many folk thronged to him—and the brother related unto that monk stories concerning ABBÂ POEMEN, and when he heard about his spiritual excellences he longed to see him. And the brother came back again to Egypt, and after some time the monk [unto whom he had gone], who lived in that country, came to Egypt to him, for the brother had already told him where he lived, and when the monk saw the brother he rejoiced greatly. Then the monk said unto the brother, "Do [me an act of] love, and take me so that I may "go to ABBÂ POEMEN," and he took him to ABBÂ POEMEN, and the brother told him the story of the monk [Page 658] who was with him, saying, "He is a great man, "and is much beloved, and he hath no small honour "in his own country. I related unto him stories "concerning thy holiness, and he greatly desired to "come and see thee;" and ABBÂ POEMEN received him

[1] Read ܠܝ ܡܛܝ.

with gladness, and having saluted each other they sat down. Then the stranger began to converse with ABBÂ POEMEN from the Scriptures concerning spiritual and heavenly things, but ABBÂ POEMEN turned away his face and returned him no answer whatsoever. And when he saw that ABBÂ POEMEN would not speak unto him, he was grieved, and went outside, and said unto the brother who had brought him, "In my opinion I "have toiled[1] in vain in coming all this long journey "to see the old man, for behold, he refuseth to speak to "me." Now when the brother went in to the old man POEMEN, he said unto him, "Father, this great man, who is "so greatly praised in his own country, came on thy account; why didst thou not speak with him?" POEMEN said, "He spake about the things which are above and con-"cerning heavenly matters, but I can only talk about "things which are below and about the things of earth; "had he spoken to me about the passions of the soul "I would have given him an answer, but since he talked "about spiritual things, I know nothing about them." Then that brother went forth to the monk and said unto him, "The old man is not one of those who "wish a man to talk to them from the Scriptures, but "if thou wilt converse with him about the passions of "the soul he will return thee answer." And straightway the monk repented, and he came to the old man, and said unto him, "Father, what shall I do so that I may "bring into subjection the passions of the body?" Then the old man looked upon him gladly, and said unto him, "Now thou art welcome! Open now thy "mouth on such matters as these, and I will fill it with "good things." And the monk, having been greatly helped, and having gained benefit, said, "In very truth "this is the way of truth;" and he went back to his country, giving thanks to God that he had been held worthy of such converse with the holy man.

[1] Read ܥܡܠܟ.

149 [145]. ABBÂ POEMEN said [Page 659] concerning ABBÂ JOHN that he cultivated spiritual excellences of every kind.[1]

150 [146]. ABBÂ MAṬÔÂÎS used to say that there were three brethren who were in the habit of coming to ABBÂ ANTHONY, and that two of them used to ask him questions about the thoughts, and about life, and redemption, and the discretion (*or*, intelligence) of the soul, whilst the third one held his peace continually. And after a long time ABBÂ ANTHONY said unto him, "Brother, thou comest here each year, and askest no-"thing!" And he answered and said unto the old man, "It is sufficient for me to see thee."

151 [147]. ABBÂ SISOES asked ABBÂ POEMEN about filthy thoughts, and the old man said unto him, "The "matter is like unto a box of clothes: if a man leaveth "the clothes inside it for a long time without being "turned,[2] they will become eaten up in process of time "and destroyed. And thus also is it with the thoughts, "and if a man doth not drive them out from his body "they will be destroyed and perish."

152 [148]. ABBÂ JOSEPH asked ABBÂ POEMEN about the wicked and vain thoughts which a man produceth, and the old man said unto him, "It is as if a man "were to take a snake and a scorpion, and throw them "in a vessel [*or*, cloth], and close [*or*, wrap] them up "tightly for a long time, when they would die owing to "the period [which they have been shut up]; even so do "the evil thoughts, which spring up in the mind through "the workings of devils, decay and become destroyed "through patient endurance."

153 [149]. ABBÂ ELIJAH used to say, "What is sin

[1] In Bedjan's edition the paragraph which I have numbered 141 takes the place of this saying of Poemen; see above, p. 857.

[2] Read لا يقلبها.

"able to do where repentance is found?"[1] And what "will love profit where there is pride?"

154 [150]. One of the fathers said, "The early "[fathers] did not depart from their places except for "the three following reasons:—First: If one of them "was vexed with his neighbour and it was impossible "for him to make clean his heart in respect of him. "Secondly: If the abundant approval of the children "of men was gathered together to him. Thirdly: "[Page 660] If the temptation of fornication clung to "him. Whensoever they saw these three reasons they "departed."

155 [151]. On one occasion when he saw him pouring some water over his feet, ABBÂ ISAAC said unto ABBÂ POEMEN, as one who possessed freedom of speech before him, "How is it that, whilst the fathers "exercised themselves in such stern labours and mighty "deeds of asceticism that they oppressed their bodies, "behold, thou art washing [thy feet]?" ABBÂ POEMEN said unto him, "We have not learned to be slayers of "the body, but slayers of the passions."

156 [152]. This same ABBÂ ISAAC heard the voice of a cock, and he said to ABBÂ POEMEN, "Are there "such things as fowls here, father?" And he answered and said unto him, "ISAAC, why dost thou force me to "speak to thee? It is only people who are like thy- "self that hear such sounds as these; he who is strenuous "concerneth not himself with matters of this kind."

157 [153]. An old man used to say, "Wisdom and sim- "plicity form the perfect order of the Apostles and of those "who examine closely their rules of life and their conduct, "and to this Christ urged them, saying, 'Be ye harmless "'as doves and subtle like serpents.'[2] And the Apostle "[PAUL] also admonished the CORINTHIANS to the same "effect, saying, 'My brethren, be not childish in your

[1] Strike out ⲙⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲛ.

[2] St. Matthew X. 16.

"'minds, but be ye as babes in respect of things which "'are evil, and be ye perfect in your minds.'[1] Now wis-"dom without simplicity is wicked cunning, and it is "the subtlety of the philosophers among the pagans of "which it is said, 'He catcheth the wise men in their "'own cunning,'[2] and again, 'The Lord knoweth the "'thoughts of the wise, that they are vain.'[3] And "simplicity without wisdom is the foolishness which is "prone to error, and concerning this also the Apostle "spake, and he wrote unto those who possessed it, "saying, 'I fear lest, even as the serpent led EVE into "'error [Page 661] by his craftiness, so your minds also "'may be destroyed in respect of your simplicity which "'is towards Christ.'[4] For they accepted every word "without testing it, even as it is said in the [Book of] "Proverbs, 'The simple man believeth every word.'"[5]

158 [154]. They used to say that one of the old men in Scete had been a slave, and that he came each year to Alexandria, and brought with him a gift for his owners from [the results of] labour, and they received him, and paid him homage. And the old man [formerly] poured water into a basin, and brought it so that he might wash the feet of his owners, but they said unto him, "Nay, father, thou shalt not honour us [thus]." Then he said unto them, "My lords, I acknowledge "that I am your slave, and that I have received from "you an act of grace in that ye have let me become "a free man to serve our Lord, and if I may not wash "your feet accept at least my gift;" but they objected to this, and would not accept [it]. And he said unto them, "Since ye refuse to accept it I shall dwell here, "and be subject unto you;" then they allowed him to do what he wished, and they sent him away with

[1] 1 Corinthians XIV. 20.
[2] Job V. 13; 1 Corinthians III. 19.
[3] Psalm XCIV. 11; 1 Corinthians III. 20.
[4] 2 Corinthians XI. 3.
[5] Proverbs XIV. 15.

great gifts of various kinds, so that he might do acts of kindness on their behalf to the brethren who were in need, and because of this he became famous in Scete. Now he conducted himself with great humility towards every man.

159 [155]. There was a certain man who was a slave and he became a monk, and he persisted in a life of self-abnegation for five and forty years, and bread, and water, and salt, were sufficient for his food; now after some time the man who had been his master repented, and he also made himself to be remote from the world. And when the time came for him to depart from this world, he said unto his slave, who was now his Rabbâ, "I see the hosts of wickedness surrounding "me, but through thy prayer they are going back from "me." And when the call came for that slave [Page 662] one stood on his right hand, and the other on his left, and he heard them saying unto him, "Dost thou wish "to come, O father, or shall we go and leave thee?" And he said, "I desire not to remain, take my soul;" and thus he ended [his life].

160 [156]. A certain man made himself remote from the world, and he had a wife and also a daughter, and the latter died before she had been baptized by the disciples; and her father distributed among the poor the portion which came to her, and also that of his wife; but he never ceased to make entreaty to God on behalf of his daughter who had departed from the world without being baptized. And a voice was heard by him as he was praying, which said, "I have baptized "thy daughter, have no sorrow;" but he did not believe. And that voice, which was hidden, spake again unto him, saying, "Uncover her grave, and look [in], and "thou wilt not find her;" then he went to her grave, and dug it up, and he found her not, for she had departed, and had been laid with the believers.

161 [157]. The old man MACARIUS used to say, "These are the three principal things, and it is right

"that a man should set them before him at every "season. The remembrance of his death should be "before him at every hour, and he should die to every "man, and he should be constant always in his mind "towards our Lord. For, if a man have not the re- "membrance of his death before him at all seasons, he "will not be able to die to every man, and if he die "not to every man he will be unable to be constantly "before God."

162 [158]. The old man MACARIUS used to say, "Strive for every kind of death, for the death of the "body, that is to say, if thou hast not the death "which is in the spirit; strive for the death of the "body, and then shall be added unto thee the death "which is in the spirit. And death of this kind will "make thee to die to every man, and henceforward "thou wilt acquire the faculty of being constantly with "[Page 663] God in silence."

163 [159]. The same old man also said, "If thou "hast not the prayer of the spirit, strive for the prayer "of the body, and then shall be added unto thee the "prayer in the spirit. If thou hast not humility in the "spirit, strive for the humility which is in the body, "and then shall be added unto thee the humility which "is in the spirit. For it is written, 'Ask, and ye shall "'receive.'"

164 [160]. A brother asked an old man, saying, "Why do I keep my sins in remembrance without being "pained about them?" The old man said unto him, "This happeneth unto us through contempt and negli- "gence. When a man wisheth to boil some food for "his need, and he findeth some small sparks of fire in "his fireplace, he desireth to take care of them, and "preserve them, and to kindle[1] therefrom a large flame; "but if he neglecteth them they become black and die "out. And thus also is it with ourselves, for if, ac-

[1] Read ܢܫܒܒ.

"cording as God hath bestowed upon us, we remember "our sins, and we desire and come to the life of silence, "and we possess persistence in remembering our sins, "we shall acquire great grief in our hearts; but, if we "hold them in contempt and do not even remember "them, we shall be rejected."

165 [161]. A brother asked ABBÂ POEMEN, saying, "Who is a hypocrite?" The old man said unto him, "The hypocrite is he who teacheth his neighbour to "do a certain thing which he himself hath not performed, "and to the doing of which he hath not attained; for "it is written, 'Hypocrite! why dost thou look at the "'mote which is in the eye of thy brother, and behold "'there is a beam in thine own eye? And how canst "'thou say to thy brother, Let me take out the mote "'from thine eye, seeing that thou hast not first taken "'the beam out of thine own eye?'"

166 [162]. A brother asked ABBÂ ḲRÔNÎN [CRONIUS], saying, "What shall I do in respect of the error which "leadeth captive my mind? For I do not perceive "it until it bringeth me to the committal of sin." And the old man said unto him, "When the PHILISTINES took "captive the Ark of the [Page 664] Lord because of "the evil deeds of the children of Israel, they dragged "it along and carried it until they had brought it "into the house of DAGON their god, and then DAGON "fell down on his face in that place." The brother said unto him, "What [meaneth] this word?" The old man said unto him, "If the unclean devils take captive "the mind of a man by their own means, they lead it "on until they bring it to invisible and unknown pas-"sion; but if, on the spot, the mind turneth and seeketh "God, and remembereth fervently the judgment of the "world which is to come, straightway the passion de-"parteth, and is destroyed. For it is written, 'When "'ye repent and groan, ye shall be redeemed, and ye "'shall know in what condition ye are.'

167 [163]. Again a brother asked ABBÂ ḲRÔNÎS

[CRONIUS], saying, "In what manner doth a man come "to humility?" The old man said unto him, "In my "opinion a man doeth this by restraining and with- "drawing himself from everything, and by devoting "himself to the labour of the body,[1] and as far as he "hath the power so to do he should remember his "departure from the body, and the awful judgment of "God."

168 [164]. ABBÂ ANTHONY used to say, "Behold, a "time shall come to the children of men when they "shall become silly, and they shall turn aside and de- "part from the fear of God, and if they see a man "who is neither as mad nor as silly as they are, they "shall rise up against him, saying, 'Thou art both mad "'and silly,' because he is not like unto them."

169 [165]. ABBÂ AMMON of Nitria went to ABBÂ ANTHONY, and said unto him, "I see that the labours "which I perform are greater than thine, how then is "it that thy name is more renowned among men than "mine?" ABBÂ ANTHONY said unto him, "Because I "also love the Lord more than thou."

170 [166]. When ABBÂ POEMEN heard that ABBÂ NASṬÎR was dwelling in the coenobium he desired greatly to see him, and he told his Abbâ that he ought to send him to [Page 665] go and visit him, but he refused to send him by himself, and he would not let him go. Now a few days afterwards the steward of the coenobium, who had certain thoughts, persuaded Abbâ to send him to ABBÂ NASṬÎR, and he dismissed him, saying, "Take this brother with thee, and send "me an old man because of him; and because I could "not trust myself to send him alone I did not send "him at all." Now when the steward had come to the old man NASṬÎR, he told him his thoughts, and ABBÂ NASṬÎR healed him. And afterwards the old man asked ABBÂ POEMEN, saying, "Whence hast thou gotten such

[1] The better reading is ܕܥܒܕ ܥܡ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ. ܡܕܡ ܕܥܒܕ ܟܕܡܬ.

"humility that whensoever it happeneth that there be "trouble in the coenobium thou dost not speak, and "dost not interfere to put an end to contention?" And the old man having pressed the brother, ABBÂ POEMEN answered and said unto him, "Forgive me, father! "When I first entered the coenobium I said unto my "mind, I and the ass are one. As the ass is beaten "and speaketh not, and is cursed and maketh no "answer, so also act thou, according to what the "blessed DAVID said, 'I was a beast with Thee.'"[1]

171 [167]. On one occasion Saint THEOPHILUS, Archbishop of Alexandria, came to Scete, and when the brethren were gathered together they said unto ABBÂ PANBÔ, "Speak a word to the Bishop, so that we may "be built in this place;" the old man said unto them, "If by my silence [we] are not helped, [we] shall not "be builded by my word."

172 [168]. One of the brethren entreated ABBÂ SISOES, saying, "Do an act of love, father, and do thou "thyself speak to me a word;" and he answered and said, "He who holdeth with knowledge [the belief] "that a man should not esteem himself fulfilleth the "whole Book."

173 [169]. An old man used to say, "This is what "is written: Because of two, and because of three trans-"gressions of TYRE, yea, because of four, I will not "turn back from them;"[2] [that is to say], to be content "with wickedness, to fulfil a thought, and to utter it; "[Page 666] and the fourth is to carry a thought into "effect. For at such a thing as this [last] the wrath "of the Lord turneth not back."[3]

174 [170]. They used to say concerning a great old man who dwelt in Scete that, whenever the brethren were building cells in Scete, he would go out and lay

[1] Psalm LXXIII. 22.
[2] Amos I. 9.
[3] No. 173 is omitted here in Bedjan's edition.

the foundation, and would not depart until [the building] was completed. Once, however, when he went forth to build, he was exceedingly sad, and very sorry, and the brethren said to him, "Why is it that thou "art thus grieved and sorry?" And he said unto them, "My sons, this place shall be laid waste. For I have "seen a fire kindled in Scete, and have seen that the "brethren took palm leaves and beat upon it until they "extinguished it; and it broke out again, and the brethren "took palm leaves and extinguished it; but it broke "out a third time, and it filled all Scete, and the "brethren were never again able to extinguish it. It "is for this reason that I am grieved, and sad, and "sorry."

175 [171]. An old man used to say, "It is written, "'The righteous man shall blossom like the palm tree.'[1] "Now these words make known that the soul acquireth "height, and straightness of stature, and sweetness from "beautiful deeds. But there is another quality which "is found in the palm, that is, a single, white heart, "which is wholly suitable for work [*or*, useful for being "worked]. And this must be found in the righteous "man, for his heart must be single and simple, and it "must be accustomed to look towards God only. Now "the heart of the palm tree is also white by reason "of that fire which it possesseth naturally, and all the "service of the righteous man is in his heart; and the "hollowness and the evenness of the tops of the leaves "[typify] the setting up of sharpness of the soul of the "righteous man against the Calumniator."

176 [172]. Another of the fathers used to say, "The "eyes of the pig are so arranged by nature that they "look always on the ground, and the animal can never "look upwards to heaven. And thus is it with the "soul which hath once been swallowed up in the grati-"fication of the lusts, for it is caught henceforward in

[1] Psalm XCII. 12.

"the filthy mire of the gratification of the passions, "and it is only with difficulty that it is able to look "towards God, or to meditate upon any of the things "which are worthy of praise."

177 [173]. The fathers prophesied concerning the later generation, saying, "What manner of work will "they do?" And one of them, whose conduct was exalted, and whose name was ÎSÔKHÔRÔN, said, "We "perform the commandments of God;" and the others answered and said unto him, "And those who will come "after us, what manner of work will they do?" And he said, "They will attain to the half[1] of our service." And again they answered and said, "What manner of "work will those who come after these do?" And he said, "Those who are in that generation will possess "no work of any kind, for many trials are about to "come upon them, and those among them who are "found to be chosen men will be found to be greater "than ourselves and our fathers."

178 [174]. An old man was [once] asked, "How is "it that thou art never dejected?" And he said, "Be- "cause each day I hope to die."

179 [175]. A brother asked an old man, "Why is "it that, when I happen to go out by myself at night, "fear attacketh me?" The old man said, "Because the "life of this world is still dear to thee."

180 [176]. An old man was asked, "What is the "work of monks?" And he said, "To cultivate [all] the "virtues, to make themselves strangers to all wicked- "ness, and to be watchful against judging and con- "demning others; prayer, and obedience, and the "cultivation of the virtues are the mirror of the monk. "For his soul is a fountain, and if it cast forth from "it the things which are abominable it shall be made "pure; but if he dig a pit, God is not wicked that He

[1] Read وكدكم.

"should lead us out from one house of bondage and "carry us into another."[1]

181 [177]. ABBÂ POEMEN used to say, "The work "of the monastic life is poverty, and trouble, and sepa- "ration; for it is written, If there be there these three "men [Page 668], NOAH, DANIEL, and JOB, as I live, "saith the Lord. NOAH must be taken [as representing] "the personification of self-abnegation, and JOB as re- "presenting labours, and DANIEL as representing sepa- "ration; if then a man possesseth these three rules of "conduct the Lord dwelleth in him."

182 [178]. A brother asked ABBÂ POEMEN, "Which "is the better? To speak or to keep silence." The old man said unto him, "He who speaketh for God's "sake is a good man, and he doeth well, and he who "holdeth his peace for God's sake doeth well."

183 [179]. A brother asked ABBÂ POEMEN about pollutions and impurities of all sorts and kinds, and he said unto him,[2] "If we stablish in ourselves a portion "[only] of the work of our soul[s], a man may seek[3] "for impurity or uncleanness and it shall not be found."

184 [180]. An old man used to say, "We saw in "ABBÂ PANBÔ three virtues which appertained to the "body, namely, fasting from one evening to the other, "and silence, and abundant work of the hands."

185 [181]. ABBÂ PAMBÔ asked ABBÂ ANTHONY, saying, "What shall I do?" The old man said unto him, "Put no confidence in thine own righteousness, and "regret not nor cogitate upon a matter which is past, "and be persistent in restraining thy tongue and thy "belly."

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[1] In Bedjan's edition there follows:—190. An old man used to say, "Do nothing without prayer, and afterwards thou "wilt never be sorry." ܐܡܪ ܐܚܕ ܫܝܚ. ܕܠܐ ܥܒܕ ܡܕܡ ܕܠܐ ܒܨܠܘܬܐ ܘܒܬܪ ܗܝܟ ܠܐ ܢܬܒܥܪ ܠܗ.

[2] Adding, ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܚܕ.

[3] Read ܢܒܥܐ.

186 [182]. An old man was asked, "What is it "right for a man to do that he may live?" Now the [old man himself] used to plait palm leaves into mats, and he never lifted up his head from the work of his hands,[1] but he occupied himself at all times therewith. And the old man answered and said unto him that asked him, "Behold, what thou seest."

187 [183]. The old men used to say, "There is "nothing worse than a man passing judgment upon his "neighbour."

188 [184]. And the old men used to say, "From "those who are beginners in the monastic life God "demandeth nothing except work, and the vexing of "the body, and that a man should be obedient."

189 [185]. An old man used to say that separation was the most excellent of all spiritual virtues.[2]

190 [186]. ABBÂ ARSENIUS used to say, "Thou "shalt not[3] depart from a place without [Page 669] "great labour, and thou shalt do none of the things "which, evilly, thou desirest, and thou shalt do nothing "without the testimony of the Scriptures."

191 [187]. An old man used to say, "If we seek "God He will become revealed unto us, and if we lay "hold upon Him, He will remain with us."

192 [188]. ABBÂ POEMEN used to say to ABBÂ JOB, "Turn away thine eyes from beholding what is vain, "the lust for which destroyeth souls."

193 [189]. The old man used to say also, "It is "impossible for him who believeth rightly, and who

[1] The better reading is ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥϫⲱⲕ.

[2] In Bedjan's edition there follows here:—199. ABBÂ ARSENIUS used to say, "If we seek God He will be revealed "unto us, and if we lay hold upon Him, He will remain with "us." ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥϫⲱⲕ ⲉϥⲣ ⲡⲉϥϫⲱⲕ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲡ ⲙⲙⲟⲛ

"worketh in the fear of God, to fall into the impurity "of the passions, and into the error of devils."

194 [190]. ABBÂ MACARIUS used to say, "If we re- "member the wickednesses of men we destroy the "power of the memory, but if we remember how the "devils act wickedly we shall remain uninjured."

195 [191]. On one occasion ABBÂ MACARIUS went up from Scete to ṬRONTÎN,[1] and at eventide he came upon a certain place wherein he went that he might refresh himself and rest; and there were there some old bones, and bodies of the dead, and he took some of them and placed them under his head that he might lie down and rest a little from the labour of the road. Now when the devils which dwelt there saw his confidence and courage, they were smitten with envy, and wishing to disturb him they cried out and shouted from one to another the name of a woman, saying, "O so- "and-so, O so-and-so, come with us,[2] and let us go "to the bath." And another answered from out of the bones which were under the head of the blessed man, and said unto him that called him, "There is a stranger "who is lying upon me, and I am unable to come;" but the blessed man was not moved, neither was he astonished, but with confidence and great courage he knocked upon the bones, saying, "Rise up, and get "thee into darkness backwards." Now when the devils heard this, they cried out with a loud voice, saying, "Thou hast conquered us;" and they fled away ashamed.

196 [192]. ABBÂ ANTHONY used to say, "Let us put "God before our eyes continually; remember death "[Page 670] and Christ our Redeemer; hate the world "and everything which is therein; hate the world and "all bodily pleasure; die unto this life, so that thou "mayest live unto God, for God will require it of thee "in the day of judgment. Be hungry, and thirsty, and

[1] *I. e.*, Therenuthum.

[2] Read ڈمہ.

"naked; weep and mourn; watch and groan in thy "heart; examine thyself [and see] if thou art worthy "of God. Love labour and tribulation, so that thou "mayest find God, and treat with contempt and despise "the body, so that thy soul may live."

197 [193]. An old man was asked, "What is the "strait and narrow way?" And he answered and said, "The strait and narrow way is for a man to constrain "his thoughts, and to restrain his desires for God's "sake, and this [is intended to be understood when] "it is said, 'Behold, we have left everything and fol-"'lowed Thee.'"

198 [194]. Abbâ Poemen asked Abbâ Joseph, saying, "What am I to do when passions rise up against "me, wishing to make me quake? Shall I stand up "against them, and drive them away, or shall I allow "them to enter?" The old man said unto him, "Let "them shake thee, and do thou strive with them." But to another brother who had come from Thebes, and gone down to Scete, and asked the same old man the same question, he spake differently; and when he returned from Scete to Thebes, he said before all the brethren, "I went to Abbâ Joseph, and I asked him, "saying, 'If passions draw nigh unto me, shall I drive "'them away so that they may not make me shake, "'or shall I permit them to enter into me?' And he "said unto me, 'Thou shalt not let them draw nigh to "'thee in any way, but cut them off quickly.'" Now when Abbâ Poemen, who happened to be there, heard that Abbâ Joseph had spoken differently to that Theban, he rose up and went again to Abbâ Joseph, and said unto him, "Abbâ, I have believed in thee as in God, "and I have revealed[1] unto thee my thoughts, and "behold, thou hast spoken[2] unto that Theban in one "way, and to me thou hast [Page 671] declared the

[1] Read ܦܓܠܬ ܠܟ.

[2] Read ܐܡܪܬ ܠܗ ܠܫܩܠܝܢܐ ܗܘ ܒܚܕ ܐܘܪܚܐ ܘܠܝ ܗܟܝ ܐ̈ܢ ܐ̈ܢ ܐ̈ܢ

"opposite." The old man said unto him, "Dost thou "not know that I love thee?" And he answered and said unto him, "Yea, I do." The old man said unto him, "Didst thou not say unto me, Tell me as if thou "wast telling thyself? If, then, thoughts enter into thee, "and thou art mingled with them, and thou givest and "takest, and art not injured, they prove thee to be one "who is tried and chosen especially. Now I spake "unto thee as I would unto myself. But there are "others whom the passions cannot even approach or "touch, nevertheless it helpeth them to cut them off "quickly."

199 [195]. Abbâ John Kolobos used to say, "I am "like unto a man who is sitting under a great tree, "and who seeth multitudes of wild beasts and creeping "things coming towards him, and because he is unable "to stand up against them, he runneth and goeth up "the tree, and is delivered. In like manner I sit in "my cell, and I see evil thoughts coming against me, "and because I cannot stand against them I flee and "take refuge in God by prayer, and I am delivered "from the enemies, and I live for ever."

200 [196]. Abbâ Hilarion was asked, "How can "it be right for a strenuous brother not to be offended "when he seeth other monks returning to the world?" The old man said, "It is meet that he should consider "the hunting dogs which follow after hares, for as one "of these dogs giveth chase to the hare so soon as "he seeth it, (now the other dogs which are his com- "panions look at that dog as he runneth, and although "they run with him for a certain time, they at length "become exhausted and turn back, whilst he con- "tinueth his running by himself and is not impeded in "his headlong course, and he striveth to advance, and "neither resteth nor ceaseth from running because of "those who have remained behind, but he runneth until "he hath overtaken that which he seeth, even as I have "already said, and he feareth neither the [Page 672]

"stones which come in his way, nor the thorny brambles "and briars, and passeth on among the thorns, and "though often torn and lacerated thereby he neither "resteth nor ceaseth from his course,) so also for the "brother, who wisheth to follow after the love of Christ, "is it right to fasten his gaze upon the Cross until he "overtaketh Him that was crucified, even though he "see others who have begun to turn back."

201 [197]. A brother asked an old man, saying, "What work ought the soul to do in order to produce "fruits of excellence?" The old man said unto him, "In my opinion the work of the soul is as follows:— "To live in silence, persistent endurance, self-denial, "labour, humility of body, and constant prayer. And "a man should not consider the shortcomings of men, "but his own lapses; if now a man will persist in these "things the soul will after no great time make manifest "the fruits of spiritual excellence."

202 [198]. An old man used to say, "Strife de- "livereth a man over to anger, and anger delivereth "him over to blindness of the mind, and the blindness of "the mind maketh him to do everything which is bad."

203 [199]. Abbâ Elijah used to say, "I am afraid "of three things:—When my soul shall be about to go "forth from the body; and when I am about to go "forth to meet Christ; and when the sentence of doom "shall be about to be sent forth upon me."

204 [200]. Abbâ John used to say, concerning the soul which wisheth to repent, thus:—There was a certain harlot in the city who had many lovers, and a certain judge came and said unto her, "Consent to "lead a good life, and I will marry thee;" and she agreed, and he took her and brought her up to his house. Now when her lovers wanted her, they said, "A judge hath taken her up to his house, and if we "go to his door, and he learn about it, he will punish "us. But let us come behind the door and whistle to "her, and she will recognize the whistle and will come

"down to us, and we shall be blameless." [Page 673] And when the harlot heard the sound of the whistling, she sealed up the hearing of her ears, and she jumped up and went into the inner bed-chamber, and shut herself in. Now the harlot is the sinful soul, and her lovers are the passions, and the judge is Christ, and the house is the wakeful mind, and those who whistle to the soul are the wicked devils; but the soul always fleeth to God.

205 [201]. They used to tell a story of a certain great old man, and say that when he was travelling along a road two angels cleaved to him and journeyed with him, one on his right hand, and the other on his left. And as they were going along they found lying on the road a dead body which stank, and the old man closed his nostrils because of the evil smell, and the angels did the same. Now after they had gone on a little farther, the old man said unto them, "Do ye also "smell as we do?" And they said unto him, "No, but "because of thee we closed our nostrils. For it is not "for us to smell the rottenness of this world, but we "do smell the souls which stink of sin, because the "breath of such is nigh unto us."

206 [202]. ABBÂ ANTHONY besought God to inform him why young children died whilst so many old men lived, and why upright men were poor whilst the wicked were rich, and why some were blind and others had their sight, and why the righteous suffered from illness whilst the wicked were healthy, and a voice came, which said, "Anthony, take care of thine own "self, for these matters are the judgments of God."

207 [203]. Whilst ABBÂ SYLVANUS was sitting down and the brethren with him, he dropped into a stupor which was of God, and he fell upon his face; and after a long time, when he was standing up, he wept, and the brethren entreated him, saying, "What aileth thee, "O father?" But he held his peace, and they continued to press him to tell them what [ailed him].

Then he answered and said unto them, "I have just "been snatched away to the place of the judgment of "God, and I have seen many who belonged to our "order [Page 674], that is to say, Christians, going to "punishment, and many men who have lived in the "world going into the kingdom;" and the old man mourned and refused to come out of his cell. And he covered his face with his cloak, saying, "Why should "I seek to see the light of time wherein there is no "profit?"

208 [204]. On another occasion his disciple ZECHARIAH came to him, and found him in the stupor of prayer, and his hands were raised up to heaven, and he went out and closed the door; and he came [again] at the ninth hour, and found him in the same attitude, and when he came again about the tenth hour, and found him still in the same attitude, he knocked at the door, and then went in and found him in a state of silence. And he said unto him, "What hath hap-"pened unto thee to-day, O father?" And the old man said unto him, "My son, I felt weak and ill;" but the disciple laid hold upon his feet, saying, "I will not "leave thee until thou tellest me what thou hast seen." The old man said unto him, "Swear to me that thou "wilt not reveal the matter unto any man until I go "forth from the body, and then I will tell thee;" and the disciple entreated him, and the old man said, "I "was snatched up into the heavens, and I saw the "glory of God, and I remained there until now, when "I was dismissed."[1]

209 [205]. On one occasion ABBÂ MACARIUS went to ABBÂ ANTHONY in the mountain, and he knocked at his door, and he went out to him, and said unto him, "Who art thou?" And MACARIUS said unto him, "I am MACARIUS," whereupon ABBÂ ANTHONY closed the door and went inside, and left him outside, but

[1] Read ܐܬܚܛܦ ܘܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܐܬܚܛܦ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܐܬܚܛܦ ܒܓܘ ܥܠܡܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܐܬܚܛܦ ܒܓܘ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ.

when he saw the patient endurance of MACARIUS he opened the door to him, and said unto him with a smile, "O MACARIUS, I have been wishing to see thee "for a long time past, for I have heard about thee;" and having welcomed him he made him rest and refresh himself, through his love for strangers, for ABBÂ MACARIUS had [come] from great toil. Now when the evening had come, ABBÂ ANTHONY soaked a few palm leaves in water for himself, and ABBÂ MACARIUS said unto him, "Give the command and I will soak some "for myself," and ABBÂ ANTHONY said, "Soak [some];" and he made up a large bundle for himself, and soaked it in water, and they sat down from the evening [until the morning], and they talked together [Page 675] about the redemption of souls as they plaited the palm leaves, and they threw[1] their work into the cave through the window. And when the blessed ANTHONY went into the cave in the morning, and saw the heap of palm-leaf work of ABBÂ MACARIUS, he marvelled, and he seized his hands, and kissed them, saying, "Great strength hath gone forth from these hands."

210 [206]. ABBÂ POEMEN said, "If a man will throw "himself before God, and will not esteem himself, and "will cast his pleasures behind his back, [he will find "that] such things are the instruments of the work of "the soul."

211 [207]. The same old man also said, "If a man "observeth his grade he will not be troubled,"

212 [208]. The same old man also said, "Make "thou the desire of thy lust of no effect through the "remembrance of God, and thou shalt find rest."[2]

213 [209]. He also said, "A certain brother went "to ABBÂ SÎMÔN to ask him for a word, and although "he remained with him for seven days the old man "returned him no answer; but as he was making himself

[1] Read مَنجِم.

[2] Omitted here in Bedjan's edition.

"ready to go away he said unto him, 'Go, and take good "heed unto thyself, for at present my sins have become "a dense wall between myself and God."

214 [210]. ABBÂ ALÔNÎS said, "If I had not hidden "(*or*, suppressed) myself wholly I should not have been "able to build myself."

215 [211]. The same old man said, "A man is not "able to know outside himself the thoughts which are "in him, but when they resist him from within, if he "be a warrior, he will cast them out from him."

216 [212]. The same old man also said, "A man, "wheresoever he cleaveth, is built up;[1] look not upon "thy mind."

217 [213]. The old man often said, "Esteem not "thyself, but cleave thou to him that leadeth a good "life."[2]

218 [214]. He also said, "[In] this [life] we do not "discern matters, and it doth not permit us to profit "by the things which are good."

219 [215]. The old man said, "If a thought about "some bodily need come to thee and thou cast it forth "once, and it come to thee a second time, and thou "drivest it away, if it come to thee a third time, [Page "676] look not upon it because it is war."

220 [216]. A father who was about to die said to his sons, "Dwell ye not with heretics, and have no "converse with a brother who hath a sister, and have no "business with the Government, and let not thy hands "be spread out to gather in, but to give to the poor "who are in need."

221 [217]. On one occasion ABBÂ EVAGRIUS said unto ABBÂ ARSENIUS, "Since we are without learning "according to the world, and we have no wisdom "whatsoever, [how is it that] these Egyptian villagers

[1] The better reading is, "A man whose heart is comforted "within him;" ܕܒܦܘܩ ܠܗ ܒܠܒܗ ܡܬܒܢܐ ܗܘ.

[2] Omitted here in Bedjan's edition.

"possess such spiritual excellences?" ABBÂ ARSENIUS[1] said unto him, "We possess nothing whatsoever of the "learning of the world, but these Egyptian villagers "have acquired spiritual excellences through their labours."

222 [218]. On one occasion ABBÂ ARSENIUS asked an Egyptian old man about the thoughts, and afterwards another brother said unto ABBÂ ARSENIUS, "How "is it that whilst thou hast so much learning, both "Greek and Latin, thou askest questions about the "thoughts of this villager?" Then ABBÂ ARSENIUS said unto him, "With Greek and Latin learning I am well "acquainted, but I have not yet learned the alphabet "of this villager."

223 [219]. Now on one occasion when the Archbishop wished to go to visit him, he sent a message to this effect to him, and the old man sent him [back] word, saying, "If thou comest I will open unto thee, "and if I open unto thee I must open unto every man, "and if I open unto every man I cannot remain here." And when the Archbishop heard these things, he said, "If I would drive him away I must go to the old man, "therefore I will not go."

224 [220]. On one occasion a brother entreated him to let him hear a word from him; and the old man said, "As far as it lieth in thy power, lead an "ascetic life; and work thou that secret work which "is within, if it be for God's sake, [for] it shall vanquish "[thy] passions which are external."

225 [221]. ABBÂ POEMEN said, "If there be three "[brethren] together, and one [Page 677] leadeth a fair "life of silent contemplation, and the other being a "weak man giveth thanks, and the other singeth and "prayeth with a lowly mind, all three are performing "work [of equal merit]."

226 [222]. A brother asked ABBÂ POEMEN, and said unto him, "Tell me: what meaneth it that thou dost

[1] The text has "Macarius."

"not reward evil for evil?" Abbâ Poemen said unto him, "In this perception there are four divisions; the first "is of the heart, the second is of the sight, the third is "of the tongue, and the fourth is that in actions a man "returneth evil for evil. If now thou art able to over-"come the heart, thou wilt not come to the sight, but "if thou comest to the sight, take heed that thou dost "not speak with the tongue; but if thou speakest cut "it off immediately, so that thou mayest not actually "reward evil for evil; and this is the first of the four "which a man may cut off, and the tongue is the "second, and the third is the sight, and the fourth is "the heart."

227 [223]. The old man Anthony used to say also, "If the baker did not put a covering over the eyes "of [his] animal, it would turn round and eat up its "hire, and in like manner we also have received a "covering by the operation of God, so that we may "first of all be working good deeds without seeing "them, so that we may not ascribe happiness to our-"selves and so destroy the hire of our labour. There-"fore are we left from time to time in unclean thoughts, "and we see these only so that we may condemn "ourselves, and those filthy thoughts may become a "covering of the few good things which we perform. "For when a man blameth himself he will not destroy "his hire."

228 [224]. Abbâ Moses asked Abbâ Sylvanus, saying, "Is it possible for a man to make a beginning "each day?" And he said unto him, "If he be a man "who is a worker it is possible for him to make a "beginning every day."

229 [225]. A brother asked Abbâ Sisoes, "Why do "my thoughts not depart from me?" He said unto him, "Because thy things are within thee; [Page 678] "give them their pledge and they will depart."

230 [226]. A brother asked Abbâ Theodore, and said unto him, "If an earthquake were to take place

"suddenly wouldst thou not be afraid, O father?" The old man said unto him, "Even if the heavens were "to cleave to the earth THEODORE would not be afraid;" now he besought God formerly that trembling might be removed from him, and it was because of this fact that he who put the question to him asked him.

231 [227]. They used to say that when ABBÂ THEODORE was a deacon in Scete he refused to perform the ministrations of deacon, and that he fled to several places [to avoid doing so], but the old men would bring him back again, saying, "Thou shalt not forsake "thy place." ABBÂ THEODORE said unto them, "Permit "me to make a request unto God, and if He permit "me I will stand up in my place;" and when he made his petition to God, he said, "If it be Thy will, O my "Lord, for me to remain, permit me [so to do]." Then there appeared unto him a pillar of fire [which reached] from earth to heaven, and a voice said unto him, "If "thou art able to be like unto this pillar, go and per- "form thy ministrations;" but although he heard these things he would not consent to minister. And when he came to the church the brethren fell down before him and entreated him, saying, "If thou refusest to "minister, at least hold the cup," but he refused and said, "If ye will not allow me [to be] here [as I am], "I will depart from these places;" and so they left him [there].

232 [228]. They used to tell a story about ABBÂ MACARIUS the GREAT, who became, as it is written, an earthly God, for as God overshadoweth the world so also did ABBÂ MACARIUS cover over the shortcomings which he saw as if he did not see them, and the things which he heard as if he heard them not.

233 [229]. On one occasion a maiden came to ABBÂ MACARIUS to be healed of a devil, and a certain brother arrived from a monastery which is in Egypt, also, and the old man went out by night [Page 679] and saw that the brother was committing sin with that woman,

but he did not rebuke him. And he said, "If God "Who fashioned him seeth [him], and is longsuffering, "for if He so desired He could consume him, who am "I that I should rebuke him?"

234 [229, 230]. I heard that the blessed man ANTHONY used to say, "God doth not permit wars to wax "as fierce in this generation as He did in the generation "of old, for He knoweth that men are [more] feeble "[now], and that they could not bear [them]."

235 [231]. ABBÂ MACARIUS used to say to the brethren concerning the desert of Scete, "Whensoever "ye see cells which are turned[1] towards the wood, know "that the fall thereof is near; and whensoever ye see "trees planted near the doors, [know] that it is "near the door; and whensoever ye see young men "dwelling therein, then take up your possessions and "depart."

236 [232]. ABBÂ MAṬÔÂÎS used to say, "Satan "knoweth not by means of what passion the soul may "be conquered, but he soweth, not knowing whether "he will reap; but with the thoughts of fornication, and "of calumny, and of all the passions towards which he "seeth the soul incline doth he fight against it, and "fetter it."

237 [233]. When, on one occasion, I was sitting with a certain old man at OXYRHYNCUS, now this old man used to make great alms and oblations, a widow came to him, and demanded a little wheat, and he said unto her, "Go and bring me a measure, and I will "measure out [some] for thee." And when she had brought it, and he took the measure in his hand he said unto her, "This is too large;" and he put the widow to the blush. And when she had gone, I said[2] unto the Abbâ and priest, "Wast thou selling[3] the

[1] The better reading is ⲉⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ.

[2] Read ⲁⲓϫⲱϥ.

[3] Read ⲱⲛϫⲉⲛ.

"wheat to the widow?" and he said, "No; I gave[1] "it to her in charity." Then I said unto him, "If thou "didst give[2] all this wheat to her in charity, why didst "thou act harshly with her, and measure it, and [so] put "her to shame?"

238 [234] Three of the fathers came on one occasion to an old man at Scete, and one of them spoke to him, saying, "I repeat the Old and the New Testaments "by heart;" [Page 680] and the old man answered and said unto him, "Thou hast filled the air with words;" and the other father spoke to him, saying, "I have copied "the Old and the New Testaments;" and the old man said unto him, "Thou hast filled the cupboards with "quires of paper;" and the third father answered and said unto him, "In my fire-place the grass groweth;" and the old man answered and said unto him, "Thou "hast also driven away the love of strangers from "thee."

239 [235]. ABBÂ POEMEN used to say that ABBÂ ISIDORE used to twist into ropes a great bundle of palm leaves each night, and [on one occasion] the brethren entreated him, saying, "Rest thyself a little, for thou "hast worked too much." And he said unto them, "If we were to burn ISIDORE and to scatter his ashes "to the winds, he would gain (*sic*) to happiness, for "the Son of God came to the Passion because of us."

240 [236]. A brother said to ABBÂ POEMEN, "If I "stumble and commit a few minor sins my mind af- "flicteth me, and blameth me, and maketh accusations "against me, saying, 'Why didst thou[3] fall?'" The old man said unto him, "Every time a man falleth into "any shortcoming or folly, if he saith, 'I have sinned,' "immediately God will receive him."

241 [237]. ABBÂ POEMEN used to say, "It is not right

[1] Read ⲙⲁⲓⲧⲉ.
[2] Read ⲁⲕⲙⲁⲓⲧⲉ.
[3] Raed ⲁⲕϣⲗⲏ.

"for a man to be persuaded to the thought of forni-
"cation, or to utter calumny against his neighbour;
"and he should not in any way whatsoever incline to-
"wards these two thoughts, and he should not utter
"them, and he should not meditate upon such things
"in his heart. And if he desireth to think about them
"and to turn them over in his heart, he will not be-
"nefit thereby, but will rather suffer damage; but if he
"will act against[1] such with ferocity, he will subsequently
"find rest."

242 [238]. One of the brethren asked ABBÂ POEMEN, saying, "Father, what shall I do when the thoughts of "fornication bestir themselves in me, or any other of "the evil passions which are injurious[2] to the soul?" ABBÂ POEMEN said unto him, "The first time they "come upon thee, flee; and the second time they come "upon thee, flee also; [Page 681] and the third time "they come, set thyself against them like a sharp sword."

243 [239]. The same old man used to say, "Unless "MOSES had been gathering together sheep into the "fold he would never have seen Him that was in the "bush."

244 [240]. On one occasion the brethren saw that ABBÂ JOSEPH was sad, and that he was greatly distressed, and they asked him to tell them about his sorrow, and what was the cause thereof, but he was unable to speak to them; and they began to say each man among them to his companion, "What are the "suffering and grief which possess the old man, for "behold, we have dwelt with him for many years, and "we never before saw him in such grief and suffering "as this? Perhaps we have in some way offended him." Then they threw themselves on their faces before the feet of the old man, saying, "Peradventure we have "offended thee in some matter, O father; [and if we

[1] Reading يحبذ.
[2] Read فضيّة.

"have] forgive us for Jesus' sake." And the old man made answer to them in a state of grief, saying, "Forgive ye me, O my brethren, for I am not offended "by you, but I am grieved by myself, because I see "that I am going backwards rather than forwards, and "that I am the cause of offence and loss, not only to "myself but also unto all the others. For I see that "at this present we are trafficking, and are losing in "respect of our souls very much more than we ever "gained at any time of the profit of the fear of our "Lord, because shamelessness and fearlessness have "gained dominion over us. For in times past when "the fathers were gathered together to each other they "were wont to form bands and ascend into the heavens, "but we are lax folk, and are dead in our sins. When-"soever we draw nigh to each other we come to speak "that which is hateful about one another, and one by "one we are raised up that we may descend to the "bottom of the deepest abyss. And we do not make "to sink ourselves and each other only, but also the "fathers who come to us, and the strangers who gather "together to us, and also the people who are in the "world who visit us [Page 682] as if we were solitary "monks, and as if we were holy men, and to these "last we become a cause of stumbling and loss.

"For thus also did Abbâ Sylvanus and Abbâ Lôṭ "say unto me:—'Let us not abide here any longer.' "And when I asked them, 'Why do ye depart from us?' "they spake to me as follows:—'Up to this day we "'have benefited by our abiding with the fathers, but "'from the time of Abbâ Panbô, and Abbâ Agathon, "'and Abbâ Peṭra, and Abbâ John, the commandments "'of the fathers have been held lightly, and we do "'not observe the ordinances and the laws which our "'fathers laid down for us. And by assemblies together "'we suffer loss over and over again through the use-"'less things which are spoken among us. And when "'we sit down at table, instead of doing so in the fear

"'of God, and with gratitude, and eating that which "'God hath prepared for us with praise and thanks-"'giving, we occupy ourselves by conversing together "'and telling insipid stories; and as we sit at table in "'this fashion we become so much changed that we "'do not even hear what is being read to us, on ac-"'count of the noise of the profitless talk which we "'hold with each other. And besides this, after we "'have risen up from eating, we converse together "'with empty talk. What benefit is it to us to live "'in the desert, seeing that we profit nothing thereby?' "And Abbâ Lôṭ said, 'Many times have I heard from "'brethren who are strangers, and from the people "'who live in the world and who come to visit us, that "'we hold the commandments of the fathers lightly, and "'they have said of us, 'We should never have thought "'''that they were monks!'' And one of the brethren "who were strangers said, 'I have come to the fathers "'on several occasions, and [I see that] year by year "'they certainly observe less and less the early rules "'and conduct of the fathers.' What now do ye wish? "will ye correct your lax behaviour, and observe care-"fully the commandments of our fathers, or must I also "depart from you?"

And it came to pass that when the brethren heard these things, they beat the board for assembling the monks, and the whole brotherhood gathered itself together, and Abbâ Joseph [Page 683] spake unto them all the words which are [written] above. And when all the brethren heard the words of Abbâ Joseph, and learned the reason of his pain and grief, and that he wished to depart from them, they cast themselves down upon their faces weeping, and they expressed their contrition to him, saying, "Forgive us, O father, "for the sake of Jesus. We have made God angry "by our deeds, and we have caused thy holiness grief." Then each of the fathers said, "Would that thou hadst "rebuked us on the very first day wherein thou didst

"hear[1] [about us] from the fathers, and that they had "not departed from us! And would, too, that we had "roused ourselves up from our slumber and sluggish-"ness! But what are we to do? For the old men "and the holy men do not teach us, and they do not "even take their proper places in our congregations, "or when we sit at meat. Very many of us wish to "hear the histories and commandments of the fathers "read, either whilst we are sitting at table, or between "one sitting and the next, but we are never able to "hear a word of their talk." And ABBÂ ELIJAH said, "ABBÂ ABRAHAM and ABBÂ JOHN spake much at table, "and at the time of reading, and at the time of the "service; and they began to become excited against "each other, and the one said, 'Father so and so is "'excited,' and the other said, 'So and so maketh us "'excited.'" Now when ABBÂ JOSEPH saw that the whole brotherhood was stirred up, he made supplication unto them, and besought them, saying, "I beseech "you, O my brethren, to cease from your commotion, "for God hath called us to peace, and I therefore beg "you to come and pray, and to make supplication unto "God that He may make to pass by us the legions "and the host of the Enemy. For, behold, I see them "standing up in wrath and anger, with their swords "drawn, and they wish to destroy us all, if God doth "not stand up to help our wretchedness."

And when he had said these things he was able, with some difficulty, to quiet them, [Page 684] and ABBÂ JOSEPH himself began[2] to sing the words of the harpist DAVID, saying, "Their swords shall enter their own "hearts, and their bows shall be broken, and God shall "make them like a wheel and as dust before the wind. "And God shall arise, and all His enemies shall be "scattered. O God, deliver me, O Lord, remain to

[1] Read ܒܥܘܕܢܐ.

[2] Read ܫܪܐ.

"help [me]."[1] And when they had recited the Psalms of the spirit altogether, and had made an end of the service, they said, "O holy God, O holy Mighty One, "O immortal holy One, have mercy upon us;" and they all knelt down in prayer. And as they were praying, they heard the voices of the devils in the air, and the sounds of armour and of horses, and of many horsemen, and they also heard the voices of the devils who were saying to one another, "Ye shall not have "mercy upon them." And again they said, "O luckless "monks, why do ye stand up against us? If we were "to do [what we could do] to you, not one of you "would be found on the face of the earth! We will "never be absent from you, and we will never cease "from you."

And after the filthy[2] legion had been driven away by the secret power, and the wicked devils rested from their wickednesses, all the fathers rose up from the earth whereon they had been poured out in prayer, the earth having been adorned by their tears, and they all offered repentance unto ABBÂ JOSEPH, saying, "Forgive thou us, and pray for us that the Lord may "forgive us, for we have sinned and have provoked "Him to wrath."[3] Then ABBÂ JOSEPH said unto them, "Rouse ye yourselves, O my brethren, and take good "heed unto your souls, for, behold, ye have heard with "your ears the sound of the chariots of the Adversary, "who threateneth us and seeketh to destroy us. Let "every man be reconciled to his neighbour, and for- "give ye every man from his heart the offence [which "he hath committed]. And bind ye yourselves with "the love of our Lord, with an urgent mind, and a "pure heart, to the Lord and to each other. And "draw nigh unto God that He may draw nigh unto

[1] Psalm XXXVII. 15; LXXXIII. 13; LXVIII. 1; VII. 1.

[2] The better reading is ܒܨܡܐ.

[3] Read ܘܢܙܟܘܢ.

"you, and stand up against the Adversary, [Page 685] "who is Satan. If ye will observe the commandments "of the fathers, I will become a surety [*or*, pledge] for "you that Satan shall not be able to injure you, and "that the Barbarians shall not come hither; but if ye "will not observe them, believe me, O my beloved, "this place shall be laid waste."

And they offered repentance each to the other, and they became reconciled to each other, and lived in love and in great peace; and they laid down ordinances among themselves on that day to the effect that no man should henceforth conduct himself with negligence and without absence of fear; and that they should neither do nor say anything at the table which was alien [to their mode of life]; and that if any man be found hereafter despising and holding lightly the commandments of the fathers in such a way that he become an occasion of offence and a cause of loss, first to himself, and next to those who dwell with him, and then also to the strangers who come to us, he shall know that he is bringing a punishment upon himself, and that he shall become an alien to all the brotherhood. And ABBÂ JOSEPH sent a brother to bring back ABBÂ SYLVANUS and ABBÂ LÔṬ, and when these fathers knew what had taken place among the brethren, and that they had laid down ordinances to keep the commandments of the fathers, they praised God, and they rose up, and came, and [when] they saw ABBÂ JOSEPH they saluted him and wept; and ABBÂ JOSEPH told them everything which had taken place, and they glorified God Who had not rejected those who feared Him. And as regardeth the canons and the ordinances which they had laid down among themselves, the brethren observed and performed them all the days of their life; and they died at a good old age, [after] living lives which were well-pleasing unto God.

245 [241]. ABBÂ AMMON used to say, "I have spent "fourteen years in Scete in making supplication unto God

"by day and by night that He would grant me to "overcome anger."

[245A] [241]. An old man used to say, "Be like unto "a camel when thou art loaded with thy sins, and be tied "unto and cleave unto him that knoweth the way."

246 [242]. One of the old men used to say, "For-"merly, whensoever we met each other we used to "speak words of profit [Page 686] about each other, "and we formed companies, and were lifted up into the "heavens; but now when we are gathered together, "we come to hateful converse concerning each other, "and we drag, each the other, down to the bottom of "the deepest abyss."

247 [243]. ABBÂ AKÎLÊÔS [ACHILLES] came on one occasion to the cell of ABBÂ ISAIAH, and found him eating; now there were in the basin [from which he ate] water and salt, and the old man saw him hide the basin behind a mat. Then ABBÂ ACHILLES said unto him,[1] "Tell me, what wast thou eating?" And ABBÂ ISAIAH said unto him, "Forgive me, I was cutting "some palm leaves, and I went up in the heat, and "placed in my mouth a morsel of bread and salt; and "my throat was dry by reason of the heat, and the "food did not go down, and I was pained thereby, "and I threw a little salt and water into my mouth, "so that I might be able to eat. But forgive me." The old man said unto him, "Come ye and see ABBÂ "ISAIAH who eateth food which stinketh in Scete; if "thou seekest to eat stinking food, get thee to Egypt."

248 [244]. There was a certain monk who had a brother that lived in the world, and this brother was poor, and whatsoever the monk earned by the labour of his hands he used to give to his brother, but in spite of this the brother became poorer still. Then the monk went to one of the old men and told him

[1] From Bedjan's edition:—ܐܙܠ ܫܐܠ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܥܒܕ ܐܢܬ ܗܟܝ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܒܐ ܐܣܝܐ ܐܢܐ ܫܩܠܬ ܥܠ ܚܨܝܪ ܘܣܠܩܬ ܠܚܡ ܘܡܠܚ ܘܐܬܝܒ ܠܦܘܡܝ ܘܐܬܥܩܪ ܠܝ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܘܠܐ ܐܟܠ ܠܚܡ

the matter, and the old man said unto him, "If thou wilt "hearken unto me thou wilt not give him any more, but "wilt say unto him, 'My brother, whilst I had anything to "'give I gave it unto thee, but now thou must bring me "'some of what thou earnest by thy labour;' and whatsoever "he bringeth unto thee, that take from him, and where "thou knowest there is a stranger, or a poor old man, "give it unto him;" and he entreated them to offer up prayer on his behalf. Then the monk went and did thus, and when his brother who lived in the world came to him, he spake unto him even as the old man had told him to do; and the brother went to his house with a sad mind. And on the first day he brought [to the monk] as the result of his labour [Page 687] a few garden herbs, and the monk took them and gave them to the old men, and entreated them to pray for him; and he was blessed and departed. And the old man who was in the world returned on another occasion, and brought the monk bread and garden herbs, and his brother took them, and did [with them] as he did at first. Then he came a third time, and brought many costly gifts, and wine, and fish, and his brother saw [this] and wondered, and he called the poor and relieved them therewith. And the monk said unto his brother who was in the world, "Peradventure thou art "in need of a little bread, O my brother?" And he said unto him, Nay, my lord, whilst I took from thee that "which used to enter into my house, I spent every-"thing I had; but since I ceased to take anything from "thee, God hath blessed me and hath had mercy "upon me." Then the monk went and informed the old man everything which had taken place, and the old man said unto him, "Knowest thou not that the "labour of a monk is fire, and that wheresoever it "entereth it consumeth? But it is beneficial for him "to shew mercy from his own toil, and prayer from "the holy men shall be upon him, and thus he shall "be blessed."

249 [245]. On one occasion whilst ABBÂ MACARIUS was passing through Egypt with certain other brethren, he heard a child saying to his mother, "My mother,[1] "a rich man loveth me, but I hate him; and a poor "man hateth me, and I love him;" and when ABBÂ MACARIUS heard [this] he marvelled. And the brethren said unto him, "What is the [meaning of] these words, "father?" The old man said unto him, "Verily, our "Lord is rich, and He loveth us, and we do not desire "to hear him; our Enemy, Satan, is poor, and he "hateth us, and we love his hateful things."

250 [246]. On one occasion whilst ABBÂ ZECHARIAH was dwelling in Scete, there appeared unto him a vision from God, and he rose up and came to his father, ABBÂ KÎRÎÔN, and the old man was perfect, and did not take pains to boast of these things. And he rose up [and smote him, and said unto him, "They "are of devils;" and when he had thought about the matter a long time, he rose up][2] and went by night to ABBÂ POEMEN, and informed him about the matter, and how [Page 688] his thoughts were burning in his heart. Then the old man knew that the matter was of God, and he said unto him, "Get thee to such and "such an old man, and whatsoever he saith unto thee "that do." And having departed to that old man, before he could tell him anything, the old man said unto him, "The vision is of God; but do thou go and "be subject unto thy father."

251 [247]. A certain old man from Scete was dwelling[3] in the mountain of PÎLÎSÎÔN, and there came unto him a man from the palace who had a devil, and he healed him, and the man who had had the devil offered him a bag which was full of gold, but the old man

[1] Read ܐܡܝ.

[2] Adding from Bedjan ܘܡܟܝ ܒܚܕ ܙܒܢ. ܘܐܬܐ ܠܗ ܐܒܗ ܕܝܠܗ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܬ ܐܢܬ ܠܘܬ ܐܒܐ ܗܘ

refused to accept it. Now when he saw that he was offended, the old man took the bag itself, which was empty, and he said unto him, "Go [and] distribute the "gold among the poor and the wretched," and he made the bag into a colubium, and wore it; now it was made of hair, and was very stiff, and he wore it for a long time so that he might vex his body.

252 [248]. ABBÂ LONGINUS asked ABBÂ LUCIUS three things, saying, "I wish to become a stranger;" the old man said unto him, "If thou dost not hold thy tongue, "where wilt thou go? Wilt thou not become a stranger?" "Hold[1] thy tongue here, and behold thou art a stranger." And ABBÂ LONGINUS said unto him also, "I wish to "lead a two-fold life;" and the old man said unto him, "If thou dost not bend thy neck like a hook thou art "nothing; purify thy wicked thoughts." ABBÂ LONGINUS said unto him, "But I wish[2] to flee from men;" and the old man said unto him, "If thou canst not set thy-"self straight first of all with men, thou wilt never be "able [to live] by thyself."

253 [249]. A brother asked ABBÂ JOSEPH, saying, "I want to go out from the monastery and live a soli-"tary life;" the old man said unto him, "Where thou "seest that thou wilt find rest for thy soul, there dwell." And the brother said unto him, "I am content to live "in the monastery, and I am content to live alone; "what shall I do then?" The old man said unto him, "If thou art content to live in the monastery, and art "[equally] content to lead a solitary life, do this [Page "689]: Weigh thy thoughts as it were in a balance, "and the thought which outbalances the other, that "fulfil."

254 [250]. An old man used to say, "What beast "is as mighty as the lion and yet for the sake of his "belly he falleth into the snare, and all his strength is

[1] Strike out ܒܗܝ ܠܟ ܢܛܪ before ܠܫܢܟ.

[2] Read ܒܥܐ ܐܢܐ.

"made weakness; in this wise also shall we fall if we "be overcome by our bellies."

255 [251]. An old man also said, "When the fathers "of Scete were eating bread and salt they said, 'We "'must not afflict ourselves overmuch with bread and "'salt;' and living in this wise they became valiant "in the works of God."

256 [252]. Whilst ABBÂ SYLVANUS was living on MOUNT SINAI brother ZECHARIAH went to the work of the service [*i. e.*, singing and prayer]; and when he had gone the old man said unto him, "Open out the "water [courses], and water the garden." Then he went forth straightway, and covered his face with his cloak, and he could see only his feet; and during the time when he was watering [the garden], a brother came to him, and he perceived what he was doing, and he went in to him, and made an apology, and entreated him, saying, "Tell me, O father, why thou "didst cover thy face with thy cloak and didst in this "manner water the garden?" The old man said unto him, "My son, [I did so] that mine eyes might not "look upon the trees, and that my mind might not be "distracted in its work, and become buried in the "trees."

257 [253]. They used to say that, [on one occasion], when a certain old man was sitting in his cell, a brother happened to come by night to go in to him; and when he arrived at the door, he heard his voice raised in a dispute, saying, "It is sufficient; how long? "Get ye gone forthwith." And again he said, "Come, "come to me, my friends."[1] And when the brother had gone in to him, he said unto him, "With whom "wast thou speaking, O father?" He said unto him, "I was driving away my evil thoughts, and calling my "good thoughts to me."

258 [254]. There was a certain old man who had

[1] Read تعبد.

a disciple who dwelt in the desert, and the old man took a piece of dry wood, and planted it, and he said to his disciple, "Pour a basin of water over it [Page "690] every day until this piece of wood beareth fruit." Now the fountain of water was so far away from them that a man would set out for it in the evening and return the next morning. And the disciple did as he had been told, and after two or three years, that wood became alive,[1] and bore fruit, and the old man took the fruit thereof, and brought it to the church, and said unto the brethren, "Take ye, and eat the fruit of "obedience."

259 [255]. A certain brother on one occasion found on the road a piece of wood which had dropped from camels, and he came to the cell of his Rabbâ bringing it with him; and his Rabbâ said, "Whence hast thou "this piece of wood?" And the brother said unto him, "From the road." The old man said unto him, "If it "be of the things which are taken from the road, bring "it inside; but if not, go and put it in the place where-"from thou didst take it."

260 [256]. They used to say that ZĔCHARIAH, the disciple of ABBÂ SYLVANUS, took certain brethren, and without [the knowledge of] ABBÂ SYLVANUS, they broke through the fence of the garden, and enlarged the garden, and then built up the fence again. And when the old man learned this, he took [his cloak], and wrapped himself up therein, and went forth, and he said to the brethren, "Pray ye for me." Now when they saw him, they fell down at his feet, saying, "Tell "us, father, what hath happened to thee;" and he said unto them, "I will neither go inside [my cell], nor "unwrap myself from my cloak until ye bring the "fence back to its former position;" and [when they had done so] straightway the old man went into his cell.

[1] The better reading is ﻣﺜﻞ.

261 [257]. They used to say that when the old man RABBÂ MAGATÎS went forth from his cell, and the thought rose up in his mind that he would depart from the place, he returned not to his cell; now he possessed nothing whatsoever of the things which are required in this world. But he took pleasure in the work of splitting up the palm leaves which he twisted into ropes, for he performed sufficient labour each day to provide him with the very small amount of food which he needed.

262 [258]. A brother asked an old man, saying, "If a certain brother cometh to me, and saith, 'Perform "'an act of love, and come with me here, or go [with "'me] to a certain place,' and I am [Page 691] in-"convenienced by the command, what am I to do?" The old man said unto him, "If thou knowest that "without offence thou canst fulfil the commandment, "go, and it shall be accounted unto thee as an accept-"able sacrifice; but if thou knowest that there will be "some offence, thou shalt not go. And if thou dost "go, take good heed to thy soul."

263 [259]. A brother asked an old man, saying, "How is it that there are at this present men who "labour, but who do not receive grace as the early "fathers did?" The old man said unto him, "Formerly "love existed, and one brother was raised up by the "other; but now love hath grown cold, and we each "drag the other down, and in consequence we do not "receive grace."

264 [260]. They used to say that when ABBÂ THEODORE dwelt in Scete, a devil came and wanted to go into him, and the old man perceived that he wanted to go into [his cell], but he kept him fettered outside. Then another devil came to go in, and the old man fettered him also, and a third devil also came, and finding the other two fettered by the door, he said unto them, "Why do ye stand outside here?" They said unto him, "He who dwelleth within will not

"permit us to go in;" and the third devil stirred up strife, and, holding Abbâ Theodore in contempt, made so bold as to go in. Now when the old man saw him, he fettered him also, and being afraid of the prayers of the old man, they entreated him, saying, "Set us "free." And the old man accepted their petition, and released them, saying, "Get ye gone;" and then they departed being ashamed.

264[A] [260[A]]. They used to say that a certain old man had a young man living with him, and that he one day saw him doing something which was not beneficial for him; and he said unto him once, "Thou "shalt not do this thing," but the young man hearkened not unto him. Now when the old man saw that he would not hearken unto him, he let him alone, and troubled no more about him; and the young man shut the door of the place where the bread was kept, and departed from the cell, and left the old man without bread for three days, and when he went back, the old man did not say unto him, "Where hast thou been?" or, "What hast thou been doing outside?" Now the young man treated the old man in this fashion [Page 692] like a beast. Then afterwards, when one of the old man's neighbours perceived the delay of the young man, he boiled a little food, and let it down to the old man from the wall, and made him eat it; and when, by chance, his neighbour said unto him, "The "young man tarrieth a long time," the old man said unto him, "He hath not tarried, but when he is dis- "engaged he will come."

265 [261]. A certain brother made a second key and opened the cell of one of the old men and took his money out of the cupboard, and the old man wrote on a piece of paper, saying, "Do me an act of love "and leave me one half of my money, for I have "need of it for my necessities;" and he divided the money (*or*, oboli) into two parts, and laid the paper upon them. And the brother who stole the money

came as usual, and he tore up the paper and took all the money. Now two years later that brother was forced to die, but his soul was not permitted to go forth from him, and then he called the old man, and made entreaty unto him, saying, "Father, pray on my "behalf; it was I who took thy money." Then the old man said unto him, "Why didst thou not confess this "before the light became black to thee?" And the old man prayed and set free the spirit of that brother, and he sold[1] his Book of the Gospel and made a memorial for him.

266 [262]. A certain man used to relate that an old man from Scete went up to the Thebaïd to dwell there, and according to the custom with those who are from Scete he made bread sufficient for his wants for several days. And behold, the men of the Thebaïd came to him, saying, "How is it that thou dost not "keep the word of the Gospel which commanded men "not to care for the morrow?" The old man said unto them, "What is your custom?" And they said unto him, "We work day by day with our hands, and "we sell [what we make], and buy food for ourselves "in the market." [Page 693] The old man said unto them, "My market is my cell, and whensoever I have "need I lay down the work of my hands, and take up "food for myself."

267 [263]. An old man used to say, "Discretion is "the most excellent thing of all."

267[A] [263[A]]. They used to say that certain men came to plead a case for judgment before Abbâ Ammonius, and the old man paid no attention to them, but behaved as if he did not hear them; and behold, a woman said unto her companion, "This old man hath no stability." And the old man heard her speaking thus to her companion, and he called her, and said unto her, "How "many labours have I performed in the desert so that

[1] Add ⲉϥ.

"I might acquire this instability! Yet, through thee, "I have destroyed this day."

268 [264]. An old man used to say, "Do not eat "before thou art hungry, and do not lie down before "thou art sleepy, [and do not speak before thou art "questioned]."[1]

269 [265]. A brother asked an old man, saying, "Do I eat too many garden herbs?" The old man said unto him, "It will not benefit thee [to do so], but "eat bread and a few vegetables, and thou shalt not "go to thy kinsfolk for the sake of things [to eat]."

270 [266]. An old man used to say, "It is meet "that a monk should be like the CHERUB—all eyes."

271 [267]. An old man used to say, "For a man "to attempt to teach his neighbour, when he hath not "been required [so to do], is the same as offering him "a rebuke."

272 [268]. ABBÂ POEMEN used to say, "Why doth "a man distress himself to build the house of others, "and to overthrow his own?"

273 [269]. He also used to say, "Why is it neces- "sary for a man to go in by cunning, and not to learn "[how to do so] properly?"

274 [270]. He also used to say, "Everything which "is beyond the measure[2] is from the devils."

275 [271]. The old men used to say, "God de- "mandeth nothing from Christians except that they "shall hearken unto the Divine Scriptures, and shall "carry into effect the things which are said in them, "and shall be obedient unto their governors and the "orthodox fathers."

276 [272]. An old man used to say, "Whensoever "I have been able to overtake[3] my soul when I have "transgressed, I never stumbled a second time."

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[1] Adding, ܘܠܐ ܬܫܟܚ ܒܕܥܬܟ ܕܠܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܒܛܝܠ.

[2] *I. e.*, immoderation.

[3] The better reading is ܒܕܚܨܝܗ ܒܕܕܒܚ.

277 [273]. An old man used to say, "The man who "setteth death before his eyes at all times easily over- "cometh dejection and [Page 694] littleness of soul."[1]

278 [274]. ABBÂ THEODORE used to say, "There is "no spiritual excellence so sublime [as that which con- "sisteth in] not despising a man and treating him with "contempt."

279 [275]. An old man was asked, "How, and by "what means can the soul acquire humility?" And he made answer, saying, "By examining and enquiring "into its own wickednesses only."

280 [276]. ABBÂ POEMEN used to say, "All the "spiritual excellences have entered into this monastery, "with the exception of the one without which in labour "[no] man standeth;" and they asked him, saying, "Which "spiritual excellence is that?" and he said, "That which "maketh a man blame and despise himself."

281 [277]. The disciple of a certain old man and Rabbâ was attacked by the lust for fornication, and he went into the world, and betrothed to himself a wife; and the old man, being greatly grieved, prayed to God, and said, "O Lord Jesus Christ, do not Thou "permit Thy servant to be defiled." And it came to pass that when he was shut up with the bride in the bed chamber he yielded up his spirit, and he was not polluted with the union of marriage.

282 [278]. An old man used to say:—"If temptation "come upon a man, and attack him on all sides to "such a degree that his mind falleth into despair, and "he murmureth, all his friends will turn away their "faces from him as if by reason of the temptation;" and he related the following story [in illustration of

[1] In Bedjan's edition here follows:—290. An old man used to say, "Take heed, with all thy might, not to do anything "which deserveth blame, and do not take pleasure in making "thyself acceptable." ܕܝ. ܐܡܪ ܡܢ ܐܒܗ̈ܐ ܕܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܬܥܒܕ ܡܕܡ ܕܡܫܬܟܚ ܠܟ ܠܡܗܘܐ ܡܪܥܝ ܠܢܦܫܟ.

this statement] and said:—"There was a monk in a "cell, and temptation came upon him, and all his friends "and beloved ones who met him refused even to salute "him, and not one of them would allow him to enter "into his cell. If he lacked provisions, and wanted a "man to lend him some, none would lend him, and he "was compelled by reason of his tribulation to go and "work in the harvest field; and when he came back "he did not find any bread in his cell. Now it was "the custom among the holy men that every man who "went to work in the harvest field should on his return "eat in the church, but when that brother came "on the Sabbath [Page 695] no man took him and "gave him refreshment in the usual way, and he went "to his cell, and he gave thanks unto God without "complaining. Now when God saw his patient endurance, "He abated the temptation in him, and straightway a "man came and knocked at his door; and he had with "him a camel carrying bread which had been sent to "him from Egypt; then he began to smite himself and "to weep, saying, 'I am not worthy [of this].'" And the temptation having departed, all the fathers took him, and gave him refreshment, and they persuaded him to let them take him to their cells, and through his patient endurance he found great benefit.

283 [279]. On one occasion certain Greeks came to give gifts of grace in the city of 'Eṣṭarkînâ, and they took with them the stewards of the city that they might shew them what it was necessary for them to give them, and they took them to a certain brother who had elephantiasis, but he refused to accept anything, saying, "Behold, I have these few palm leaves, "I will work at them, and weave ropes, and will eat "bread." Then they carried them to a certain widow, and they knocked at the door, and her daughter answered them from inside, for she was naked, now her mother had gone out to work, for she was washing clothes and lived by her labour. And when they

saw that the maiden was naked, they gave her clothes and money, but she refused to accept them, saying, "My mother will come, and say unto me, 'My daughter, "'God hath willed [it], and I have found some work "'to-day, and again we have sufficient food for this day.'" Then when her mother came, she refused [to accept the apparel and money], and said unto them, "O ye "men, I have One Who provideth for me, that is, God, "and ye seek to take away from me this day Him "that hath provided for me all my days;" and when they saw her faith they glorified God.

284 [280]. A certain man offered gold to one of the aged fathers, saying, "Take [it] and let it be to "thee [Page 696] for expenses, because thou hast grown "old;" now the old man was an Arian, and he answered and said unto him that had given [the gold] to him, "Hast thou come to take away from me Him that hath "reared me for sixty years?[1] For it is sixty years "since I have been in this sickness, and I have wanted "for nothing because God fed me, and provided for me;" and he would not consent to accept anything.

285 [281]. One of the fathers told the following story, saying, "I was in the room for receiving strangers, "and some poor folk came there to receive charity at "eventide on the Sabbath, and there was among them "only one man who had a mat to lie upon when they "lay down; and he threw it down under him, and then "reclined upon it. Now it was exceedingly cold, and "he took a half of the mat from under him and covered "himself over therewith, and he reclined on the other "half. And I went out during the night, and I heard "him complaining about the cold, and then the man "turned to himself and said, 'I give thanks unto Thee, "'O Lord, because how many are the rich men, and "'the owners of possessions who are at this present "'moment lying in irons, and in afflictions, and in

[1] Read كحكم عنم.

"'prisons, and there are, moreover, others whose feet "'have been put in the stocks, who are unable "'to turn round to any side, whilst I, like a king, can "'spread out my feet and lie down, and besides this, "'I can go whithersoever I please.' And when he had "said these things (now I was standing up listening to "him), I went in and told them to the brethren, and "they benefited by the words of that poor man."

286 [282]. An old man used to say, "Let us think "first, and pray next, and then let us begin the work, "and afterwards let us boast ourselves in God."

287 [283]. A certain brother asked an old man, saying, "Why is it that I feel disgusted when sitting "in my cell, and why am I sluggish in respect of works "of spiritual excellence?" And the old man answered and said unto him, "Because thou dost not keep in "mind the rest which those who labour expect, and the "torments which are laid up for the lazy. For if, in "very truth, thou wert seeing these things, [Page 697] "thou wouldst be watchful and strenuous in thy labour."

288 [284]. An old man used to say, "The man "who maketh a boast of the Name of God, and who "doeth not the works which are suitable to that Name, "is like unto a poor man who, when a feast cometh, "borroweth some clothes and putteth them on, and "who, when the feast hath passed, strippeth them off "himself because they are not his own, and giveth them "to their owners."

289 [285]. Abbâ Ammon used to say concerning Abbâ Paphnutius the Simple, who was from Scete, "When I went down there I was a young man, and "he would not allow me to dwell there, saying, 'In my "'days I will not permit the faces of young men, which "'resemble those of women, to dwell in Scete, because "'of the war of the Enemy against the holy men.'"

290 [286]. Abbâ Poemen [*or*, Ammon] used to say, "If Nûzardân (Nebuzaradan), the chief of the warriors, "had never come to the land of Judea, he would never

"have burnt down the temple of God which was in "Jerusalem with fire;" [now the meaning] of these words is, that if the pleasures of the lust of the belly had never entered in on the soul the mind would never have been vanquished in the war of the Adversary.

291 [287]. A certain man asked ABBÂ SISOES, saying, "Hast thou not even yet arrived at the measure of ABBÂ ANTHONY, our father?" And the old man answered and said, "If I had even one thought like unto "ABBÂ ANTHONY, the whole of me would become like "unto fire; but I know one man who, even with great "labour, is able to bear his thoughts."

292 [288]. ABBÂ ABRAHAM asked ABBÂ AGATHON, saying, "How is it that the devils make war upon me?" And ABBÂ AGATHON said unto him, "Do the devils "make war upon thee? But they do not make war "against us so fiercely as we ourselves do with our "own wishes, though they do make war against us in "proportion as our wishes do. [Our desires become "devils, and they force us to fulfil them]. Now if thou "wishest to see against whom they have made war, "[it is] against MOSES and those who resemble him."

293 [289]. A brother asked an old man, saying, "In what condition is it meet for a monk to be?" and he said, "Even as I myself am, if one may [compare] "one man with another."[2]

294 [290]. And an old man was also asked, [Page 698] "Why am I afraid when I go about in the desert?" The old man said unto him, "Because thou art still "alive."

295 [291]. A brother asked an old man, saying, "Why doth my spirit go round and round[3] violently?" And he said unto him, "Because thou hast not yet seen "the storehouse of life."

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[1] Adding, ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܫ ܒܬܪ ܒܝܬ ܚܒܝܒ ܗܘ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ.

[2] Omitted here in Bedjan's edition.

[3] Variant "grieved" ܡܬܟܦܐ.

296 [292]. And he was also asked, "What is it "meet for a monk to do?" And he said, "Let him "perform all kinds of good works in very deed, and "let him acquire remoteness from every evil thing."

297 [293]. And he was also asked, "What is a "monk's work?" And he said, "He must possess dis-"cretion."

298 [294]. An old man said, "Unto every thought "that riseth up in thee say, "Art thou of us, or of our "enemies?" And it will constantly make confession unto thee.

299 [295]. ABBÂ AGATHON used to say, "The crown "of the monk is humility."

300 [296]. ABBÂ ISIDORE said, "When I was a youth "and was living in a cell, I possessed not the capacity "for the service [of prayer and praise], for by night "and by day there was service to me."

301 [297]. He also said, 'For forty years, I neither "leaned upon anything nor lay down."

302 [298]. He also said, "I was standing forty "nights, and did not lie down."

303 [299]. He also said, "For twenty years I con-"tinued to fight against one thought—that I might see "all men together."

304 [300]. An old man was asked, "Why is it that "whilst I am sitting in my cell my heart wandereth about?" The old man said to his questioner, "Because thine "external lusts feel the motions which are in the hear-"ing, and in breathing, and in the taste, for from these, "if it be possible for a man, there is pure labour, and "he should make them to be healthy and satisfied "within."

305 [301]. An old man was asked, "How is it "possible for a man to live so that he may be seemly "in God's sight;" and he said unto him, "[It is possible "if a man have an] equable [mind]."

306 [302]. An old man also said, "Our labour is "wood which burneth away."

307 [303]. ABBÂ BENJAMIN said unto his disciples, "Do these things and ye shall be able to live. Rejoice "at all times, and pray without ceasing, and give thanks "[Page 699] for everything."

308 [304]. He also said, "Abstinence in respect of "the soul consisteth in making straight its ways, and "habits, and courses of action, and in cutting off the "passions of the soul."[1]

309 [305]. He also said, "Travel in the path of "the kingdom, and count the miles, and thy spirit shall "not be sad in thee."

310 [306]. An old man used to say, "A man shall "not trouble, but let him like a life of silent contempla- "tion, and hide himself, for these meditations (?) are "the begetters of purity."

311 [307]. An old man used to say also, "Thou "shalt desire to become an eunuch, for this will help "thee."

312 [308]. He also said, "The giving of thanks "maketh entreaty on behalf of the feeble before God."

313 [309]. An old man used to say, "I do not as "yet carry all my body so that I may fulfil all my "desire."

314 [310]. ABBÂ SISOES said, "Exile consisteth in a "man living a silent and solitary life."

315 [311]. One of the fathers said, "I once asked "ABBÂ SISOES and besought him to speak a word of "life to me, and the old man answered and said, He "who taketh care to guard himself against esteeming "himself, and against comparing himself [with other "men] in every work of understanding [*or*, discretion], "is he who fulfilleth the Book."

316 [312]. And I asked him also, "In what doth

[1] In Bedjan's edition there follows:—320. An old man said, "Thou must be in the same state of fear as a man who is going to "endure tortures." ܟ ܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܕܚܠܬ ܒܗ ܐܢܫ ܕܗܘ ܐܙܠ ܠܡܬܩܛܠ ܒܣܝܦܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܐܢܬ ܕܗܘ ܐܙܠ ܠܡܬܢܣܐ ܒܢܦܫܟ.

"the power of exile consist?" And he said unto me, "Wheresoever thou dwellest hold thy peace; and about "whatsoever thou seest, be it good or be it evil, say "nothing; and if thou hearest anything from a man "which befitteth not the upright conduct of the ascetic "life, say, 'This concerneth me not; I have to do with "'myself, and myself only.' This is [the power of] "exile."

317 [313]. One of the old men said, "The love of "the work of the hands is the ruin of the soul; but the "stablishment thereof is rest and peace in God."

318 [314]. ABBÂ THEODORE said, "If I did not cut "off my soul from the friends of this world they would "not let me be a monk."

319 [315]. He also said, "If we seek God He will "reveal Himself unto us, and if we lay hold upon Him "He will protect us."

320 [316]. On one occasion certain of the old men were sitting and talking [Page 700] about the thoughts, and one of them said, "They would not appear to be "a great matter if a man were to see his thoughts "from a distance."

321 [317]. Another [old man] said, "I have never "allowed error to have dominion over me even for an "hour."

322 [318]. ABBÂ POEMEN said, "As long as the food "which is being boiled is on the fire the flies will not "approach it, but as soon as it is taken off they cluster "round it;"[1] the meaning of this is that as long as our hearts are fervent in the spirit impure thoughts will not approach us, but that if we are negligent and make ourselves to be remote from the converse [*or*, occupation] of the spirit they will then gain dominion over us.

[1] The better reading is:—كذ ثفحم كه ديحتر. صلا ديم ديكصطك مسبز صفحم كه.

323 [319].[1] An old man used to say, "It is neces-"sary to make enquiries concerning spiritual works, for "through them we advance in excellence; for it is "great labour for us to go forth from the body in such "wise that we do not perform the works of the body."

324 [330]. An old man used to say also, "Afflic-"tion and poverty are the instruments wherewith a "monk cultivateth his handiwork."

325 [331]. Certain of the old men used to say, "Whosoever hath not the instruments of the craft of "labour cannot remain long in his cell, whether they "be the instruments of the craft of the labour of spiri-"tual beings, wherewith he findeth comfort from God "in his inner man in the spirit, or the instruments of "the craft of human labour. He who possesseth not the "one or the other class of instruments cannot remain "very long in his cell."

326 [332]. The spirit of God rested upon ABBÂ JOHN because of the fear in which he held God; for it is the fear of God which teacheth a man all good works.

327 [333]. ABBÂ POEMEN used to say, "ABBÂ PAPH-"NUTIUS was exceedingly great and mighty, and he ran "at all times[2] to minister unto shortcoming."

328 [334]. An old man was asked by a brother, "How should a monk dwell in his cell?" The old man said unto him, "Let him dwell by himself, so that his "thoughts may be with God."

329 [335]. And a brother also asked him, saying, "What shall I do, for when I am by myself I am "greatly afflicted by the multitude of evil thoughts of "all kinds which crowd upon me, and by [Page 701] "the weight of the disgust which troubleth me?" The old man said unto him, "Give thy soul work, that is "to say, have a care to pray and have love towards

[1] The scribe in Lady Meux's MS. passed from 319 to 330.
[2] Read مصلي.

"God, and straightway the spirit of Satan will flee "from thee."

330 [336]. An old man used to say also, "If thou "doest something which is good, and thou art praised "for it, destroy it; guard thyself against the thoughts "which praise thee, and which hold thy neighbour in "contempt."

331 [337]. ABBÂ ISIDORE'S thoughts praised him, saying, "There is none like unto thee among the fathers;" and he said unto them, "Am I like ANTHONY or like "ABBÂ AGATHON?" And the devils said unto him, "After all the labours which thou hast performed thou "wilt go to torment;" and he said unto them, "And ye "also will be below me. For a thief through one "word inherited the kingdom."[1] And JUDAS also, who wrought mighty deeds with the Apostles, in one night lost all his labour, and he went down from heaven to Sheol; therefore let not him that conducteth himself uprightly boast himself. For all those who have been over confident about themselves have fallen among the devils of greed. Retard thou then [thy desire], saying, "Thou hast had enough; wait a little," and eat thou temperately and slowly. For he who hasteth in his eating is like unto him that seeketh to eat much.

332 [338]. An old man saw sitting among the brethren a brother who pretended not to be of them, and he said unto him, "How canst thou walk in a "country which is not thine?"

333 [339]. They used to say that ABBÂ POEMEN never wished to magnify his word over that of any old man, but in every thing he praised his and belittled his own.

334 [340]. There was a certain monk who led a life which was full of severe ascetic labours, and the Devil laid many plans and schemes to make him abate them, and to make him to desist therefrom; but the

[1] Some words are wanting here.

monk would not give him a hearing in any way whatsoever, but, on the contrary, he played the man more strenuously than ever [Page 702], and resisted his wiles and crafts. Now when the Devil had spent much time in this strife against him, another devil came to help him; and having enquired of his companion what manner of war and battle he should set in array against him, and how it was that the holy man was abating and making an end of all the things[1] which he was making [against him], the accursed devil who had come last, answered and said by the counsel of the Evil One, "Do not lift up thyself below him, but raise up "thyself above him, and in this way thou shalt be able "to be stronger than he."

334[A] [340[A]]. An old man asked ABBÂ POEMEN, saying, "What shall I do, father, with my son Isaac, who hearkeneth unto me with pleasure?" ABBÂ POEMEN said unto him, "If thou wishest to be of benefit to "him, shew him [an example] by deeds and not by "words, lest through observing words[2] only he be found "useless; for if thou wilt shew him by deeds, the deeds "themselves will abide with him, and he will profit."

335 [341]. Certain of the fathers said to ABBÂ MACARIUS the Egyptian, "Whether thou eatest or "whether thou fastest, thy body hath already dried up;" and the old man said unto them, "A piece of wood "which hath been burned and consumed by the fire "burneth wholly, and thus also the heart of a man, "if he be purified by the fear of God, consumeth the "lusts from his flesh, and drieth up his bones."

336 [342]. ABBÂ THEODORE used to say, "If God "imputeth to us carelessness in prayer, and the snare "in [His] service wherein we have been captured, we "shall not be able to stand."

337 [343]. They used to say of one of the old men

[1] Adding, ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܥܒܕ ܡܢ ܒܝܬܗ.

[2] Add ܒܫܟܚ.

that he had passed twenty years in the church, and had never lifted his eyes and seen the roof thereof.

338 [344]. There was a certain monk whose name was PAUL, and his rule of life and conduct was such that he did not approach the excessive labour of the work of the hands, nor any trafficking whatsoever, except such as was sufficient to provide for his small amount of daily food; but he performed one sort of work of excellence, that is, he prayed continually and ceased not, and he laid down the rule for himself [Page 703] that he should pray three hundred prayers each day, and he placed sand in his bosom, and at every prayer which he prayed, he would lay one grain of sand in his hand. Now this man asked SAINT MACARIUS, saying, "Father, I am greatly afflicted;" and the old man pressed him to tell him the cause of his affliction. Then he answered and said, "I have "heard about a certain virgin who hath led an ascetic "life for thirty years, and father PÎÔR related concerning "her that every week she went forth and recited five "hundred prayers in the day. Now when I heard these "things I despised myself greatly, for I am not able "to recite more than three hundred prayers." Then the holy man MACARIUS answered and said unto him, "I have led an ascetic life for sixty years, and I make "fifty prayers a day, and I work sufficiently to provide "myself with food, and I receive the brethren who come "to me, and I say unto them what it is seemly to say, "and I pay my debts, and my mind doth not condemn "me as one who hath treated [God] lightly; but thou "who makest three hundred prayers in the day, art thou "condemned by thy thoughts? Perchance thou dost "not offer them with purity [of heart], or thou art able "to do more, and dost not do it!"

339 [345]. I used to know a certain holy man whose name was AURELIUS,[1] and he laboured so hard

[1] The better reading is ܐܘܪܠܝܘܣ.

that he might have been thought to be a shadow because of his disposition to work; during the Forty Days' Fast he used to pass whole weeks [without eating], and in respect of the other days he would eat only once every two or three days.

340 [346]. An old man was asked [by a brother], "If I see the sin of my brother am I to despise him?" And the old man said, "If we hide [the fault] of our "brother God will also hide our [faults]; and if we "expose our brother's [faults], God will also expose "ours."

341 [347]. An old man used to say, "There was a brother whose name [Page 704] was TIMOTHY, and he used to lead a life of silent contemplation in a religious house; and a temptation came upon one of the brethren of that house, and the head of the house asked TIMOTHY, saying, "What shall I do to this brother?" TIMOTHY said unto him, "Expel him;" and when he had expelled him, the temptation of that brother was sent upon TIMOTHY, and he cried out to God, saying, "I have sinned, O my Lord, have mercy upon me." And he passed the whole night in a grave of dead men, crying out and saying, "I have sinned, O my "Lord, forgive me," and the temptation was upon him until he was greatly exhausted. And a voice came to him, saying, "TIMOTHY, do not imagine that these things "have happened unto thee for any other reason than "because thou didst offend thy neighbour in the time of "his trial."

342 [348]. A brother asked an old man, saying, "How shall I be able to avoid despising my brother?" The old man said unto him, "We and our neighbour "are two faces. Now if we provide the mirror of "prayer we shall see the beam in our own eye, and "we shall also see in the mirror the face of our brother "polished and pure."

343 [349]. A brother asked an old man and said, "What shall I do? For there is no feeling in my soul,

"and I have no fear of God." The old man said unto him, "Seek thou out a man who feareth God, "and then cling closely to him, and from him thou "shalt learn to fear God.

344 [350]. ABBÂ POEMEN said that ABBÂ ATHANASIUS used to say, "Unless a man possess good works before "God giveth him a gift because of[1] himself, it is well "known that no one can be made perfect through the "weariness which cometh to him through himself; but "if he reveal [it] to his neighbour, he will then receive "the gift because of his neighbour, and be gratified."

345 [351]. A brother asked an old man, saying, "Shew me a word whereby I may live." The old man said unto him, "Work with thy hands with all thy power, "and give alms."

346 [352]. They used to say that ABBÂ ḲÎÔPRÔS [COPRES] attained to such a measure [of perfection] that even [Page 705] when he was sick and wanted something, he would cut off his desire from that which his soul asked him [to give it]; and he would give thanks unto God and endure his sickness with joy and without complaint.[2]

347 [353]. A brother asked ABBÂ POEMEN, "What "is the meaning of these words which the Prophet spake, "'My heart shall rejoice in those who fear Thy name'?"[3] And the old man answered and said, "The Holy Spirit "spake this word to man even unto death, and [unto] "to-day also."

348 [354]. An old man also said, "If a man were "to make new heavens and new earth he would not "be able to be free from care, because the wickedness "of the devil is hidden behind them; but for a man "to have no care either for his raiment or his food is "possible."

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[1] Literally, "on the hands of."
[2] Omitted here in Bedjan's edition.
[3] Compare Psalm LXXXVIII. 12.

349 [355]. A [brother] also asked an old man, "What shall I do in respect of that which I love, but "which is not profitable to me?" The old man said unto him, "Approach it not, and touch it not, and it "will of its own accord become an alien thing unto "thee. For DAVID the Prophet wrote unto Joab the "captain of the host, and said unto him, 'Hold fast on "'the war, and fight mightily against the city until "'thou dost subdue it.'[1] Now in this case the city is "enmity."

350 [356]. An old man used to say, "This is the "rule of conduct which God gave to Israel, that he "should remove himself from that which is outside "nature, that is to say, anger, and wrath, and envy, "and hatred, and evil speaking, and a man must not "judge his neighbour, together with all the other com-"mandments of the olden time."[2]

351 [357]. On one occasion certain of the brethren came to ABBÂ SISOES in order that they might hear some profitable words, and when they had spoken much with him, he said nothing unto them about whatsoever they had said, but only, "Forgive me." Then they saw that he was plaiting palm leaves, and they said unto ABRAHAM his disciple, "What are ye doing with these "palm-leaf ropes and mats?" And he said unto them, "We send them out here and there." Now when the old man heard this [Page 706] he said, "SISOES eateth "here and there." And when they had heard [these things] they were greatly profited, and they departed in great joy because they had seen his humility.

[1] 2 Samuel XI. 25.

[2] In Bedjan's edition here follows:—No. 363. ANTHONY said, "The greatest might of a man is to bring upon his soul "his transgression at all times before God, and he must expect "temptation until the end." ܐܢܬܘܢܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܢܣܒ ܘܠܐ ܢܫܠܚ ܘܠܐ ܢܫܠܚ ܘܗܘ ܡܢ ܓܘܪܗ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܟܐܢܝܐ ܕܡܫܬܥܐ ܗܘ ܠܝ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܒܐ ܡܘܫܐ ܕܟܬܒ ܠܝܫܘܥ ܒܪ ܢܘܢ ܪܒ ܚܝܠܐ ܕܐܬܩܦ ܥܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܢܣܒ ܒܗ ܥܕ ܕܬܫܒܝ ܠܗ ܗܟܢܐ ܐܢ ܗܘ ܕܢܣܒ ܒܗ ܥܕ ܕܬܫܒܝ ܠܗ